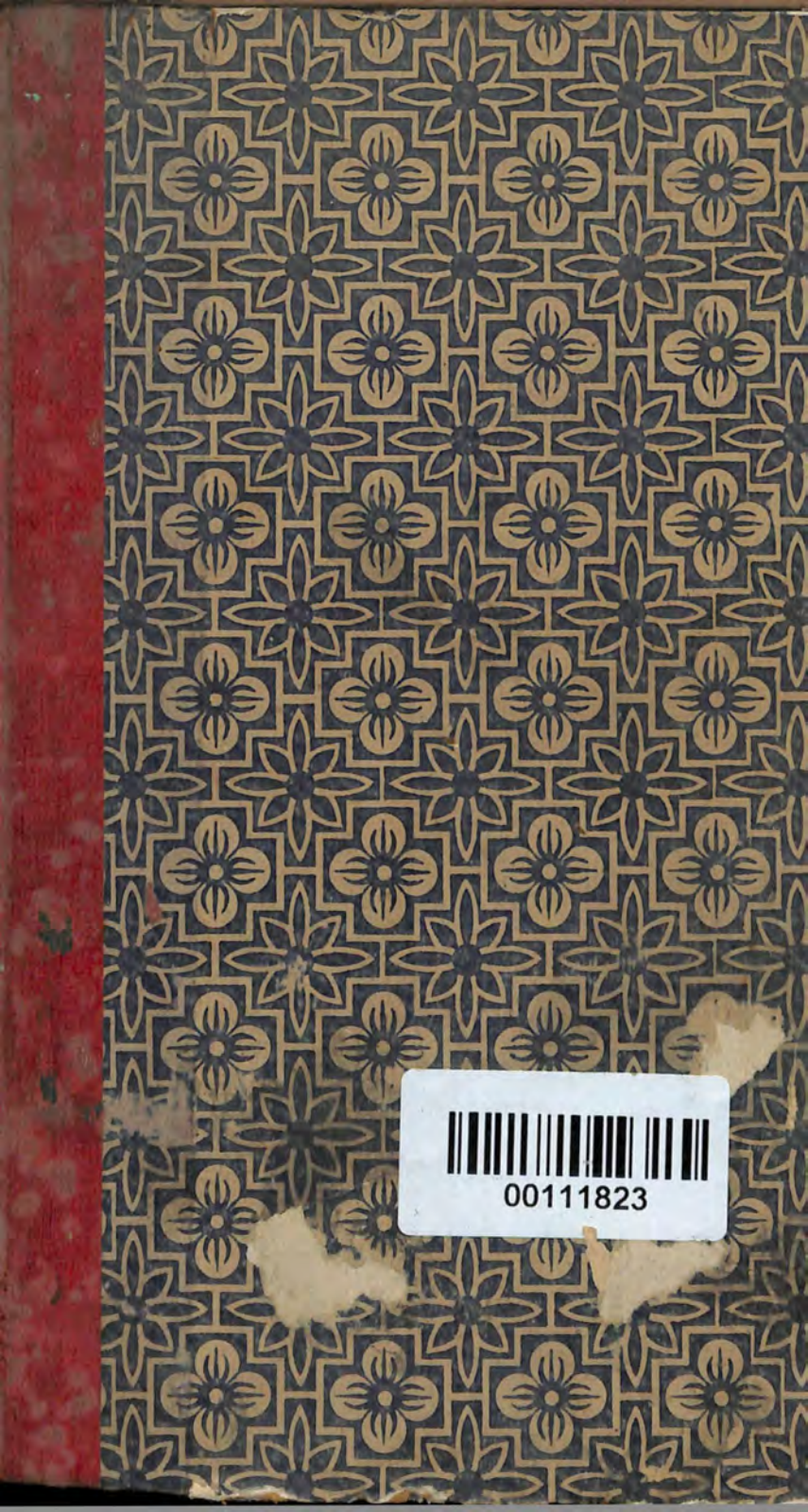
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A COMPENDIUM

OF

ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY,

BY

DR JOHN C. L. GIESELER,
CONSISTORAL COUNSELLOR AND ORDINARY PROFESSOR OF THEOLOGY IN GÖTTINGEN.

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NOTE.—*It has been considered desirable to translate the references to many of the German authorities to this volume, and where this has not been done in the body of the work itself, they have been thrown into the form of an Appendix. The Publishers believe that as they have brought down the translation of Gieseler to the period of the Reformation, it will be considered by the majority of their Subscribers that the work is already sufficiently voluminous. If, however, they are requested by any considerable number to bring down the work to the Peace of Westphalia in* 1648 *(which embraces all published or likely to be published of the original work) which would occupy two additional volumes, they will be happy to proceed. It is therefore hoped that those gentlemen who would wish this to be done will forward their names to the Publishers.*

THIRD PERIOD.

DIVISION V.

A.D. 1409—1517.

SECOND CHAPTER.

HISTORY OF THE HIERARCHY OF THE NATIONAL CHURCHES.

§ 137.

THEIR RELATION TO THE STATE.

THE lords of the land, whose power continued to increase, began at this time, more generally after the example of France, to reduce the ecclesiastical power within narrower bounds. Not only was it stoutly maintained that the ecclesiastical tribunals should not challenge the right of jurisdiction over the secular affairs of laymen;[1] but it often happened even now that the

[1] The decree of William III. Duke of Saxony, which he publisht with the consent of his parliament, is remarkable in this respect, dd. Weissensee Sonntags (Sunday before Palm Sunday), nach d. heil. 3 Könige Tage 1446 (in Schilter de libertate Ecclesiarum Germaniae p. 808 ss. and in Rudolphi's Gotha diplomatica Th. 1. S. 138 ff.): Item es sint bisher durch dy Inwohner unser Lande vil usslendische Gerichte gesucht, dass den Landen eine Unere u. auch gross Schaden u. merck-lich Vorterbenis ist. Nu dem vorbass zu bewarne, so haben wir gesazt u. bestallt, dass vorder me kein Inwohner unser Landen, Herrschafft u. Gebiete niemanden vor kein usslendisch Gericht, es sey geistlich oder wertlich zyhen oder fordern soll umb keinerleyge Sache, wy dy gesy mag. Danne ist eyn Sache geystlich u. gehört billiche vor

secular interests of Ecclesiastics were drawn before secular tri-

geistlich Gerichte, so sol der Cleger die vor geistlich Gerichte bringen in unsern Landen, dohen sy gehört, u. sich davor an Rechte genügen, dy Sache auch, do sy angefangen wird, zu Eynde lauffen lassen, und davon an keine fremde Gerichte usswendig unser Lande beruffen.— Ist adir dy Sache werltlich, so sal man dy anbrengen und fordern an den werltlichen Stühlen u. Gerichten, darunter der Antworter gesessen ist, und doran dy Sache gehört. Vor denselben Gerichte sal der Cleger syner angevangen Furderunge folgen, als sich das gebört, biss uff Eynde, u. sich davor an Rechte genügen lassen, sich auch davon an kein usslendisch Gerichte beruffen.— Wer es nu, dass jemant, wer der were, in unsern Landen, Herrschaften u. Gebieten wohnhaftig, sich an Recht vor geistlichen ader werltlichen Gerichten in den Landen, inmassen obgerüth ist, nicht genügen wolte lassen, sondern davon beruffen, oder sunst ussländische Gerichte weder dy unsern suchen wörden; derselbe sol von Stunt als eyn Echter des Landes Gehalten werden, u. sal vorder nimmermer in unsere Lande kommen, sundern dy ewiglich rümen, — u. ein jeglicher sal u. mag sich zu denselben u. zu seinen Gut halten mit Rechte one alle Hindernisse, als zu unsern u. unser Lande rechten Echter. Wenn auch derselbe Boten ussenden werde, es were mit Briven oder anders, der Brive sal man keinen uffnehmen, sich nichts daran keren, u. sich zu den Boten gehalten, u. mit öm gebaren, als mit dome Selbtheter u. Echter one alle Verschonunge. Item als wir und die Unsern viel Jahr bisshar durch die geistliche Richter um mancherley Sachen willen, dy sie alle vor sich ziehen, und keine ussschliessen, sie sint geistlich oder wertlich, mannigfeldiglich umbgezogen und obermessig sehr beschwert sint worden, dorinne diselben Richter Gott noch die Gerechtigkeit zu mermal wenig angesehen han, doruss als zu besorgen were uff lengere Tage mercklicher Ungloybe unter den Folcke wachssen, und dadurch Gotte und der heil. Kirchen Missebitunge und Unere geschehen mögte, dorumb Gott zu Lobe und seiner heil. Kirchen zu Eren sollich öbel zu vermiden; so wollen wir Fleiss thun, uns mit Fürsten und Prälaten, in der Jurisdiction wir mit unsern Landen und Herrschaften gesessen sint, bytagen, u. sie bitten, ör geistliche Gerichte zu rechtfertigen, und keine Sache vor sich zu ziehen oder zu richten, denn welche geistlich sint;—welche Sache aber weltlich sint dass sy sich der gar nichtiss annehmen. Wir sollen und wollen auch alle in unsern Landen, Herrschaften und Gebieten ernstlich bestellen und schaffen, dass Nymandes, welch wesen der sy, den andern um Sachen die weltlich sint vor kein geistlich Gerichte bringen, fordern noch bannen sal.—Wer aber das nicht liesse, ymanden vor geistliche Gerichte über weltliche Sachen brechte, und uns dieser unser Ordnunge ungehorsam werde, dorum solt her sine Sache, dodurch her gefordert hette, gegen sinen Wederteyl ganz verloren haben,—solde auch dorzu sinen Herren, unter deme her sesse eynen nüwe Schog gr. zu Busse vorvallen syn. — So sal auch unser iglicher mit allen Pfarrern und dorumbe gesessenen bestellen, dass sie keine Brive von den geistlichen Richtern umb weltliche Sachen ufnehmen noch vorkündigen: welcher

bunals,[2] that the criminal jurisdiction[3] over the clergy was exercised by the same, and that the interference of foreign ecclesiastical tribunals was forbidden.[4] Still more generally the

Pfarrer aber des also nicht halten wolt, den sal man keine Früchte oder Nuzunge siner Pfarre volgen lassen, biss so lange dass her des auch gehorsam werden. Nevertheless, in the Naumburg Convention of the Duke of Saxony A.D. 1497, there is a remonstrance (see Müller's Reichstagstheatrum unter Maxim. 1. Th. 2. Vorstell. III. S. 99 ff.) § 4.: Es werden auch vielmals werntliche Personen zu merklichem Schaden in werntlichen Sachen vor geistlich Gericht gefordert. In Hesse (see part iii., § 108, note 3) it was constantly maintained that the ecclesiastical courts should undertake no secular causes, so in the compact with Mayence, A.D. 1422, see Kopp Nachr. v. d. Verfassung der geistl. u. Civil-Gerichten in d. Hessen-Casselischen Landen Th. 1 S. 190 ff., and in the ordinance of the Landgrave Lewis A.D. 1455, see the collection of his decrees Th. 1. S. 10 ff.

[2] After the example of France (see part iii. § 108 note 13. Instances during this period of time may be found in the Preuves des libertez de l'église Gall. chap viii. no. 1 ss.) in Hesse also, see Kopp in the work quoted above Th. 1. S. 198 f. Accordingly the clergy of the Rhine complain at an assembly in Coblenz A.D. 1479, (see Georgii nationis germanicae gravamina p. 257) §. 20: Item Laici interdum cognoscunt de causis et super bonis Clericorum, et bona eorum arrestant et occupant, et sibi ipsis appropriant. § 21: Item juramenta Laici exigunt a subditis, ne unus Laicorum alium impetat coram judice ecclesiastico, sed ipsimet cognoscunt de causis ecclesiasticis.

[3] Compare the brief of Martin V. to the Archbishops of Portugal (Raynald. 1427 no. 19) in which he recommends them, in connexion with the assembled clergy of Portugal, to lay a formal charge before the Roman curia, against the encroachments upon Church liberties in which the King indulged, quasi sibi liceat uti potestate regia in Praelatos et Clericos tanquam in Laicos suae ditioni subjectos. There also is this passage: quodque est non minus absurdum, intelleximus, ipsum Regem in causis criminalibus trahi facere Clericos etiam in sacerdotio constitutos de foro ecclesiastico ad judices saeculares, et per eos condemnari atque puniri. The Parliament of Paris not unfrequently condemned Bishops to imprisonment. See Preuves des libertez de l'église gall. chap. vii. no. 34 ss. But the free towns especially asserted the right of criminal jurisdiction over the clergy, for instance, Heilbronn, see Jäger's Mittheilungen zur schwäbischen und fränkischen Reformations-geschichte. Bd. 1. (Stuttgart 1828) S. 7 f.

[4] In France, by virtue of the privilege granted by Urban V. A.D. 1367, all recourse to a foreign tribunal, even every appeal to Rome, was severely censured (Preuves des libertez de l'église gall. chap. ix.) The decree of the Council of Basle, Sess. xxxi. A.D. 1438, gave a more general impulse to this movement, see § 132, note 34. How statutes were issued against appeals to Rome in the different western kingdoms, see Petri Stockmans defensio Belgarum contra evocationes et

governing powers vindicated their claim to examine the decrees of ecclesiastical authorities before their publication.[5] And the dangerous growth of Church property in land induced many princes to follow the previous example of several free cities, and either to forbid altogether the augmentation of church-possessions, or else to require the legal sanction of the sovereign for each acquisition.[6]

peregrina judicia (in his Opp. omn. Colon. 1700, 4.) cap 4., on the Belgian statutes against such appeals see cap. 2. In Germany the Saxon regulation of 1446 is especially worthy of note, above note 1. Appeals from Germany to Rome did not indeed cease; however, they were reckoned among the gravamina, see M. Meyeri epist. ad Aen. Sylv. above § 133 note 17, and the Gravamina Germ. nationis ann. 1510. no. x. see above § 135 note 8.

[5] The so called jus Placeti regii, in France Regium Pareatis, in Naples Regium Exequatur, named after the different forms of the assent. How this right was maintained in France see Preuves des libertez de l'église, gall. chap. x. Lewis XI. in 1495 appointed a commissioner at Amiens to examine all persons coming from Rome, whether they had any papal briefs upon them, et icelles voir et visiter, pour sçavoir s'elles sont aucunement contraires ou prejudiciables à nous, et â la dite église gallicane. Et au cas qu'en trouverez aucunes qui y fussent contraires ou prejudiciables, prenez les et retenez par devers vous, et les porteurs arrestez et constituez prisonniers, si vous voyez que la matiere y soit sujette; et du contenu esdites lettres nous advertissez, ou les nous envoyez â toute diligence, pour y donner la provision necessaire. Martin V., in the letter quoted above in note 3, complains of Portugal A.D. 1427: Dicitur etiam nobis, quod statuto regio mandatum est, ne quis audeat sine ipsius Regis licentia sub poena mortis et perditionis bonorum in dictis regnis literas apostolicas publicare. When John II., King of Portugal, instigated by Innocent VIII. repeale the Placetum regium 1486, the Peers of the realm resisted, and declared that without the consent of the States, such a repeal was void, see Augustini Manuelis hist. Joan. II. Philip the Good, Duke of Burgundy, decreed 3. Jan. 1447: dat niemandt en brenghe, oft en exequere eenighe geestelycke monitien, inhibitien, oft andere gheboden, op eenighe ondersaeten des Landts van Brabandt, uyt wat saecke dat het zy, hy eerst kome by onse Officiere ende Wethouderen, ende geve hem klaerlyck te kennen de saecke waerom, ende verkryghe oorlof ende consent.—Den gene die dat dede, sal daer an verbeurt hebben alle sine goederen, ende te dien aen syn lyf eenen wegh te S. Peter ende S. Pauls te Roomen te doen. This and several later edicts issued in the Netherlands, together with references to similar laws of other nations, for instance a charge of Ferdinand the Catholic to the Viceroy of Naples, A.D. 1508, may be seen in P. Stockmans jus Belgarum circa bullarum pontificiarum receptionem (in his Opp. omn.) cap. 2.

[6] Arnold and Adolph, dukes of Gueldres in 1441 and 1469, pro-

§ 138.

INTERNAL RELATIONS OF THE DIOCESAN HIERARCHY.

The reforming councils of Constance and Basle certainly intended to restore the original power of the Bishops.[1] However, their decrees only came into full operation in France so long as

hibited the endowment of ecclesiastics or religious houses with landed property, tithes, rentals, etc. See the Nederlanschen Sulpitius van Jacobus Baselius S. 236. Philip the Good, Duke of Burgundy, past a law for Holland in 1446, that no members of religious orders should purchase or receive property without previous examination and consent of commissioners (Brandt Historie der Reformatie. Th. 1. S. 38. Groot Hollandsch Plakaatboek. Th. 1. S. 1471): the same also for Brabant in 1461 (Brabandsch Placaatboek Th. 1. S. 238). William III. Landgrave of Hesse, in 1491, ordered a public proclamation to be made, das niemants, wer der sy, keyne werntliche Gutere, es sy an Zinsen, Renthen ader Gefellen, geistlichen Personen noch Cloistern nicht mehr verkeuffe, and that it should not be lawful for such property in any way to accrue to ecclesiastics: whoever should disobey, dem wollet nach libe und gude, als demjhenen der uns mid libe und gude verfallen ist, griffen, und die gutere, die den geistlichen hieruber zugeeignet werden von unserwegen innemen, und ine die ane unsern Beschiet nit widder folgen lassen (the documents may be seen in the Beurkundete Nachricht von dem Closterhaus Schiffenberg 2ter Theil. Giessen 1755 Fol. Beilagen no. 166). Albert the Peaceful, Duke of Mecklenburg, forbad the clergy of Güstrow the acquisition of property, see Analecta Gustroviensia p. 86. Similar prohibitions issued by Saxon princes for individual ecclesiastical corporations may be seen in J. G. Reinhardi meditationes de jure Principum Germaniae, cum primis Saxoniae circa sacra ante tempora reformationis exercito. Halae 1717. 4. p. 230 ss.

[1] So says Ludovicus Card. Arelatensis at the Council of Basle, of which he was President, in Aeneae Sylvii de Conc. Basileensi lib. i. (ed Cattopoli 1667. 4. p. 40): Nec forsan absonum fuerit dicere, nullam unquam fuisse Synodum, quae magis quam ista potestatem Episcoporum ampliaverit: etenim quid hodie erant Episcopi, nisi umbrae quaedam? (Compare Gerson's simulacra depicta, Part iii. § 109 note 3.) Quid plus illis restabat, quam baculus et mitra? Numquid pastores sine ovibus dici poterant, cum nihil in subditos statuere possent? Nempe cum esset in Ecclesia primitiva Episcoporum summa potestas, hodie ad id venerunt, ut solo habitu et reditibus superarent Presbyteros. At nos eos in statu reposuimus pristino: nos beneficiorum collationem ad eos reduximus, nos eis confirmationem electionum restituimus, nos causas subditorum eisdem reddidimus audiendas, nos eos, qui jam non erant Episcopi, fecimus Episcopos.

the Pragmatic sanction existed. On the other hand, the theory which grew up in the struggle with the mendicant friars, was stoutly upheld in France, that the parochial clergy derived their spiritual authority not from the Bishops, but as the Bishops themselves, through the institution of Christ.[2] Out of France this

[2] See Part ii. § 62 note 23., Part iii. § 112 note 3. Gerson de potest. eccl. consid. 12 (Opp. ii. p. 250) contributes the following passage, determinatio sacrae facultatis theologiae Parisiensis nuper edita contra temeritatem extollentium privilegiatos super Curatos in praedicationibus et confessionibus, fromwhich the reason and the purport of this opinion are plain; Art i.: Domini Curati sunt in Ecclesia minores Praelati et Hierarchae ex primaria institutione Christi, quibus competit ex statu jus praedicandi, jus confessiones audiendi, jus sacramenta ecclesiastica secundum exigentiam sui status et parochianorum ministrandi, jus sepulturas dandi, jus insuper decimas et alia jura parochialia recipiendi. Art. ii.: Jus praedicandi et confessandi competit Praelatis et Curatis principaliter et essentialiter, et Mendicantibus de per accidens ex privilegio; quoniam sunt introducti vel admissi ex concessione et beneplacito Dominorum Praelatorum. Compare Gerson de statibus ecclesiasticis, and, indeed, de statu Curatorum 16 considerationes (opp. ii. p. 534): E.g. Consid. i.: Status Curatorum succedit statui lxxii. discipulorum Christi quoad legem novam, et figuratus est in antiqua lege per Levitas. Ac proinde status Curatorum est de institutione Christi et Apostolorum suorum. Cons. ii.: Status Curatorum est de essentiali ac intrinseca Ecclesiae hierarchia, sicut status Praelatorum, quamvis inferior sit, et pro sua perfectione variabilior. Qua ratione Curati simplices non aeque proprie dicuntur sponsi, sicut Episcopi, liberiusque permittuntur cedere, vel renuntiare curis suis. Cons. vii.: Status Curatorum Ecclesias parochiales sibi deputatas habet in tali libertate, quod nulli alteri sacerdoti fas est, ipsis invitis, aut sine eorum licentia praedicare in eadem, praesertim dum praedicare voluerint ipsi, sed nec confessiones illic audire, nec sacramenta ministrare: salva semper auctoritate, vel rationabili ordinatione superiorum Praelatorum. Viz. De potest. eccl. Epilogus Concl. 2. (Opp. ii. p. 256): Extenditur plenitudo potestatis Papae super omnes inferiores solum dum subest necessitas ex defectu Ordinariorum inferiorum, vel dum apparet evidens utilitas Ecclesiae: quemadmodum dici potest de Episcopis respectu Plebanorum, seu propriorum sacerdotum, quorum possunt supplere defectus. Thus, Sermo contra bullam Mendicantium (l. c. p. 437): Ad Curatos spectat ex statu eorum, jure, aut facultate concionari.—Sequitur, Papam aut alium quemvis jus hoc Curatis auferre, aut impedire non debere. Et ideo nullus in Ecclesia eorum concionari debet absque eorum facultate.—Ad Curatos pertinet jus audiendi confessiones.—Sequitur Papam—non debere auferre istam potestatem aut jus ipsis Curatis absque eorum placito et voluntate, saltem expediens non est. Sequitur, nullum Privilegiatum confessionem audire debere in loco parochialis Ecclesiae absque consensu et facultate Curati. Almainus would even have granted to the parochial clergy a voice at

theory was not even sanctioned by all the liberal canonists,[3] and it was altogether rejected by the Ultramontanes.[4] Moreover, the parochial clergy were not unfrequently subjected to severe oppression by their ecclesiastical superiors.[5]

the Councils. Expositio circa decisiones M. Occam super potestate summi Pontif. Qu. i. c. 18. sect. 1. (Gersonii opp. ii. p. 1067) Secundo, dicitur Concilium debere congregari ex omni statu hierarchico: nam sunt duo status hierarchici in Ecclesia, scil. status Praelatorum superiorum et inferiorum: unde in tali Concilio debent interesse singuli Episcopi, similiter ex parte Cleri et Curatorum de singulis Episcopatibus aliquis debet interesse, et tales habent voces et auctoritatem deliberandi in Concilio. All opinions which contravened this theory were condemned by the Sorbonne, and had to be recanted. Thus the Dominican Jo. Sarrazin (see § 136 note 23) in 1429 was also obliged to recant the statement (d'Argentré I. ii. p. 227): Dicere, inferiorum Praelatorum potestatem jurisdictionis, sive sint Episcopi sive Curati, esse immediate a Deo, sicut potestatem Papae, veritati quodammodo repugnat; and to acknowledge instead: evangelicae et apostolicae consonat veritati. The Franciscan Joannes Bartholomei in 1451 was refused the degree of Licentiate in theology, because he had preacht (d'Argentré I. ii. p. 251), quod Parochiani possunt libere se Mendicantibus per Ordinarios admissis confiteri absque Curatorum licentia. Among the fourteen propositions of the Franciscan Joannes Angeli (see § 136 note 23), which were condemned in 1482, was this (d'Argentré I. ii. p. 305): I. Fratres minores praesentati Episcopo et admissi sunt proprii Sacerdotes et veri Curati, et melius quam Presbyteri parochiales, quia facultatem suam habent a summo Pontifice, et dicti Presbyteri ab ipso Episcopo dumtaxat, and others of the same kind.

[3] For instance not by Alphonsus Tostatus (see § 136. note 5) Quaest. 87. in Matth. 16.: Episcopus sub se nullos habet habentes ordinariam jurisdictionem, sed Curati omnes sunt Commissarii: et sic tota jurisdictio est Episcopi immediate. Et si nollet ponere Curatos, sed ipse administraret, licite faceret, si sufficeret ad hoc.

[4] See §. 136. note 15. Compare especially the refutation by Joannes de Turrecremata (see § 136. note 12) of Johannes de Poliaco (see part iii. § 112. note 3) in his Summa de Ecclesia ii. c. 59 ss. He declares himself c. 63 in the words of Petrus de Palude, to this effect, quia Christus per se non fecit nisi unum Curatum scilicet Petrum:—sed quia impossibile erat, quod per se solum (*Petrus*) perfecte totius gregis curam ageret, ideo per consequens (*Christus*) commisit illi facere alios Curatos, quotquot ipse pro adjutorio suo et populi salute opus esse cognosceret. Nec Christus per se instituit, nisi unam solam curam;—sed Petrus postmodum per se et per alios divisit provincias, et dioeceses, et parochias. The last two propositions which John Kaltenmarkter was obliged to recant at Vienna in 1492 (see § 136, note 24), only differ from the Gallican theory in form, which probably does not quite correspond to the idea, see Gersonii sermo, contra bull. Mendicant. above, note 2.

[5] Epistola de miseria Curatorum. Aug. Vind. 1489, epitomised in

§ 139.

MORAL CONDITION OF THE CLERGY.

The reformation of the deeply degraded clergy was the principal part of the reformation of the Church in head and limbs, with which this entire period resounded. But in this respect also all efforts for reform seemed in general fruitless; and the lamentations over the coarseness and ignorance, over the unspiritual and immoral conduct of the clergy, remain down to the end of this period unaltered and the same.[1] The worst blemish

the Auctarium catal. test. verit. p. 283. Here nine devils are enumerated, by whom the Curate is tormented. Sextus diabolus est Officialis, qui sine causa infamat Plebanum, recipit pecuniam, et admittit ignominiam; amat denarium, et tolerat fornicarium; tollit munera, et destruit jura. Septimus diabolus est Episcopus, qui jam contributum, jam postulat subsidium etc.

[1] See Jo. Trithemii Abb. Spanheimensis institutio vitae sacerdotalis (written about 1485 in ejusd. Opp. pia et spiritualia ed. Jo. Busaeus. Mogunt. 1605. fol. p. 765.ss.) c. 1.: Indocti, rudes, jam sine discretione meriti ad sacerdotium veniunt, qui moribus suis pessimis Christi oves infeliciter occidunt. Nulla jam in ordinandis Clericis vitae sanctitas requiritur, literarum eruditio nulla postulatur, conscientiae puritas non attenditur. Sufficit apud eos, si currentem sortem possint construere, si cujus partis orationis sit Dominus, respondere, si ita, et non, intelligere. Vae nostrae tempestatis Episcopis, qui saecularibus negotiis intenti ordinationes clericorum non considerant, sed curam examinandi imperitis locant! Quam districtam sunt subituri sententiam, qui se totius in Ecclesia mali exhibent causam! Cap. 4.: Studium scripturarum sacerdotes nostri abjiciunt, eruditionem negligunt, pro libris scripturarum aves et canes enutriunt.—Nihil aliud quam mundanum sapiunt, nihil quam vanum diligunt, nihil nisi carnale intelligunt.—Sedent in insidiis cum potatoribus in tabernis, ludis et comessationibus vacant, non est timor Dei ante oculos eorum.—Nihil penitus de scripturis intelligunt, discere contemnunt. Romana lingua scribere vel loqui nesciunt, vix in vulgari exponere Evangelia didicerunt. Quantos errores, fabulas et haereses in Ecclesia praedicando populis enuncient, quis nisi expertus credere posset! Pro libris sibi liberos camparant, pro studio concubinas amant. Isti sunt caeci duces caecorum, qui populum Dei ad justitiam non erudiunt, sed potius seducunt.—Non possum non dolere, videns omne malum in Ecclesia ex ignorantia sacerdotum procedere. Quis enim non doleat, illos mandata nescire, qui constituti sunt alios instruere?—Sacerdotes nostri mundanis cupiditatibus effluunt, corrigere vitiosos non praesumunt, quia se deliquisse

of the clergy, their unchastity, seemed only to increase in proportion as it was assailed with greater zeal.[2] As the sternest denunciations of the reforming councils of Constance and Basle could not even produce outward propriety in a large part of the ecclesiastics[3] there present; so the decrees of these councils upon this subject continued to have no visible effect upon the Church.[4] No century can produce so many decrees of Synods and Bishops against the Concubinarii as the fifteenth.[5] And yet in no century are the complaints as well as the scandal caused by the licentiousness

in majoribus agnoscunt.—Nec mirum, si minores vacent a studio scripturarum, cum inter Praelatos paucos invenias, qui veterum exemplis inhaereant. Eliguntur enim ut plurimum non doctiores, sed ad congregandas divitias perituras avidiores. Codices scripturarum aut nullos habent, aut paucos, quippe qui odio scientiam persequuntur. Et quia, sicut Dominus per prophetam (Malach. 2) loquitur, sacerdotes notitiam legis abjecerunt, propterea contemptibiles in populo facti sunt. Clamant quidem in tribulatione ad Dominum, sed non exaudit eos: quoniam qui avertit aures suas ne audiat legem, oratio ejus erit execrabilis. Non ergo mirentur sacerdotes, quod eos contemnunt Laici, quoniam ipsi spernunt mandata Christi. *Timeo autem vehementer, in brevi contra Clerum graviora futura.*

[2] J. A. Theiner and A. Theiner die Einführung der erzwungenen Ehelosigkeit bei den christl. Geistlichen u. ihre Folgen. Bd. 2. Abth. 2. S. 642 ff. F. W. Carové vollständige Sammlung der Cölibatgesetze für die kathol. Weltgeistlichen mit Anm. (oder über das C libatgesetze des rom. kathol. Klerus 2te Abth.) Frankf. a. M. 1833. 8. S. 342 ff.

[3] A Catalogue of the speeches made at Constance and publisht by v. d. Hardt and Walch may be seen in Theiner S. 647 ff. On the speeches of Basle see ibid. S. 692 ff. Compare the passage quoted by Schelhorn in the preface to Raupachs evangel. Oesterreich Th. 2. S. xviii. from the speech delivered by Petrus de Pulka, professor at Vienna, before the Council of Constance A.D. 1416: Attendite et videte, ecce Clerus Romanae Curiae, quae a tempore schismatis ultra humanam malitiam depravata aestimatur, similiter Clerus hujus dioeceseos, imo hujus civitatis et ipsiusmet synodi, quam obediens nobis existat. Considerate quaeso, an reverendo hanc sacram synodum, in cujus oculis versatur cottidie, saltem in minimo vitam dissolutam emendaverit. Pro certo dicuntur Clerici curiales adhuc suas tenere concubinas inverecunde palam omnibus, adhuc justitiam vendere, ac veluti omni specie leprae ut prius sordescere etc.

[4] At Constance the subject was undertaken in good earnest, as one may see from the Reformatorium (compare § 131, note 13) cap. 33 (see v. d. Hardt Conc. Const. I. x. p. 635); however, no canon was composed upon this subject, for all the reforms which were deferred till after the Papal election, came to nothing. See the canon of Basle, Sess. xx. § 132, note 22.

[5] See the works of Theiner and Carove quoted above.

of the clergy, which in Italy not unfrequently amounted to unnatural crimes,[6] and by the fruitlessness of all remedies, so numerous as in this.[7] The severer sentences could not for the most

[6] Jo. Franc. Pici, Mirandulae Domini, ad Leonem P. M. de reformandis moribns oratio A.D. 1517 (in the Fasciculus rerum expetend. et fugiendarum ed. E. Brown p. 419): ab illis (sacerdotibus) etiam (proh pudor!) foeminae abiguntur ad eorum libidines explendas, et meritorii pueri a parentibus. commodantur et condonantur his, qui ab omni corporis etiam concessa voluptate sese immaculatos custodire deberent; hi postea ad sacerdotiorum gradus promoventur, aetatis flore transacto jam exoleti.

[7] Compare especially the writings of the following persons: Laurentius Justinianus, Patriarch of Venice † 1455. De complanctu Christianae perfectionis (Opp. ed. Venetiis 1751. fol. t. ii. p. 6.) De institutione et regimine Praelatorum, c. 20.—Alphonsus Tostatus, Bishop of Avila and Lord High-Chancellor of Castile † 1454: Contra Clericos concubinarios (Opp. ed. Venet. 1728. fol. t. xxv. p. 58).—Antoninus, Archbishop of Florence † 1459: Summa confessionalis p. iii. de Clericis, Praelatis, Episcopis c. 10—16.—Felix Hämmerlin (Malleolus) canon at Zurich, † between 1457 and 1464. Extracts from his his works which are for the most part unedited (a collection has been edited variae oblectationis opuscula, Basil. 1479, fol.) may be seen in Meister's berühmte Züricher. Basel 1782. Th. 1. S. 34 ff. Wirz helvetische Kirchengeschichte Th. 3. S. 201 ff. J. v. Müller's Geschichte Schweizerischer Eidgenossenschaft, neue Aufl. 1826, Th. 4. S. 225 f.—Dionysius de Leewis, commonly called a Ryckel from the place of his birth, a Carthusian monk of Ruremonde † 1471. De vita et regimine Praesulum. Art. 18. 27 ss. 37. De vita et regimine Archidiaconorum. Art. 19ss. De vita Canonicorum. De vita Curatorum.—Hermannus Ryd de Reen (Prior of the Monastery of Neuwerk in Halle, afterwards parish priest at the same place † 1476, see Leibnitii Scriptt. Brunsvic. ii. p. 489) de vita et honestate Clericorum (written 1467 Magdeburgi) in Brownii Appendix ad fasciculum rerum expetend. et fugiend. p. 129 ss.—Rodericus Sancius Episc. Zamorensis et Referendarius Pauli P. ii. Speculum vitae humanae (this appeared at Rome in 1468, it was afterwards reprinted several times) lib. ii. c. 19.—Lavacrum conscientiae (anonymous, probably first publisht at Augsburg in 1489, afterwards at Cologne in 1499. 4). Cap. 4. 13. 15. 17.—Baptista Mantuanus, a Carmelite at Mantua, for three years general of his order, † 1516, Alfonsus lib. iii. De calamitatibus temporum lib. iii.—Joannes Trithemius, Benedictin Abbot at Spanheim, afterwards at St James' in Wurzburg † 1516, Institutio vitae sacerdotalis, especially cap. 2. (ejusd. Opp. pia et spiritualia ed. Jo. Busaeus, Mogunt. 1605. fol. p. 768 ss.)—Jacobus Wimpheling, professor at Heidelberg † 1528, Apologia pro republica christiana. Libellus de integritate. Epistola ad sacerdotem, ut Concubinam dimittat in the Auctarium catal. test. verit. p. 275 ss.—Sebastian Brandt, Chancellor of Strasburg † 1520. Das nüw Schiff von Narragonia 1494.—

part be carried into execution because of the numbers of the guilty; thus the avarice of the Bishops was able more readily to allow the introduction of fines in money, which were quickly commuted for a perpetual annual tax paid by the Concubinarii.[8]

Jo. Geiler von Kaisersberg, preacher in Strasburg † 1510, Navicula s. speculum fatuorum (sermons A.D. 1498). 1511. Das Buch von der Omeissen.—Jac. Siberti, monk in the Monastery of Laach, De calamitatibus hujus temporis written 1509—1516 (edited by the author in Vater's kirchenhist. Archiv 1826. Heft. 2. S. 109 ff.)—Ironical stories of clerical licentiousness may be seen in Poggii Florentini, Chancellor of the Republic of Florence † 1459, Facetiae, and in Henr. Bebelii, Professor at Tübingen † 1516, triumphus Veneris lib. iii.—v. and Facetiae. There are also witty allusions in the Fables of Laurentius Abstemius, librarian at Urbino † after 1516, which are usually appended to the editions of Æsop's Fables in the 16th century. Extracts from the passages of most of these works relating to this subject, may be seen in the work of Theiner quoted above. Compare also the reflexions in the epist. de miseria Curatorum, Aug. Vind. 1489 (in the Append. ad catal. test. verit. p. 283): Si fortitudo, sanctitas, sapientia Samsonem, David, Salomonem a concubitu mulieris praeservare non potuit, quis Curatores ab eodem veneno unquam liberabit? Sicut impossible est, cum pice communicari, et ab ea non coinquinari; ita non suscipiendum est, cum muliere habitare, et ab ea non maculari. O, quam rarum est, si Curator, uxorem non habens, se non coinquinat! Ab hoc tempore, quo Clericos ab uxoribus sanctio Apostolica sequestravit, nullus unquam, quantumcunque sanctus et continens, sine suspicione fuit. Antea per sacerdotis prolem tota nostra salus profluxit, nunc autem non nisi scandalum venit. Olim unusquisque sacerdotum in sua legitima contentabatur: nunc vero sacerdos, qui propriam non habet, feminis indifferenter utitur. De illis nemo quod malum est promebat: de istis, quomodo luxuriantur, etiam puer cantat!

[8] This practice was indeed expressly forbidden by the Conc. Paris. ann. 1429 c. 23. (Mansi xxviii. p. 1107); Conc. Dertusanum (i.e. Tortosanum) ann. 1429. c. 2. (l. c. p. 1144); Conc. Basileense Sess. xx. (see § 132. note 22), and instead, sentence of suspension and degradation pronounced against the Concubinarii; nevertheless, Peter II., Bp. of Breslau, at a council assembled there betwixt 1447 and 1456, again decreed (Hartzheim Concil. Germ. V. p. 445), quatenus omnes Clerici—concubinas, sive focarias, aut alias mulieres quascunque de incontinentia suspectas—rejiciant et desistant,—*sub poena decem florenorum nobis ad Cameram nostram irremissibiliter persolvendorum.* Accordingly there are incessant complaints against this scandal, see Theobaldi publica conquestio in Conc. Const. ann. 1417, in v. d. Hardt I. xix. p. 909. Fel. Hämmerlin, see Wirz helvet. Kirchengesch. Th. 3. S. 77. Dionysius Carthusianus de vita et regimine Archidiaconorum. Art. xix. contra periculosam, vitiosam atque damnabilem consuetudinam visitandi, et pecuniam recipiendi a fornicariis. Hermannus Ryd de Reen de vita et honestate Clericorum c. 1, in Brownii App. p. 133.

As licentiousness became more customary in the clergy, a less severe estimation of such transgressions began to prevail among them.[9] The Laity naturally shared in this opinion, and so the

Jacobus Siberti de calamitatibus hujus temporis tells (Vater's Archiv. 1826. s. 181) how a certain Archbishop of Cologne (Theoderich 1423) charged the Concubinarii, under pain of heavy penalties, to dismiss their concubines, but soon changed his tone, p. 184: accepit nempe antistes a sacerdotibus pecunias, et dimisit illis concubinas: forte vel nesciebat alio remedio malitiae temporum obviare,—vel multitudine territus proficere desperabat. When John Busch, provost of the monastery of Neuwerk in Halle, about 1450, imposed upon the clergy of his archdeaconry the dismissal of their concubines (see his own story in Leibnitii Scriptt. Brunsv. ii. p. 819), quidam eorum potius elegerunt Ecclesias suas quam famulas suas dimittere. Ecclesias enim suas sine rectore relinquentes cum famulabus suis inde recesserunt. A certain knight laid his complaints and his opinion on this point before the Provost: Populus illarum Ecclesiarum missas non habent, nec sermones, nec alia divina, sed vadunt quasi sine Deo sicut gentiles. Melius esset, quod permitteretis, ut Plebani suas retinerent concubinas, quam ut populus ille tanquam gentilis efficeretur: hoc enim esset minus malum,

[9] Stephani Episc. Brandenburgensis (from 1422—1459) comm. ad orat. domin. c. 17. (in Ph. W. Gercken's ausführl. Stiftshistorie von Brandenburg. Braunschweig u. Wolfenbüttel 1766, 4. S. 226): Quid ergo dicemus de Clero nostro et sacerdotibus, inter quos etsi pauci sunt simoniaci, pauciores vero schismatici, paucissimi vel nulli, ut speramus, extant haeretici, a quibus ut sic populus ad ipsorum perniciem ecclesiastica reciperet sacramenta; sunt tamen, quod cum dolore et non sine magnis gemitibus dicere nos veritas compellit, heu plurimi concubinarii et fornicatores etiam notorii, ex quorum vita plurimi scandalizantur, non solum vulgares et plebeji, sed etiam Magnates et principes. Et adeo pestis ista et crimen hoc invaluit, ut talibus sacerdotibus frons meretricis facta sit, sic ut pro modico ducant, fornicationem et adulteria committere.—Nam etsi ex lapsu carnis impraegnantur ab eis, vel forte ab aliis, focariae et meretrices eorum, non inficiantur vel abnegant peccatum, sed pro summo honore arbitrantur, se parentes illorum esse, qui de damnabili coitu procreantur. Unde et gloriando de malitia sua convicinos presbyteros et alios laicos utriusque sexus convocant, et per se patrinos ad filiorum suorum baptisma invitant, magnamque festivitatem pro talium filiorum generatione et solemnitatem et gaudium faciunt de quo potius deberent luctum suscipere ect. Compare the levity with which Aeneas Sylvius, already in orders, and engaged at the Council of Basle, informs his father of the birth of a son begotten at Strasburg Ep. 15: Certe nec lapideum nec ferreum genuisti filium, cum esses tu carneus. Scis, qualis tu gallus fueris: at nec ego castratus sum, neque ex frigidorum numero. Nec sum hypocrita, ut videri bonus quam esse malim. Fateor ingenue meum erratum, quia nec sanctior sum David Rege, nec Salomone sapientior. Antiquum et vetus est hoc delictum, nec scio, quis eo careat. Late patet haec pestis (si pestis est, naturalibus uti), quanquam non video, cur tanto-

sins of licentiousness increast in a fearful manner,[10] and intro-

pere damnari coitus debeat, cum natura, quae nihil perperam operatur, omnibus ingenuerit animantibus hunc appetitum, ut genus continuaretur humanum etc. In the diocese of Spires two zealous Bishops in succession never ceased bringing to the recollection of their Diocesan Synods the canons against the Concubinarii; these were Lewis of Helmstadt 1478—1504 (see the Synodal acts in Würdtwein subsidia diplom. xii. p. 196 ss.) and Philip of Rosenberg 1504—1513 (Würdtwein nova subsid. dipl. viii. p. 294 ss). In return the latter had to learn (see Jubilatesynod 1505 nova subsid. dipl. viii. p. 299) that his clergy complained inter convivas et scortorum consortia, in Episcopatu Spirensi solam luxuriam esse peccatum, et pene neminem fuisse punitum, nisi solum illos aut eos frequentius, qui castitatis vitio laborabant, caeteros vero longe enormioribus gravioribusque irretitos criminibus aut a poena fuisse immunes, aut saltem mediocriter in comparatione lascivorum mulctatos; *cum tamen sancti Doctores et jura canonica afferant, incontinentiam inter peccata mortalia esse minimum.* The Bishop persisted with his decrees moti ex hoc verbo Gregorii, quo dicit, *fornicationem minoris quidem esse culpae, majoris autem diffamiae*, cujus auctoritatis huic vitio dediti prima verba, nos vero ultima attendimus, propter quod ipsi peccatum hoc suum in se parvi faciunt, nos diffamiam et scandalum magnifacimus. Pensamus haec et multa alia innumerabilia mala corporis, famae et animae, quae haec cum mulieribus suspectis conversatio et cohabitatio secum afferunt, inprimis autem illud, quod raro tales vere et catholice peccata sua confitentur: emendandi propositum, quod habere se dicunt, regulariter aut fictum est aut falsum, et—legitime et coram Deo non absolvuntur. Hermannus Ryd de Reen de vita et honestate Clericorum c. 1. in Brown App. ad fasciculum p. 133: Antiquitus—mali Clerici et sacerdotes fuerunt hypocritae,—quibus valde erat infestus Salvator,—cum saepe eos redarguit, contra eos praedicavit.—Moderni autem Clerici pejores sunt illis hypocritis, qui, licet mali sunt et pessimi praevaricatores pro majori parte, non tamen talia in occulto hominibus nescientibus, ut hypocritae, fecerunt. Utinam foret ita bonum, ut justi coram hominibus apparerent, ne homines in eis scandalizarentur. Sed aliter est negotium: quoniam minus verecundantur laicis, gloriantes de malitia eorum et male actis. Quot publicos fornicatus sive fornicarios videmus! imo, quod pejus est, tales et hujusmodi sic vivere permittuntur publice ab eorum Praelatis, solum quod omni anno porrigant certam quotam pecuniarum Officialibus eorum!

[10] The Council of Paris ann. 1429. c. 23 laments emphatically over this effect of the example of the clergy (Mansi xxviii. p. 1107.) Cum propter crimen concubinatus, quo multi ecclesiastici et religiosi viri inficiuntur, habeantur Ecclesia Dei et totus Clerus in derisum, abominationem, et opprobrium cunctis gentibus; et illud nefandissimum scelus in Ecclesia Dei adeo invaluit, ut jam non credant Christiani, simplicem fornicationem esse peccatum mortale (see Huss sermo syn. ann. 1405 below § 150. *note 5*); nos volentes ad exstirpationem tanti facinoris—providere etc. In the summons to the Martinmasstide Synod of 1486 Bishop Lewis of Spires complains (Würdtwein subsidia

duced at the end of the fifteenth century new and loathsome diseases.[11] So early as the time of the council of Constance, it was loudly asserted, that this abuse could only be remedied by legalizing the marriage of the clergy.[12] But even such men as the Chancellor Gerson, who in other respects belonged to the liberal party, fettered by prejudice, declared themselves against any alteration in the ecclesiastical law.[13] However, from this

diplom. xii. p. 247): licet—nos contra concubinarios nostrarum civitatis et diocesis Spirensis processus nostros varios, et quidem formidabiles et diras in se continentes poenas pro hujusmodi vitio concubinatus extinguendo promulgaverimus; nihilominus tamen validus et frequens clamor ad nos perduxit, quod nonnulli, immo ut asseritur multi, per civitatem et diocesim nostras adeo patule et publice secum tenuerint et teneant mulieres suspectas et concubinas, tamque reprehensibilem cum eis agant vitam, quod exinde Laici non tantum scandalisantur, sed et ipsi eorum exemplo similiter peccandi sumant occasionem etc. Lavacrum conscientiae c. vii.: Propter quod secundum b. Bernardum in districto Dei judicio judicantur non solum quia in his peccaverunt, sed etiam ideo quia suis nefandis exemplis rudibus et simplicibus occasionem peccandi dederunt. Propter quod etiam in hac vita corda eorum indurantur, quod raro aut nunquam poenitent, praecipue hi, qui peste luxuriae aut avaritiae infecti sunt, quia a nullo volunt corrigi nec alicujus informationem accipere. Citius enim decem laici vel plures ab errore suo revocantur, quam unus Clericus vel literatus perverse vivens. Et ideo in sensum reprobum multi tales traduntur, et caecitate justo Dei judicio percutiuntur etc.

[11] Ph. G. Hensler's Gesch. der Lustseuche, die zu Ende des funfzehnten Jahrh. in Europa ausbrach. Altona 1783. Theiner ii., 11. S. 803 ff.

[12] Franciscus Zabarella (from 1411 Cardinalis Florentinus † 1417) capita agendorum in Conc. Constant. de reformatione Ecclesiae c. 12. (v. d. Hardt Conc. Const. I., ix. p. 524): Circa concubinarios provideatur cum effectu: alias sic negligendo praestaret permittere conjugium Clericis. Et de hoc etiam disponetur. Particularly Wilhelmi Sagineti (Saignet, a french knight) *lamentatio ob coelibatum sacerdotum, seu dialogus Nicaenae constitutionis, et naturae ea de re conquerentis*, Ms. in Basle cf. Oudini comm. de scriptoribus Eccles. antiquis. T. iii. p. 2325.

[13] Gerson wrote against Saignet the dialogus sophiae et naturae super caelibatu Ecclesiasticorum (Opp. ii. p. 617 ss.) Although Gerson recognizes the impossibility of eradicating clerical licentiousness, still he denounces the marriage of the clergy, and consoles himself with the reflexion p. 634, de duobus malis minus est incontinentes tolerare sacerdotes, quam nullos habere. He also betrays lax views with regard to unchastity, which in him is doubly extraordinary; e.g. Sermo contra luxuriam Dom. ii. Adv. (Opp. iii. p. 917): Violatne persona votum suum, quando non servat castitatem suam, vel etiam presbyter, aut religiosa per-

time forth men of penetration arose in unbroken succession, who inclined towards the marriage of the clergy.[14] But this question

sona? Respondeo, quod regulariter votum castitatis fit, quod nunquam vovens contrahere velit matrimonium, et pro hoc quis consequenter obligatus est ad castitatem. Ideo non violat votum suum is, qui non contrahit matrimonium quamis peccet gravissime. Among the safeguards against sins of sensuality Sermo contra luxur. Dom. iv. Adv. (l. c. p. 932) is this: Tertium remedium est efficere, ut paucissima faciant peccata, et interdum multa bona facere. Notate, quod sit in secreto, et extra festa et loca sancta, cum personis sine vinculo.

[14] The Reformation of Sigismund (first publisht by John Bämler, Augsburg, 1476, and in Goldasti Constitt. imperial i. p. 170; with arbitrary alterations at Basle, 1521) was indeed neither laid before the Council of Basle, as the title of the edition of 1476 asserts, nor before the Council of Constance, as is stated on the title of the edition of 1521, as a plan for reform; moreover, it does not derive its origin. from Sigismund, but was probably composed (as v. d. Hardt Conc. Const. I. xxvii. p. 1121 thinks) by the Emperor's Councillor Frederich von Landskron after Sigismund's death; it is under any circumstances an opinion of weight at that period. In the chapter Von Ordenung aller Pfarrkirchen (on the ordering of all Parish Churches), after lamenting that none of the regulations against the Concubinarii were of any use, it proceeds: so ist es weger das man lebe als man zu Orient lebt und an andern ettlichen Enden, do die Priester Eeweyber nemen, wann unser Herr Christus hat es nit verbotten der Priesterschafft. Ich mein aber, es sey meer übels auffgestanden in dem Teil der Christenheit, die Bapst Calixtus Gebott (see on this head Jo. Marius Belga below) hielten, dann Gutz dardurch beschehen sein. Das Uebel zu verhütten, und das man dester sicherer an der Seel sey, so sol man einem yegklichem weltlichen Priester ein Eeweib geben, die ein Junckfraw und rein sey. To this end it was proposed that every parish church should maintain two priests, that these should undertake the divine service each for a week by turns, and that each during his week of service should refrain from his wife. In the so-called Reformation of Frederick III. (in Goldast's Reichssatzung S. 166 ff., according to page 313 taken from the ancient chronicle at Cologne, probably the private work of an unknown hand, during the last years of Frederick's reign, see Eichhorn's deutsche Staats u. Rechtsgesch. Th. 3. S. 103 f.) we find in a declaration upon the sixth article, the fourth illustration: Was in (the clergy) Sündt, ist uns recht; und was in recht, ist uns Sündt. Nimbt ihr ayner ein Weib, das ist ihm nit recht, aber uns Leyen. Nimbt ihr ayner eim frummen Man sein ehelich Weib, und setzt die zu ihm, ist ihm nit Unrecht, wer aber eim Leyen Sündt. Nimbt eyn Ley vom hundert fünff, das ist ime Sündt: so aber ein Geweihter vom hundert sechtzig oder sibentzig nimbt, das ist ihme nit Sündt. Der Stück seind so vil die widerwertig sindt, das mirs nit felen kann: entweder mir seindt nit Christen, oder aber sie seindt Ketzer. Dann unser Glaub gantz widerwertig ist. Im Beschluss ist ir Sach on Grundt.—Nicolaus Panormitanus (see § 132. note 37, † 1445) Lec-

was so much interwoven with the interests of the hierarchy, that no concession could be expected on their side.

tura super c. cum olim. De clericis conjugatis (i.e. ad Decr. Greg. lib. iii. Tit. iii. c. 6) ed. Taurin. 1577. fol. 361, proposes the question, Numquid hodie Ecclesia possit statuere, ut Clericus possit contrahere matrimonium, sicut Graeci? and answers: Credo, quod sic,—et non solum credo, potestatem inesse Ecclesiae hoc condendi, sed credo pro bono et salute animarum quod esset salubre statutum, ut volentes continere et magis mereri, relinquerentur voluntati eorum; non volentes autem continere, possint contrahere: quia experientia docente contrarius prorsus effectus sequitur ex illa lege continentiae, quum hodie non vivant spiritualiter, nec sint mundi, sed maculentur illicito coitu cum eorum gravissimo peccato, ubi cum propria uxore esset castitas, ut dicitur Cap. Nicaena (Decretum Grat. P. i. Dist. xxxi. c. 12). Unde deberet Ecclesia facere, sicut bonus medicus, ut si medicina, experientia docente, potius officit quam prosit, eam tollat. Et utinam idem esset in omnibus constitutionibus positivis, ut saltem obligarent quoad poenam, et non quoad culpam. Nam ita creverunt statuta positiva, ut vix reperiantur aliqui, qui non corruperint viam suam.—Aeneas Sylvius hist. Conc. Basil. lib. ii. (ed. Cattopoli 1667. 4. p. 86): fortasse non esset pejus, sacerdotes quamplures uxorari: quoniam multi salvarentur in sacerdotio conjugato, qui sterili in Presbyteratu damnantur. De auctoritate Conc. Basil. dialogus (in Kollar Analecta Vindobonensia ii. p. 780): olim conjugem nec habere, nec habuisse indecorum sacerdotibus fuit; hodie vero solum habere interdicitur, quae prohibitio, ut ego existimo, utilius quoque hodie prohiberetur. As Cardinal he wrote to his friend Jo. Frunt (Ep. 307): Credimus te uti non insulso consilio, si, quum nequeas continere, conjugium quaeris, quamvis id prius cogitandum fuerat, antequam initiareris sacris ordinibus. Sed non sumus Dii omnes, qui futura prospicere valeamus. Quando huc ventum est, ut legi carnis resistere nequeas, melius est nubere, quam uri. Non tamen haec Pontificis sententia, ut dispensandum censeat: stat in sua severitate.—Expectandus est ergo, ut tute agas, alterius Apostolatus, qui mitior sit. The same opinion he maintained as Pius II.; the following is one of his proverbial sayings (Platina de vitis Pontiff. ed. 1645. p. 762): Sacerdotibus magna ratione sublatas nuptias, majori restituendas videri.—Thomas of Rennes also the French Carmelite (Thomas Rhedonensis) who zealously strove against the corruption of the curia in France and Italy, and prest for a Reformation of the Church, for which he was burnt to death at Rome in 1436, seems to have been favourable to the marriage of the clergy. However, the passage in Flacii catalog. no. 365 attributed to him, is that passage of Panormitanus, which is printed above. Compare Baleus Centur. vii. c. 100.—Felix Hämmerlin also, in his work de libertate eccl. desired the permission of the marriage of the clergy, see Müller's Schweizer. Gesch. Th. 4. S. 261. Anm. 309.—Alain Chartier, Secretary to the Kings Charles VI. and VII. † 1458, in his principal work l'esperance ou consolation des trois vertus (Les oeuvres de Maistre Alain Chartier, reveuës, corrigées par A. du Chesne. à Paris

Hatred and contempt of the clergy, who were no less licentious

1617. 4. p. 388. The passage is given in Latin by Flacius catal. test. no. 200, and by Theiner II. ii. 697, but quoted erroneously from Alain's work le Curial) : Or fut il pieça fait un nouvel statut en l'Eglise latine, qui desseura l'ordre du sainct mariage d'avec la dignité de Prestrise souz couleur de purté et chasteté sans souilleure. Maintenant court le statut de concubinage au contraire, qui les a attraits aux estats mondains, et aux deliz sensuels et corporels. Et qui plus est, se sont rendus à immoderee avarice, en procurant par symonie et par autres voyes illicites, litigieuses, et processives en corruption, et autrement, benefices et prelatures espirituelles. Et avec ce se sont souillez et occupez és affaires citoyens, et és negoces et cures temporelles. Et ce premier statut departit pieça l'Eglise grecque d'avec la latine. Et ores la desordonnance avaricieuse des Prestres a fait separer les peuples de Behaigne (Bohemians) de' Eglise de Rome. Que dy-je de Behaigne! mais de Chrestienté presque toute. Car les gens de l'Eglise ont si avilenné par leurs coulpes eux et leur estat, qu'ils sont ja desdaignez et des grands et des menus du monde : et les coeurs estrangez de l'obeissance de saincte Eglise par la dissolution de ses ministres. Car, comme dit est, ilz ont laissé les espousailles, mais ils ont reprins les illegitimes, vagues, et dissolues luxures. Je ne vueil plus avant eslargir ma parolle. Car tant ont telles Constitutions de lieu, comme on y prent de plaisir. *Que a apporté la Constitution de non marier les Prestres, si non tourner et eviter legitime generation enadvoultrise, et honneste cohabitation d'une seule espouse en multiplication d'escande luxure?* Se je disoye tout ce que j'en pense, je diroye plainement, que la gresse des biens temporels meslee du souffre d'envie, et la chaleur d'ambition et de luxure ont fait leur apprest pour mettre le feu en l'Eglise etc. Jo. Anton. de. S. Georgio, Professor of Civil Law in Pavia, Provost at Milan, lastly Cardinal, † 1509. In his Aurea et singularis lectura super quarto Decretalium cum additionibus Benedicti de Vadis. Lugd. 1522 fol. we find ad Tit. vi. Qui Clerici vel voventes matrimonium contrahere possunt, in the Rubrica, but the editor introduces the passage : Tempore primitivae Ecclesiae licebat Presbyteris, et sic constitutis in sacris, uxorem habere, dummodo diè celebrationis abstinerent a conjugibus. Postea in occidentali Ecclesia venit prohibitio, ut constituti in sacris deberent continere. Dicit hic Cardinalis (viz. Jo. Ant. a S. Georgio), quod dat materiam illaqueandi plures animas hoc praeceptum, et ideo credit, quod, sicut Ecclesia induxit hoc praeceptum continentiae, quod quandoque revocabit; et erit conveniens dicto Apostoli revocatio, qui dixit : de virginibus praeceptum non habeo, consilium autem do. Conrad Celtes, Professor in Ingolstadt and Vienna, † 1508, Amorum lib. ii. Elegia 6 :—

Gregorius primi Friderici tempore regni,
O quantum incauti pectoris egit opus!
Ille sacris vetuit caelebs connubia lectis,
Liberior vitiis ut sacra vita foret.
Nullus enim pudor est teneras violare puellas,
Et neque legitimas sollicitare faces.

Quique uno quondam fuerat contentus amore,
Ille modo plures rite fovere potest etc.

Baptista Mantuanus, a Carmelite in Mantua, † 1516, Fastorum lib. i. De s. Hilario (Opp. ed. Antverp. 1576. 8. T. ii. fol. 252):—

Non nocuit tibi progenies, non obstitit uxor
Legitimo conjuncta thoro, non horruit illa
Tempestate Deus thalamos, cunabula, taedas;
Sola erat in pretio, quae nunc incognita virtus
Sordet, et attrito vivit cum plebe cucullo.
Propterea leges, quae sunt connubia contra,
Esse malas quidam perhibent: prudentia patrum
Non satis advertit, dicunt, quid ferre recuset,
Quid valeat natura pati: cervicibus, ajunt,
Hoc insuave jugum nostris imponere Christus
Noluit, istud onus, quod adhuc quam plurima monstra
Fecit, ab audaci, dicunt, pietate repertum.
Tutius esse volunt, qua lex divina sinebat
Isse via, veterumque sequi vestigia patrum,
Quorum vita fuit melior cum conjuge, quam nunc
Nostra sit, exclusis thalamis, et conjugis usu.

Jo. Marius Belga (le Maire from the Hennegau, historian to King Lewis XII.) de schismatum et Conciliorum Ecclesiae universalis differentia, written A.D. 1511 in the French language, translated into Latin by Simon Schardius, and subjoined to his Theodoricus a Niem (Argentor. 1609. 8. p. 571 ss.) Pars i. c. 2: Tria praecipue Ecclesiae universali magnum damnum attulere, nimirum ambitio, avaritiae mater, omissio seu neglectus Conciliorum generalium, legitimi matrimonii sacerdotum in Ecclesia latina prohibitio: de quibus singulis ample fuseque in toto hoc opere dicetur. With reference to the last subject he quotes passages from Chartier P. iii. c. 15, and afterwards remarks cap. 16: quantumvis diligenter investigarim, quo Papa auctore, vel cujus Concilii decreto conjugium sacerdotibus sit interdictum in Ecclesia latina, id tamen nusquam invenire potui. Alii siquidem id tempore Gregorii septimi, monachi Cluniacensis, factum esse tradunt:—alii id multo ante factum esse existimant in Concilio Nicaeno, cujus tamen decreto Graeci subscribere noluerunt: in Belgico, seu inferiori Germania sentiunt, id auctore Papa Calixto factum, et ad hoc versiculos hosce, cum barbaros, tum ridiculos allegant:—

O bone Calixte, nunc omnis Clerus odit te:
Olim Presbyteri poterant uxoribus uti:
Hóo destruxisti, tu Papa quando fuisti:
Ergo tuum festum nunquam celebratur honestum.

Polydorus Vergilius from Urbino, long resident in England, † 1555, de rerum inventoribus (it appeared first Bonon. 1499. 4) lib. v. c. 4: Illud tamen dixerim, tantum abfuisse ut ista coacta castitas illam conjugalem vicerit, ut etiam nullius delicti crimen majus ordini dedecus, plus mali religioni, plus doloris omnibus bonis impresserit, inusserit, attulerit, quam sacerdotum libidinis labes. Proinde forsitan tam e re-

than overbearing and covetous,[15] spread more and more among the laity; but at the same time a conviction grew up, that all the corruption of the clergy arose from their wealth, and would not be checkt, until they had forfeited all their earthly possessions.[16]

publica christiana, quam ex ordinis usu esset, ut tandem aliquando jus publici matrimonii sacerdotibus restitueretur, quod illi sine infamia sancte potius colerent, quam se spurcissime ejuscemodi naturae vitio turpificarent. Also the Bishop of Merseburg Adolphus Duke of Anhalt († 1526), was of this opinion, see the preface by George of Anhalt to the sermons of the false prophets; "das unzüchtige ehelose Leben der Geistlichkeit war vor Augen. Derhalben gleichwohl mein Vetter, und Viel vor gut ansahen, dass man ihnen im Concilio den Ehestand wieder zulassen solte, weil sonst diesem Uebel nicht zu wehren."

[15] Lavacrum conscientiae cap. vi.: Quid est ergo, quod caeteri homines cujuscunque status nobis infesti sunt? Certe non possumus dicere, quod haec sit causa, quod filii hujus saeculi persequuntur nos, tanquam filios lucis:—quia non sumus filii lucis sed tenebrarum.—Non occurrit nobis alia causa, nisi quod transgressores legis sumus, nec eam in corde diligimus, nec eam in ore praedicamus, nec etiam eam opere adimplemus: et sic abutimur sacerdotii dignitate.—Ubi enim major aemulatio peccatorum nisi in sacerdotibus, qui non solum in se omni iniquitate sunt pleni, sed etiam aliis sunt occasio peccandi et ruinae aeternae damnationis.—Nam si Presbyter sit avarus, usurarius, gulosus etc., solum non sit luxuriosus; tunc ab omnibus hominibus habetur sanctus et honestus. Si vero de aliis vitiis est innoxius, sed vacet solummodo luxuriae, contemnitur ab omnibus hominibus tanquam presbyter vitiosus. Cap. vii.: Et propter haec et his similia multi laicorum ab elargitione eleemosynarum et a fundatione beneficiorum retrahuntur. Sicque viluit sacerdotium et quotidie vilescit et multi erubescunt Clerici fieri, vel suos permittere clericari: et si Clerici efficiuntur, tamen perversa intentione hoc fit. Nam divites hoc faciunt propter pinguiores praebendas, pauperes vero ideo, quod leviori et meliori modo se nutrire possunt. Compare Trithemius instit. vitae sacerdot. cap. 4. above note 1.

[16] See Juliani Card. epist. ad Eugen. iv. § 132. note 6. Andreas Episc. Megarensis. § 132. note 19. The decree of the so-called Reformation of Frederick III. (compare note 14 above), Goldast's Reichssatszung S. 280): Es ligt am Tage, dass uns die Geweihten mit guten Worten umb unser recht Patrimonium mit hinderlistigen Worten bracht haben, auch unsere Voreltern also verblendt und uberredt, sie solten mit ihrem vätterlichen Erbe das Himmelreich erkauffen.—Gebendt ihr (Pfaffen) den armen dörfftigen und ausserwehlten Kindern Gottes ihr vätterlich Erb, das ihr ihnen vor Gott schuldig seydt, so möcht auch vielleicht Gott die Genad thun, dass ihr euch selbs erkennen würdent. So ihr aber das Euer lieber Huren und Buben mitthailet, wann den Kindern Gottes, und den ihrs von Recht schuldig seydt, so sind dess

sicher, Gott wirdt euch nach ewerm Verdienst lohnen: wann ihr habt die gantz Gemain im Reich beschwerdt und uberladen. Nun kumbt die Zeit, dass ewere Güter, als der Feinde Güter, gebeut und aussgethailt werden. Wann als ihr die Gemeyn beschwert haben, also wirdt sie auch uber euch uffstehen, dass ihr kayn bleibende Stat nindert wissent. — Gravamina Ord. Equestris in Bavaria Georgio diviti Duci Landshutensi ann. 1499 exhibita in the Bibliotheca hist. Goettingensis. Th. 1. 1758. 4. S. 289: plura tributa et praedia cum possident Ecclesiastici, quam Principes et Nobilitas sua, fere omnia suae subjiciunt avaritiae; et licet, ut ait divus Hieronymus, temporalibus augmentis spiritualia etiam in dies augmentari deberent, ea tamen magis atque magis diminuuntur, et omnino obliviscuntur Ecclesiastici illi majorum nostrorum, qui eos ditarunt.—Religio peperit divitias, sed filia conspiravit in necem parentis; crescit animus, crescunt affectus. Jo. Marius Belga de schismat. et Concill. P. 1. labours to show (see P. i. c. 1.), quomodo opes Ecclesiae datae, maxime a Constantino M. et successoribus ejus, Pipino, Carolo M., Ludovico Pio, et aliis, etsi primo sub specie sanctitatis, probitatis et castitatis sint partae, nihilominus tamen postea pessimos fructus produxerint, nimirum superbiam, arrogantiam, fastum, haeresin, principum contemptum, tyrannidem in subditos, impudentiam, aliaque ejus generis vitia complura. Compare Alain Chartier, note 14 above.

THIRD CHAPTER.

HISTORY OF MONASTICISM.

§ 140.

EFFORTS FOR REFORM IN THE MORE ANTIENT ORDERS.

The decay of Monastic life,[1] in this period, which was so earnestly employed with designs for reform, could not remain unnoticed; and it abounds no less with lamentations over the corruption than with labours for the reform of the Monastic houses. The Synod of Constance began the work, by summoning a provincial chapter of the German Benedictins, the first for a long time, to be held under its own superintendence in 1417.[2] This example encouraged similar efforts in several countries;[3] but the Council of Basle was the first to succeed in producing any important results. This Council brought about the reform of the regular canons in Germany by the general chapter of this Order

[1] Compare part iii. § 111. The Carthusians alone formed an exception, see Jo. Buschius de reform. monasteriorum lib. iii. c. 32. in Leibnitii Scriptt. Brunsv. ii. p. 935: Carthusia a prima sui institutione semper in observantia regulari permansit propter tria, videlicet solitudinem, silentium et visitationem ut patet in hoc versu:

Per tria So. Si. Vi. Carthusia permanet in vi.

[2] This was a Capitulum provinciale monachorum nigrorum Provinciae Moguntinensis et Dioecesos Bambergensis, see Trithemii Chron. Hirsaug. ad ann. 1417. T. ii. p. 346 ss. The acts of this chapter may be seen in Trithemii opp. pia ed. Busaeus p. 1030 ss. more fully in v. d. Hardt Conc. Const. i. xxvi. p. 1086 ss. That most important decrees for reform of monastic life were prepared at Constance, is evident from the Reformatorium (see § 131 note 13) in v. d. Hardt 1, x. p. 703 ss. However this remained a mere proposal.

[3] See Capitulum provinciale nigrorum monachorum apud Westmonasterium ann. 1422. (in Mansi xxviii. p. 1037). Concil. Parisiense ann. 1429. c. 12 ss. (l. c. p. 1102).

at Windsheim;[4] simultaneously with this, a Reformation of the Benedictins of the Monastery of Bursfeld was effected.[5] There-

[4] The chief work on this subject is Jo. Buschii (from Zwolle, in 1419 canon at Windsheim, afterwards prior of Sulta in Hildesheim, provost of the Monastery of Neuwerk at Halle, and again prior at Sulta, † 1479) de reformatione monasteriorum quorundam Saxoniae libb. iv. in Leibnitii Scriptt. Brunsvic. ii. p. 476 ss. and p. 806 ss. The Monastery of Windsheim, in Zwolle was the most celebrated of the houses of regular canons, which were connected with the fratres vitae communis, and the seat of the general chapter, which assembled annually from all these monasteries. Strictly as these canons maintained the accurate observance of their rule, they were no less widely removed from overstrained laws of abstinence. Jo. Busch Chron. Windesemense (ed. Herib. Rosweydus, Antverp. 1621 8.) lib. ii. c. 5. p. 276 relates, duo fratres in Windesem propter hujusmodi rigidam abstinentiam et occultam alimentorum sibi necessariorum subtractionem cerebrum et naturalia conturbantes, rationis facti sunt impotentes.—Perpendentes igitur Patres nostri et seniores, hujusmodi rigidam abstinentiam pro animarum non esse salute, nec corporum sanitate, sed in personarum et Ordinis nostri perpetuam vergere destructionem,—plenam dederunt licentiam omnibus fratribus et familiaribus suis bene comedendi, et de cibariis quae dantur in communi quantum poterant sine scrupulo et cum bona conscientia libere assumendi, immo etiamsi noluerunt, natura ne deficiat, ad sumendum compellendi.—Unde et mos apud nos inolevit, ut, cum Clericus quis ad religionem se suscipi deprecatur, tria primum puncta ab ipso interrogentur, videlicet an bene possit comedere, an possit bene dormire, et an velit libenter obedire: quoniam in istis tribus punctis fundamentum perseverantiae in religione consistit, et cum ex praemissis unum defuerit, ad religionem aptus et idoneus non erit. The great repute of this fraternity caused them to be quickly summoned to the reformation of other houses of their order in the Netherlands and on the Rhine. In lower Saxony the monastery at Wittenburg in the Hildesheim district, was the first to be reformed by them 1423 (Busch de reform. monast. i. c. 11. p. 488). The Council of Basle afterwards (1435) intrusted the Priors of Windsheim and Wittenburg with the Reformation of the fraternities and sisterhoods of their order in Ducatu Brunsvicensi, ac Hildesemensi, Halberstadiensi, Verdensi dioecesi, and granted them the fullest powers for this purpose (see the commission in Busch p. 486.) John Busch went in 1437 as subprior to Wittenburg, he was afterwards employed, first in the reformation of the monastery of Sulta in Hildesheim (l. c. p. 491 ss.), and was actively engaged from this time forth for many years as a reformer of several religious houses. Later still the canons of Windsheim, and Jo. Mauburnus at their head, were employed in the reformation of Augustin and Benedictin foundations in France, see Gallia christiana vii. p. 836. 1744. xii. p. 1770. Compare the correspondence between Mauburnus and Erasmus, ibid. vii. Instrum. p. 280.

[5] On this head, Busch i. c. 43 ss. in Leibnitius ii. p. 841 ss. Trithe-

upon the Cardinal Nicholas of Cusa made his appearance as Papal legate in Germany (1450, 1451), for the especial purpose of bringing about a reformation in the Church, so far did Rome recognize the necessity of reform; he likewise favoured these reformations of religious houses.[6]

mii Chron. Hirsaug. ii. p. 350'ss. ejusd, Chron. Spanhemiense in Opp. hist. ed. Freheri P. ii. 350 ss. J. G. Leuckfeld's antiquitates Bursfeldenses, od. histor. Beschreibung des ehemal. Klosters Bursfelde, und der daher rührenden Bursfeldischen Societät Benedictinerordens. Leipsig u. Wolfenbüttel 1713. 4. It was begun by John of Minden, who was present as monk of the monastery of Rheinhausen at the meeting of Benedictins in Constance, and from that time forth was very zealous in the cause of reform. Otto, the one-eyed, Duke of Brunswick, made him abbot of the house of St Nicholas in Gandersheim in 1430; he reformed it, and likewise the monastery of Bursfeld, of which he was abbot in 1433. Then he entered into a combination with John Rode, abbot of the monastery of St Matthias in Trêves, who had distinguisht himself by a similar zeal for reform: the combination of these two houses laid the foundation for the Bursfeld congregation. Many Benedictin houses in Saxony and Westphalia were reformed from Bursfeld; many on the Rhine from Treves (see the author's Symbolae ad hist. monasterii Lacensis ex codd. Bonnensibus depromtae. Bonnae 1826. 4. p. 8 ss.) which afterwards united themselves to that league. The Reformed Canonici regulares also assisted in these reforms, see Busch i. c. 46. p. 844 ss. The same Busch. i. c. 43. p. 841 relates, Praefati patres Johannes (of Minden whom he calls de northem), and Rembertus (Prior at Wittenburg) a Concilio Basileensi bullas impetrarant, ut unusquisque eorum sui Ordinis monasteria sexus utriusque per Saxoniam et Ducatum Brunsvicensem assumto adjutorio cum invocatione brachii saecularis possent reformare: et cuncta ad id necessaria in bullis eorum sunt expressa, videlicet ut per censuras ecclesiasticas eos ad se reformandum possent compellere cum invocatione brachii saecularis, cum absolutionibus a sententiis quibuscunque. He indeed places the issue of these Bulls before the time of the reformation of the monastery of St Nicholas, at a time when the Council of Basle was not yet assembled: they probably both belong to the year 1435, see note 4. The council issued a renewed summons and instruction for the reform of the Benedictine houses, dd. x. Kal. Martii 1439 (Trithemii opp. pia ed. Busaeus p. 1016 ss.

[6] Accordingly he granted to John Busch, Provost of Neuenwerke, and Paul, Provost of the monastery of St Maurice in Halle, 1451, full power to reform all monasteries of the Canonici regulares per provinciam Magdeburgensem et Moguntinam, Saxoniam et Thuringiam, see the documents in Busch iv. c. 2 p. 956. The end of the Reformation is here given as follows: Volumus, quod omni diligentia hujusmodi visitatores invigilent, ut tria substantialia omnis Religionis, scilicet *paupertas*, *castitas* et *obedientia*, exactissime observentur, et uniformitas habitus ac morum in vestro Ordine ubique observetur; ita quod nemo

However, notwithstanding all these endeavours, amendment could only be effected in solitary instances,[7] now that the division of the revenues which had been introduced into most of the foundations, and the independence and dissociation which ensued, had too great a charm for the monks.[8] At Constance, a Cistercian even undertook to justify in form the possession of

Canonicorum regularium Ordinis vestri utriusque sexus professus—sine Roqueto (in Italian Roccetto surplice) romano cum manicis deinceps incedere praesumat, omnibus dispensationibus —non obstantibus.

[7] Jo. Niderus (prior of Dominicans at Basle, † 1438) de visionibus ac revelationibus (or formicarius) i. c. 7 ed. v. d. Hardt. Helmst. 1692. 8. p. 97: De reformatione particulari in civitate Ecclesiae possibili in multis statibus et religionibus non dubito. Quin easdem indies introduci videmus in quibusdam monasteriis et conventibus, sed cum quanta difficultate, novit altissimus. Si enim praesente generali Concilio in Basilea annis sex nec unum quidem fragilis sexus monasterium cooperante etiam saeculari consulatu reformari potutit propter quorundam inhabitantium vitam malam et eisdem junctam saevitiam: quid quaeso sperandum est de virorum nobilium vel literatorum collegiis, qui ruinas et deformitates suas, in spiritualibus existentes domibus, non modo armis chalybeis, sed etiam quae deteriora sunt verbalibus et ligneis possunt defendere! The Augustin eremite Jo. Schiphower de Meppis in 1504 says in his Chron. Oldenburgensium Archicomitum in Meibomii Rerum Germ. T. ii. p. 170 ad ann. 1426: Circa haec tempora reformatio magna plurimorum monasteriorum in diversis mundi partibus fuit. Et nota, quod hujusmodi reformationes leguntur factae, sed pene nulla remansit, quin solito more per successum temporis ad pristinum relaberetur languorem post venerabilium patrum mortem.

[8] One may compare the description which Buschius i. c. 4. p. 480, gives of the state of things in the monastery of Ludinkerka in Friesland before it was reformed from Windsheim A.D. 1428: Ante reformationem pauci ibi fuerunt sacerdotes, et plures conversi ultra xxx. aut L., qui pactum fecerant cum conversis Conniani monasterii Ordinis Cisterciensis ad unum milliare inde distans, quod mutuo se juvare vellent cum centum viris armatis: idcirco totam illam Frisiae partem sibi subjugaverant. Quidam autem Vasallus circa monasterium in castro habitans—retulit ad Episcopum Trajectensem de mala et pessima eorum vita, quorum nullus erat continens, et omnes proprietarii, habentes secum moniales in monasterio, quae aliquando impraegnatae genuerunt. Cognovi ibi Abbatem, cujus pater conversus dictus fuerat, mater vero monialis.—Episcopus autem Fridericus de Blankenheym, vir prudens et literatus misit illic Ambasiatores suos,—qui personas dicti monasterii visitantes, invenerunt omnes pene conversos sine regula et professione ibi intrasse, et usque tune in praesens ibidem permultos annos sic permansisse. Quaerentes autem, quomodo ad habitum conversorum assumendum pervenissent, responderunt: quam primo hic intravimus, plures hic vidimus alba tunica et scapulari indutos, et tamen in

private property by monks.[9] In like manner afterwards the

armis bellicis expeditos. Comparavimus igitur etiam nobis album pannum, unde tunicas albas, caputia alba, scapularia nobis fieri procuravimus, et per nos ipsos eas induimus. Interrogarunt, an aliquid audissent de regula? Responderunt: nunquam, sed unusquisque nostrum aut monialem, aut conversam, aut aliam mulierem sibi assumpsit, cum qua sine copulatione matrimonii dormivit. True, the case was not so bad in all monasteries, but private property held by individual monks (hence called proprietarii) unchastity, secular mode of life, and abandonment of the Monastic state, were to be found in all unreformed houses.

[9] Anonymi Ordinis Cisterc. propositio affirmativa in Constant. Conc. ann. 1417, oblata et examinata, quod monachi Cistercienses possint propria possidere bona (in v. d. Hardt Conc. Const. iii. p. 120 ss.) c. 1. Licitum et fas est interdum dispensare, quod monachus seu religiosus de scitu Praelati sui habet res temporales ad usum bonum et necessarium, quando cogit necessitas excusabilis, aut suadet utilitas notabilis. c. 5. For the prevention of discontent and murmurs proficuum est, quod in retroactis temporibus Abbates vel fecerunt conventuum consensu tacite, vel expresse in rei veritate, vel saltem gratiose cum religiosis eis subditis, quod ipsi et eorum quilibet habeant et possideant aliqua pro victu et vestitu.—Non tamen sic possidentes de scientia, scitu et consensu Abbatis, tales sunt dicendi proprietarii. Quia solum possident ad usum et non ad proprietatem, et possident nomine monasterii, et non nomine proprio. (Thern c. 3 : illud in Monacho est proprium, quod celatur Abbati. c. 5 : That follows from 12 qu. I. Non dicatis. Nam ibi textus dicit, quod nihil possidere possent sine Abbatis licentia, Ergo Abbatis licentia possunt). Cap. 6: Et sic quasi in omnibus monasteriis nostri Ordinis sive per statutum, sive per dispensationem, ut praedictum, consuetudo inolevit, etiam dudum pacifice observata et praescripta, propriis Praelatis et etiam Dominis Visitatoribus scientibus et consentientibus. Quae consuetudo non debet leviter tolli, maxime ubi timetur verisimiliter scandalum plurimorum. Against this work appeared Magni Monarchorum Visitatoris constitutio negativa, quod monachi propria non debeant possidere bona (l. c. p. 130 ss.) The Reformatorium likewise declares itself opposed to the practice, and points out the evil effects of the possession of private property by monks (lib. iii. Tit. x. c. 2 in. v. d. Hardt 1, x. p. 705): Cum abdicatio proprietatis ita monasticae professioni et regulae sit annexa, quod nec summus Pontifex contra eandem valeat dispensare; nihilominus tamen quamplures regulares personae utriusque sexus, et quasi indifferenter omnes, paucis duntaxat exceptis, salutis suae immemores interdum ante ingressum religionis et quandoque post, pecunia sibi industriose congregata vel recepta ab amicis et parentibus, necnon jura, possessiones, reditus, pensiones, portiones, praebendas, animalia, et alia bona emerunt, seu emi fecerunt et procurarunt; proprio et saepe nomine alieno multos contractus tanquam negotiatores exercent; pecunias inde acquisitas, vel alias undecunque provenientes ad libitum propriae voluntatis expendunt; quamplures quoque hujusmodi

most trifling pretexts were sought out to stave off the impending Reformation;[10] not unfrequently it had even to encounter forcible resistance.[11] In few cases was the Reformation un-

pecuniam et alia praedicta contra scitum et voluntatem superiorum suorum occulte vel illicite tenent in suarum pericula animarum. Quorum praetextu et occasione ex tunc vestitum emunt, claustralia loca ad placitum deserunt, mansiones sibi seorsim procurant, victum et potum singularem extra conventualem locum sibi disponunt, vel in mensa communi in praesentia pauperum fratrum aut sororum eadem scandalose consumunt, reliquis fratribus aut sororibus, similia non habentibus, magnam egestatem cum amaritudine animi patientibus. Ex quibus surgunt invidiae, detractiones, rancores, scandala, applausiones, comessationes, inobedientia, incontinentia, aliaeque infinitae exorbitantiae regularis disciplinae. Allegantes, se posse hujusmodi abusus detestabiles de licentia et indultu suorum superiorum talibus consentientium, aut talia dissimulantium, licite exercere.

[10] Jo. Niderus (see above note 7) de reformatione status cenobitici (ed. Antverp. 1611. 8. A summary of its contents may be seen in H. v. d. Hardt Autographa Lutheri ei Coaetaneorum: Helmst. 1693. Praef. p. 30 ss.) refutes lib. 1 c. 4. ss. quindecim argumenta deformatorum Clericorum et religiosorum, quibus se tuentur, ne a forma saeculi recedant, in the same number of chapters. Viz., objiciunt complexionis debilitatem; receptam consuetudinem; Praelatorum peccata; reformationem esse novitatem et singularitatem; esse expectandum cum reformatione usque ad generalem reformationem Ecclesiae; reformare esse Ordinem dividere, et notam personarum in eo ponere; se jactant vivere ut proceres eorum; objiciunt dispensationem eis datam; dicunt, necessaria in victu se non habere; objiciunt status nobilitatem vel dignitatem; timent sequi in divino officio personarum paucitatem; conqueruntur, reformationem sequi pacis turbationem; arguunt, sequi lapsum graviorem et apostasiam vel hujusmodi; ostendere nituntur, quod ex laxa vita majora sequantur bona quam ex reformatione; objiciunt, modum procedendi in reformatione ineptum. Lib. ii. c. 9 also is worthy of notice on the question, unde proveniat, quod communiter omnes in Ecclesia clament reformationem debere fieri, et tamen fere nullus, quando reformari incipitur, id ferat. With regard to the difficulties of the Reformation of the Camaldulensian order, the works of Ambrosius, who was general of the order from the year 1431, † 1439, the Hodoeporicon, ed. Florent. 1678. 4, the description of his visitation-circuit, and Epistolarum lib xx. in Martene et Durand veterum Scriptorum amplissima collectio T. iii. p. 1 ss., compare Meiner's Lebensbeschreibungen berühmter Männer aus den Zeiten der Wiederherstellung der Wissensch. Th. 2 S. 222 ff.: with reference to the regular canons and Benedictins the work of John Busch may be consulted.

[11] When on the reformation of the Benedictine monastery of St Godehard in Hildesheim, John Busch compelled the monk Herman Ylten, who refused to conform, to leave the monastery; his brother sent him a letter of defiance (Jo. Busch. i. c. 50 in Leibnit. ii. p.

dertaken with the free consent of the monks: more generally

p. 850: frater ejus carnalis militaris, in Ducatu habitans Brunswicensi, literam diffidationis sigillatam mihi misit, ad me et fratres meos captivandum, occidendum, bona nostra diripienda, et domos nostras comburendas), but he was forced to recall it by the Bishop of Hildesheim and the duke of Brunswick-Luneburg. When the monastery of St Michael in Luneburg was to be reformed in 1470, the monks rang the alarm bell, and roused the townsmen, so that the duke Otto and the Bishop of Verdun, as well as the abbots who were come to the reformation, were obliged to fly (Busch i. c. 53. p. 852). When about the same time James de Fredis as prior, with certain reformed monks, was sent from Cologne to the reformation of the monastery of Laach, he was continually in peril of his life (see Jo. Boutzbach from 1499 monk of this house, in the author's Symbolae ad hist. monast. Lacensis p. 25: in tantum sese irreformatis—opposuit, ut solus ipse, utpote præ caeteris constantior, ipsis magis odiosus habitus fuerit et oneri. Hinc saepe conclave illius effringentes, eumque effugantes, evaginatis gladiis de dormitorio per fenestras fugientem persequuti sunt), and was forced after one half year to fly to Treves with his followers (l. c. p. 24). The Elector of Treves was then obliged to have the obstinate monks ejected by his lieutenant cum assumpto sibi exercitu (l. c. p. 27). The nuns gave the reformers almost more trouble. The canonesses of Wennigsen told William duke of Brunswick and the reformers to their faces (Busch ii. c. 1. p. 858): nos omnes pariter conclusimus et simul juravimus, quod nolumus nos reformare, nec regulam nostram observare: rogamus, ut non faciatis nos perjuras. Then they raised a chant of imprecation: exeuntibus nobis de choro circa dormitorium, moniales statim omnes extensis brachiis et pedibus in modum crucis ad pavimentum chori super ventres suos se posuerunt, et altissimis vocibus antiphonam: *Media vita in morte sumus*, per totum exclamaverunt. Nos autem hujusmodi voces audientes putabamus, responsorium fuisse: *revelabunt coeli iniquitatem Judæ.* Unde Dux territus totam suam terram metuebat interire. Next the knightly kinsmen of the nuns came forward to intercede. When this measure also proved vain, the nuns shut up their convent, and would not allow the duke to come in again, so that the door had to be broken down. They were only brought to submission by the threat, that they would be immediately carried off in carriages standing ready. But on the next day they changed their minds again, and the duke, who had already taken his departure, had to return with an armed band, to force them to submission once more. One nun was so affected by this that she statim corruens in terram, sensus suos amisit. However this was immediately regarded as a miraculous punishment, and made the rest more submissive. But when they were required to produce their private treasures, many of them were so indignant, that they ollas suas tam valide a se projecerunt, ut pedes earum ad pavimentum confringerent. Busch on his return was twice attackt by armed men, and escaped with considerable difficulty. In the Cistercian convent of Mariensee also (l. c. c. 3. p. 862 ss.) the nuns raised the chant of imprecation, in choro incipientes

it had to be enforced by the secular princes or the Bishops;[12] or else it was necessitated by the poverty into which the monas-

antiphonam: *Media vita* super nos altissimis vocibus decantaverunt, et per Ecclesiam cum tali cantu nos prosequentes, etiam candelas de cera ardentes super nos et contra nos in terram projecerunt: et una juvencula, extra Ecclesiam super cimiterium nos secuta, cum cantarent: *Sancte Deus, Sancte fortis, sancte et immortalis* etc. trina vice cantando, genibus flexis etiam terram in signum nostrae maledictionis ter momordit, et lapides ac terram post nos projecit. Then they fled to the vaults, super testudinem chori et Ecclesiae satis alte et late conscenderunt, and could only be induced to come down and deliver themselves up by the threat to transport them immediately out of the country. Busch, prior of Sulta, had to reform the neighbouring convent of Derneburg, but he found great difficulty in the task (l. c. c. 13 ss. p. 874 ss). The nuns gave away their means of subsistence (c. 14), ut dicere nobis possent, quod non haberent, unde in communi viverent, et ita earum reformatio propter paupertatem impediretur. Etiam per hoc efficere gestiebant, ut parentes et cognati earum, qui annuos eis reditus dare consueverunt, jure haereditario aut alias apud se dispositos ante reformationem, quando in propriis vixerunt; post assumtam communem vitam tales eis reditus dare denegarent, communitatem nutrire nolentes, qui proprias filias seu neptes de propriis bonis suis libenter enutrierant. Busch was attacked with a long knife by a man, who wisht to rid the nuns of the troublesome reformer. When he visited the separate cells of the nuns, one of them let him go first into hers, then she shut to the spring-door and kept him prisoner a long time. De caetero nunquam in aliquo Monialium monasterio in aliquam clausuram praecedere volui, ne mihi aliquid simile ibidem contingeret, praesertim unde leviter exire non potui. Sed quando duae vel tres me praecedebant, tunc eas bene sequebar. Una sola praecedens non mihi sufficiebat, ne cum una sola ad tempus me recluderent, dicentes super me, quod non cogitassem. At last after three years the nuns contrived by means of their kinsmen, that their reformation should be taken out of the hands of Prior Busch, and given over to the Cistercian abbot in Marienrode. But he had most of them carried off into other convents, and introduced the Cistercian rule into their house.

[12] Otto the one-eyed duke of Brunswick-Lüneburg, Albert duke of Austria, William III. duke of Saxony, were especially zealous in this cause. The last mentioned decreed in his ordinance dd. Weissensee 1446 (see above § 137 note 1) in Schilter de libert. Eccl. Germ. p. 809: So sollen und wollen wir auch Gott den Allmächtigen, syner werthen Mutter u. allen himmelischen Here zu Lobe u. Ere getreulich darnach erbeiten u. allen Fleiss thun,—dadurch alle geistliche Clöster in unsern Landen reformirt u. wieder zu redelicher geistlicher Regierung bracht werden, eyn igliches nach Usssatzunge u. Regeln sines Ordens. Compare the decrees of the Bishop of Halberstadt, and William duke of Saxony, both A.D. 1451, in Busch iv. c. 4, 5. p. 959. Compare J. G. Reinhard de jure Principum Germaniae, cumprimis Saxoniae circa sacra p. 139 ss.

teries had been betrayed by wild licentiousness.[13] Nevertheless, though the severest measures were employed again and again to humble the headstrong monks;[14] it was still impossible

[13] Jac. Junterburgii (see § 136 note 31) de negligentia Praelatorum lib. in Walchii monimenta medii aevi II. ii. p. 109: Divitias peperit —religio,—proleque vastata mater, nec proles beata, dum disciplina cessat, regnatque simultas, i.e. hypocrisis, deficit Ecclesiae virtus pariterque facultas. Nam aperte videmus, quod monasteria olim in reformatione opulentissima jam adeo depauperantur, quod etiam cum pauco et tenui victu parietes et tecta aedificiorum a ruina conservari non possunt. Et ubi quondam reformationis tempore LXX. aut plures fratres commode nutriebantur regnantibus nondum proprietariis, octo aut decem vix educari possunt sine penuria. In hoc manum Domini contra proprietarios ad ulciscendum manifeste cernimus armatam. Deficiente nunc causa donationis temporalium bonorum, scil. magna antiquorum patrum devotione et vitae sanctitate, propter quam bona collata sunt, deficere et cessare debet effectus in ipsa bona temporalia, ideo non immerito eis modo auferuntur. The contrary phenomenon also often occurred, Buschius i. c. 52. p. 852: in monasteriis, ubi ante reformationem vix decem aut duodecim homines de bonis Monasterii vivere poterant et se nutrire, vidimus post reformationem plus quam quinquaginta aut centum in copia omnium rerum abundantissime se nunc nutrire. So events such as the following occurred, see Bern. Wittii (Benedictin monk at Liesborn about 1517) hist. antiquae occidentalis Saxoniae seu nunc Westphaliae, Monasterii 1778. 4. lib. viii. p. 558 ad ann. 1460; Eodem fere tempore in ipsa item Padeburnensi diocesi in monte dicto Hallesberge (Jacobsberg), in desolata quadam Ecclesia, nescio cui opilioni revelationem factam fuisse vulgatum est, quasi s. Jacobus, ejusdem Ecclesiae patronus, se ibi, prout in Compostella Gallatiae hactenus, peregrinis suis patrocinium concessurum spopondisset. Curritur certatim ad locum, prodigia et signa ibidem fieri publicatur, multa a peregrinis pecunia defertur. Fuere tamen, qui rem profundius ruminarent ac dicerent, nullum unquam ibidem verum miraculum factum fuisse, illusione diabolica rem procuratam, ut scilicet novam jam assumptam in Corbiensi monasterio reformationem eliminaret. Locus enim Corbiensi monasterio subjectus erat; hoc ipsum autem monasterium jam diu a regulari observatione defecerat, unde aliquando necessariorum defectu reformationem accipere aut loco cedere artati sunt. At Abbas s. Jacobi thesauris ac peregrinorum oblationibus sustentatus aratrum deseruit, ac post tergum vidit, et membratim habentes unde voluptuose viverent, expulsis qui reformationem inducere laborabant, quam ob causam in sanctioris vitae propositum consensissent, docuerunt. Eliminata autem religione iterum inchoata, paulatim et miracula et peregrinationes solitae cessaverunt. Corvey undertook the work of Reformation again in 1486, and joined the Bursfeld congregation.

[14] As for instance by Albert duke of Austria, see Busch iii. c. 22. p. 928 de reformatione per suspendium: When a certain Benedictin abbot was unable to induce his monks to reform, Albert had them all

to expect a general reformation of all religious houses; and complaints of the corruption of Monasticism never ceased during this period.[15] Accordingly, the reformed houses of the same order

summoned to a chapter, and askt them solemnly one by one whether they would submit. Those who refused were to withdraw; but the Duke had already charged his servants, ut quemcunque de domo Capituli exire viderent, statim apprehenderent, et funem, ad collum ejus ligarent, et in domo ad hoc deputata ad trabes suspenderent. Cap. 24. *Reformatio facta per flagella.* Another abbot who could not tame certain refractory monks, by the advice and with the help of this same Prince, had them seized, magnisque catenis, manicis et compedibus, pedes et manus eorum constringens, ad postes dormitorii eos fecit astringi et affigi. Divinorum autem tempore quando in choro horae cantabantur, libros cantuales jussit eis anteponi, ut ibi horas cantarent canonicas, quas in choro cantare recusabant. Qui ibidem cantare noluit, tam diu, scapulis denudatis, magnis virgis caedebatur, seu etiam vestibus usque ad cingulum dimissis vel ultra, donec poena urgente carne cuteque laceratus cantare compelleretur. Tempore refectionis fratrum conventualium fecit similiter. Cibum et potum jussit eis tunc anteponi, et si manducare nollent, fecit eos acerrime vapulare, donec cibum attingentes manducarent et biberent, ut jubebantur. Cumque per aliquod tempus die ac nocte ita cantare cogerentur, et suo tempore manducare, horum exactoribus cum virgis recentibus carnes eorum exsulcantibus et livore conficientibus; tandem de necessitate fecerunt virtutem, promittentes, sponte et libenter se velle in choro cantare, et in refectorio comedere, ut ab iis plagis possent liberari; regulam quoque suam et tria substantialia libentissime se velle amplius servare, nec de teneritudine, impotentia aut perversitate aliqua amplius facere querelam, sed in cunctis se libenter velle obedire.

[15] On the corruption of Monasticism in Switzerland during the 15th century, see Joh. v. Müller u. R. Glutz Blotzheims Geschichten Schweizer Eidgenossenschaft, fortgesetzt von J. J. Hottinger. Bd. 6. Zürich 1825. S. 254 ff. On the corruption in France see Joannes Raulinus (Doctor of Divinity in Paris, afterwards Cluniac Monk † 1514) Oratio de reformatione Cleri ad Capitulum generale, ed. Basil. 1498 (see the extracts in the Auctarium catal. test. veritatis p. 113). Guido Juvenalis (a Benedictin, afterwards abbot of St Sulpice at Bourges) reformationis monasticae vindiciae seu defensio. Paris. 1503. On Germany see Geiler v. Kaiserberg's Leben Lehren u. Predigten, dargestellt von. F. W. Ph. v. Ammon. Erlangen 1826. S. 92. Wolfgangus Aytinger, an Ecclesiastic at Augsburg in the work: Methodii, Euboici praesulis, suspiria pro reformatione, et querelae de corruptione Ecclesiae. Basil. 1504. The Reformations also often lasted no length of time. Compare Valerius Anshelm's (Physician of the town of Bern) Berner Chronik herausgeg. v. Stierlin u. Wyss. Bd. 1. (Bern 1825.) S. 99 f. erzählt, dass der Berner Stadtschreiber 1474 zum Papste geschickt worden sey um Ablass, item und sunderlich Gewalt, und Fryung zu erwerben, die ungeistlichen Korherren zu Inter

found it advantageous to unite in separate congregations, in which provision was made for the maintenance of the Reformation, by means of a minute supervision.[16] Among these the Bursfeld Congregation of German Benedictin houses reacht the highest reputation.[17]

In the mendicant orders also discipline was so decayed, that reformation was as necessary in them as in the others. Thereby in the Franciscan order the Observants, who had been hitherto regarded with mistrust, were brought to honour. The Council of Constance establisht them; and gradually they received privileges above all the other Franciscans, the so-called Conventuals.[18]

lappen ze begwaltigen und ze reformiren. Da ward der Bot wohl, doch nit on Geld, wohl empfangen, Doctor der geistl. Rechte, geheissen und mit Ablass und Gewalt heimgefertigt. Da wurden die Interlappen-Korherren, die sich geistlichs Lebens heftig sperrten, mit ihrem Brobst—dahin gebracht, dass ihr etlich gefangen,—mit den Ledigen gan Bern geführt, mussten schweren und verschryben, ein lobliche Stadt Bern für ihren Kastenvogt—ze haben; item und die Reformation anzenemmen, und ze halten, nach Anwysung der geistlichen Korherren Sant Augustins Ordens, ihnen von Sant Lienhard von Basel zuverordnet.—Bestund nit lang, ward loser dan vor je gewesen, auch hiemit vil müh und Kostens verloren. How fruitless the labours of the Landgrave William III. to reform the Hessian monasteries were, may be seen in Rommel's Gesch. v. Hessen. Th. 3. Abth. 1. (Cassel 1827) S. 130 ff.

[16] Thus among the Benedictins the Congregatio S. Justinae, which was founded by Lewis Barbo in the monastery of St Justina at Padua, and establisht by Martin V. in 1417, spread far and wide in Italy; but from the year 1504, when the monastery of Monte Cassino joined the union, it took the name of the congregation of Monte Cassino. Histoire des ordres monastiques. (par Hippol. Helyot) à Paris 1714. 4. T. vi. p. 230 ss.; there was also the congregation of Valladolid, which took its rise from the monastery of St Benedict in Valladolid, l. c. p. 236 ss.; the congregation of Sicily, which constituted itself in 1483, but united itself in 1506 with the congregation of Monte Cassino T. v. p. 56 s. Among the Cistercians there was the Congregation of Observance in Spain, founded by Martin de Vargas in 1425. T. v. p. 382 ss.; the congregation of St Bernard in Tuscany, and for Lombardy, founded in 1497, l. c. p. 388.

[17] See note 5. In the year 1506 seventy-five religious houses belonged to it; their names are given by Trithemius Chron. Spanheimense ad ann. 1429 (Opp. hist. ed. Freheri P. ii. p. 351); but about 1630 there were 142 monasteries for monks alone, see the Designatio in Leibnitii Scriptt. Brunsv. ii. p. 972 ss.

[18] Compare Part iii. § 113. note 15. In the bull of confirmation by the Council of Constance 23. Sept. 1416 (v. d. Hardt. iv. p. 515 ss.) it was enacted that the Observants should be under the immediate

In other mendicant houses the efforts for reform met with as many difficulties and as much resistance, as in the monasteries of the other orders.[18]

control of a vicarius ministri generalis, to be chosen from amongst themselves. And in like manner they were to have in each of their provinces a vicarium ministri provincialis. Afterwards the two Observants, Bernardinus Senensis, in 1438 Vicar-general for Italy † 1444, and Joannes Capistranus his successor † 1456, both of them effective speakers and reputed saints, did much for their order. At last in 1517 Leo X. granted to the Observants the sole right of electing their general.

[19] Jo. Niderus (see above note 7) de visionibus ac revelationibus i. c. 7. p. 100: Scio praeterea Ordinem inter mendicantium Ordines (he probably means his own the Dominican order), cui Deus jam ante decennium providit de duobus bonis et benevolentissimis capitibus, quorum unus generalis Magister est totius sui Ordinis, alius vero provinciam grandem regit. Uterque zelator est reformationis tam validus, ut se pro ea et pro suo grege plus simplici vice, ad resistendum saecularibus, mortis periculo subjecerit. Et tamen uterque modicum profecit in subditis. Paucos enim conventus reformare potuerunt, quibus velle adjacebat de omnibus, sed propter inobedientem materiam perficere nequiverunt. Among the mendicants there was often licentious intercourse between the male and female establishments of the same order (the Conc. Mogunt. ann. 1455. in Hartzheim v. p. 439 had to condemn the maxim, quia sanctimonialis professa, si carnis tentatione et humana fragilitate victa, castitatem servare nollet, minoris culpae et facilioris veniae esset, si cum Religioso quam cum saeculari delinqueret), and also a more headstrong resistance to reform in proportion as their pride was swollen by the greatness of their privileges. Compare the Reformation of the Franciscans and Clarissae in Heilbronn, which was effected by force in 1465, see C. Jäger's Mittheilungen zur schwäbischen u. fränk. Reformationsgesch. Stuttgart 1828. Bd. i. S. 11 ff. Compare also the Reformation of the Franciscan monastery at Ulm, and of the convent connected with it, which was brought about likewise by force A.D. 1484, and not until after a struggle of fifty years, see Schmidt u. Pfister Denkwürdigkeiten der würtemberg. u. schwäbischen Reformationsgeschichte. Heft. 2. Tübingen 1817. S. 12 ff. With regard to the pretended efforts for reform in Hesse, see the letter of the Landgrave William III. to Pope Alexander VI. dd. 16. Febr. 1493 (Beurkundete Nachricht von dem Closter-Hauss Schiffenberg 2ter. Theil. Giessen 1755. Fol. Beilagen no. 193.): Consideranti mihi jam dudum, multa praeclara monasteria in temporali dominio meo —fundata et dotata jam proh dolor diebus istis tam miserabiliter a regulari vita defecisse, quod ne vestigium ullum pristinae honestatis et sanctitatis remanserit, imo declinasse ad tam abominabilem et bestialem vitam, quod justius scurrilitatum receptacula quam monasteria et domus orationum nuncuparentur: haec inquam mihi cum gemitu consideranti, et correctionem talium a Praelatis eorum requirenti Magister provincialis fratrum minorum tandem aliquo modo satisfacere temptavit,

monasterium b. Francisi in oppido residentiae meae Marpurg in tribus annis quater reformans. Semper eo recedente novissima pejora prioribus: tandem meliores quique locum deserentes ad Observantes se transtulerunt solis pessimis remanentibus. Quapropter videns me delusum, S. V. praedecessori pro opportuno remedio humiliter supplicare disposui: tum subito exoritur desiderabilis rumor, advenisse scilicet Dom. Raymundum quendam cum plena potestate reformandi etiam quaecunque monasteria. Aditur, rogatur, consentit et mandat ceteris Praelatis de reformatione quorundam monasteriorum, scil. b. Francisci in Marpurg et de Gronenberg, necnon s. Dominici etiam in Marpurg et in Treysa, ac s. Augustini in Alsfeldia, et in Heyne Cisterciensis Ordinis, Maguntinensis diocesis: dicens, se ad hoc sufficiente potestate per apostolica scripta munitum. Quid plura! credulus ego et laetabundus misi continuo ad Vicarium fratrum minorum de Observantia cum commissione et mandato praedicti Dom. Raymundi, petens, ut monasterium praefatum b. Francisci in Marpurg vellet quantocius reformare. Vicarius vero cum desiderium meum intellexisset, viso mandato ait obsistere sibi adhuc, quod bullae cuidam Pauli II. praedecessoris vestri, quae Paulina seu bulla concordiae dicitur, non videretur de verbo ad verbum sufficienter derogatum. Quod audiens vehementer dolui, perseverans tamen misi anno nonagesimo lapso ad s. Apostolicam sedem, humiliter petens indultum D. Raymundi approbari, et suppleri defectus bulla data. Sed totius boni inimicus Diabolus per se vel suos affuisse cognoscitur, ut allegatus defectus, qui erat ex parte Paulinae quoad fratres minores, tortuosi serpentis calliditate retorqueretur ad alia quaedam monasteria Regularissarum: sic enim sonat bulla, quod illa possint reformari non obstante Paulina.—Iterum illusus iterum Oratorem, scil. anno 92, ad Curiam misi, et relatum est mihi, quod obtinuerit signaturam. Sed Beatitudinis Vestrae praedecessore de hoc saeculo migrante, similiter et Oratore meo finiente vitam in urbe, rursus pium negotium frustratum est. Quapropter, beatissime pater, perpendat quaeso clementer B. V. quotiens et quam diu fraudatus sum a desiderio meo, et quantum perversis et impiis ex hoc factus sum in parabolam et derisum, quasi homo qui coepit aedificare et non potuit consummare: et dignetur tandem Vestra Apostolica Benignitas mihi et Oratori meo praesenti in tam pio negotio efficaciter assistere, ac per indulti Raymundi de praedictis virorum monasteriis approbationem, et defectus, si qui sint, maxime derogationis Paulinae ac alias necessarias clausulas de opportuno remedio providere: *ne suspicari cogar, quod ex industria hucusque illusus sim, et auferatur mihi et meis in antea credulitas et reverentia literarum et nunciorum Apostolicae sedis, compellarque exercere potestatem saecularis gladii, si spiritualis, quam diu quaesivi, negabitur*, quia tam gravem Dei contumeliam, et tam impiam fundatorum defraudationem, qui talibus absque dubio sua bona dare nunquam intenderunt, sed et derisionem meam nequaquam diutius perferam. Comp. Rommel's Gesch. v. Hessen. Th. 3. Abth. 1. S. 130 ff. Anmerkungen S. 71 ff. Ulric, Count of Wurtemberg pleaded earnestly with the general of the Dominicans from the year 1476, for the reformation of the convents of this order in his dominions: a female dominican of this date records on this head in Sattler's Gesch. d. Herzogth. Wurtemberg. Bd. 5. Beilagen S. 173: do ward so vil

§ 141.

AGENCY OF THE MENDICANT ORDERS.

Notwithstanding the threadbare morality which even the Mendicants exhibited, they still maintained the most multifarious and important agency;[1] they made use of this to support all the encroachments of the Papal see, from which alone they had

verziehens und so langs umziehn, also das man mit diser sach zwey Jahr umgieng, und vast vil botschafft mit bitten, geschrifften, die wart gesendet wider und für mit vil kosten und arbeyt, e es zu dem anfang kam, das vil davon zu sagen und zu schriben wer: still the reform was set on foot, see Sattler Bd. 4. S. 146 ff. On the other hand in the Dominican houses of Switzerland a free and licentious course of life prevailed uncheckt, see Müller's Schweizergesch. fortges. von Hottinger. Bd. 6. S. 264. Congregations of reformed houses were establisht in the Dominican order also; thus there was the congregation of Aragon and the Lombard congregation, see Helyot iii. p. 225 ss. In the Carmelite order John Soreth, general of the order from 1451, was active in the cause of reform; but he was poisoned in the monastery at Nantes in 1471, by way of recompense for his zeal, see Helyot i. p. 323 ss.

[1] Erasmus Adagiorum Chil. 2. Cent. 8. Adag. 65.: Malorum Mendicantium ubique maxima turba est. Hi sic sese per omne reipublicae corpus sparserunt, ut nihil usquam agatur sine illis. Regnant in concionibus, quod peculiare munus Episcoporum; tyrannidem occuparunt in scholis; quod huic proximum munus; per hos ministrantur ecclesiastica Sacramenta, per hos sacerdotes sumus; hi plus quam censoria severitate pronunciant de fidei professione: *hic Christianus est, hic Semichristianus, hic haereticus, hic sesquihaereticus;* in horum sinus populus effundit occultos vitae actus, et secretissimas animi cogitationes. Nec his contenti sunt; nulla peraguntur Principum foedera, in quibus hi non agant partes. Sine his nullum contrahitur matrimonium; in theatricis certaminibus, in publicis sortibus agonothetas agunt: adeo nihil pudet. Denique nec mori licet absque istis. Nulla est aula Principum, in quam non irrepserunt. Si quod impudens facinus destinarunt Principes, per hos exequuntur; si quid moliuntur Romani Pontifices, quod paulo sit alienius ab apostolica illa et prisca sanctimonia, horum potissimum utuntur ministeriis; veluti si quod bellum, si quis tumultus, si qua exactio, si qua condonatio parum prudens, in hisce fabulis isti primas agunt. Interim simplici popello specie sanctitatis imponitur. Sacerdotes ad hos collati, sacerdotes non sunt. Episcopi horum fiducia in utramvis aurem dormiunt. Plebs destituta pro unicis pastoribus gemino luporum genere discerpitur, dum et Praesules exercent tyrannidem; nec hi tamen pastores sunt, sed alia ratione praedones.

received their unbounded privileges,[2] and to exalt their order more and more. They encountered the most effectual resistance from the University of Paris. If they wisht to hold office there as teachers, they were obliged to submit to its authority,[3] and all their attempts to make themselves independent were as decidedly repulst,[4] as all their exorbitant assertions in support of the Papal

[2] In order to secure the privileges of the Franciscans and Dominicans, Sixtus IV. in 1474 collected them in two Bulls, which were called thenceforth the Mare Magnum of the Franciscans and of the Dominicans. These he completed and extended by the so-called Bulla aurea dd. 7. Kal. Aug. 1479. They are all together in the Bullaria.

[3] Compare the instrumentum submissionis, which the Franciscan Petrus de Cheriaco was obliged to execute in 1428 before the assembly of the theological faculty in d'Argentré I. ii. 226. He was the man appointed by his order ad legendum Bibliam, the faculty declared, quod recipiebat dictum fratrem Petrum ad legendum Bibliam pro anno praesenti, mediante quod submitteret se reparare certas propositiones et articulos aliquos in suis sermonibus et alibi expositos et praedicatos, et dictae Facultati in uno rotulo per ipsum tradito contentos, ubi indigerent reparatione, toties quoties, et in quibuscumque locis placeret Facultati theologiae, nec non veniam petere super aliquibus verbis per ipsum minus bene de Facultate artium prolatis in proxima ipsius Facultatis congregatione. Qui quidem F. Petrus se submisit et juravit supra dicta facere toties quoties requireretur ex parte ejusdem Facultatis, et omnia supra dicta adimplere.

[4] The theological faculty insisted that those mendicants, who were appointed by their superiors to lecture in divinity, should first have undergone a certain academical course. On the other hand the four mendicant orders obtained from Eugene IV. the Bull Ad jugem dd. 3. Kal. Apr. 1442 (in Bulaei hist. Univ. Paris. v. p. 524), according to which the monks who were appointed by their order ad legendum Bibliam or ad legendum Sententias, ac per Deputatos Facultatis theologicae ad hoc sufficientes et idonei reperti fuerint, solutis juribus ejusdem Facultatis, should be admitted without further requirements. Thereupon the University immediately decreed (l. c. p. 522), quod privarentur omnes tam graduati quam non graduati dictorum iv. Ordinum a consortio Universitatis, et—ab omnibus actibus scholasticis, donec et quousque dicti Mendicantes impetrassent aliam Bullam novam contrariam de verbo ad verbum isti Bullae per eos impetratae a summo Pontifice. The mendicants had to yield, and on the 10th Dec. 1442 they took an oath to the theological faculty, nunquam uti Bulla praedicta, and within a fixt time to obtain a revocatoriam or a cassatoriam. At the same time it was determined by the Faculty, quod studentes iv. Ordinum, qui mittentur ad legendum Sententias, stent Parisius ante dictam lecturam per iii. annos, videlicet per annum ante lecturam Bibliae, et per annum, in quo legent Bibliam, et per tertium, in quo se disponent ad lecturam Sententiarum, ut sententia ipsorum et mores comprobentur.

see and the Mendicant orders were sternly censured and chastised.[5] By means of the principles upheld by the Parliament and the University, the secular clergy were still in some measure protected in France against the encroachments of the Mendicants;[6] elsewhere, on the other hand, they were so much the more humbled;

[5] Thus for their exaggeration of the Papal power, see § 136 note 23; for their exaggeration of the prerogatives of their order at the cost of the secular clergy, see § 138 note 2.

[6] In this point of view the new controversy of the University with the Mendicants which began in 1456 is worthy of note, see Bulaeus v. p. 601 ss. The mendicant friars came forward with a Bull which they had received from Nicholas V. in the year 1456, and so a year after the death of this Pope; it was similar to the Bull of Alexander V. (see Part iii. § 112 note 3). The University denounced this as scandalosa, turbativa pacis et concordiae, subversiva Ordinis hierarchici Ecclesiae ac subreptitia, and determined to appeal against it; the Mendicants were first to be invited visuri suas privationes, si dictae impetrationi renunciare noluerint, et impetrare revocatoriam ipsius:—requirantur Praelati, quod non admittant Fratres Mendicantes ad praedicandum in suis diocesibus, donec renunciaverint, et obtinuerint hujusmodi revocatoriam. When the Mendicants refused to renounce the Bull, and promise to effect its repeal, it was determined: Idcirco ipsa Universitas ex tunc omnes juratos de dictis Mendicantium Ordinibus reputavit et declaravit perjuros et privatos a gremio et consortio ipsius, non juratos autem resecavit a susceptione graduum quorumcunque et acquisitione temporis Parisius in quacunque Facultate. The Parliament undertook some measures of reconciliation on the petition of the Mendicants; these however remained fruitless until in Febr. 1457 (more gall. 1456) the draft of a Bull came to Paris, by which Calixtus III. was pretended to have repealed the Bull of his predecessor (see Bulaeus v. p. 612). Now the Mendicants condescended to a supplicatio humillima (p. 613), and they were again received (18. Febr.) as members of the University, after they had sworn to the conditions (p. 616), quod amplius non utantur Bulla existente in manibus Rev. D. Episcopi Parisiensis, neque similibus, et maneat dicta Bulla in manibus praefati Episcopi sicut est; et quod unus pro omnibus juratus de Ordine Mendicantium pro sua redintegratione habeat supplicare, et habeant Mendicantes antedicti obedire Bullae revocatoriae et ratificari [*facere*] per suos Generales infra annum. Item jurabunt, quod nunquam impetrabunt similes Bullas, alioquin ex tunc, prout ex nunc, reincident in similes privationes et poenas. Soon after it was discovered that the pretended Bulla revocatoria had not been issued; for Calixtus III., in a Brief of the 18th March (p. 617) required the king to give protection to the Mendicants, pronounced the disputed Bull of his predecessor to be genuine, and confirmed it. The Dominicans were obliged by the command of their general to recede from the compact, and were again excluded from the University; however, in Dec. 1457 they petitioned to be received again, and yielded the point (p. 620)

and the Mendicants, whilst they managed to demonstrate in sufficiently strong language the incapacity of the secular clergy,[7] proceeded publicly to dispense entirely with their ministrations.[8]

[7] The passage of the Augustineremite Johannes Schiphowerus de Meppis in his Chron. Oldenburgensium Archicomitum (written in 1505) in H. Meibomii Rerum german. Scriptt. T. ii. p. 171 ad ann. 1440, in which he praises Count Dieterich as a supporter of his order, may serve as an example: Suis temporibus quidam ex pastoribus et capellanis conspirationem fecerunt contra Mendicantes, limitatores ibidem existentes, impugnantes privilegia apostolica, et praesertim de confessionibus audiendis, ignari et juris canonici imperiti, vix primis literis imbuti, qui vix sine confusione, ut ait Pastor in tractatu de Curatorum miseriis, requiem cantare sciunt, et tamen singulis doctis viris tamquam cornutae bestiae rebellizant, et in sua asineitate perseverantes super omnes se extollunt. Quomodo autem praedicabunt, qui literis operam non dederunt? aut quam in praedicando indoctus sacerdos utilitatem auditoribus suis afferre poterit, qui scripturas nescit? verum temporibus nostris, in quibus est sicut populus, ita et sacerdos, studium scripturarum miserrimi sacerdotes abjiciunt, pro libris scripturarum calices exhauriunt, et cotidie se inebriant. Viderint Episcopi, qui tales idiotas et inscios ad sacerdotii dignatem promovent, qui imperitis curam ovium Christi commendant! Sedent in insidiis cum potatoribus in tabernis, ludis et comessationibus vacant, non est timor Dei ante oculos eorum. Nomine sacerdotes sunt, conversatione asini, nihil penitus de scripturis intelligunt, discere contemnunt, et latina lingua loqui vel scribere nesciunt, vix in vulgari exponere Evangelia didicerunt. Quantos errores, fabulas et haereses in Ecclesiis praedicando populis enuncient, quis nisi expertus credere posset? Pro libris liberos sibi comparant, pro studio concubinas amant. Tales, quamvis inscii, quamvis indocti, quamvis ignari, adhuc contra privilegia apostolica contra viros doctos latrare non erubescunt.

[8] Jacobus Carthusianus (see § 136 note 31) de arte curandi vitia (ex Ms. in v. d. Hardt Autographa Lutheri praef. p. 49): Licet multi Fratres Mendicantes praedicent, et multi multa dicant; cum tamen ab observantia declinaverint, aliud opere et aliud verbis ostendunt. Et hi ut plurimum nimium audaces et idiotae. Inde eorum praedicatio contemtibilis redditur, et vertitur maxime profanam in divinationem. Nam eorum primarii, ut manifeste cernitur, non aliud videntur quaerere, nisi favorem populi, libertatem vitae, quaestum bonorum exteriorum. Quae debite considerantes, omnia eorum facta videntur hypocritica delinimenta. Nimirum parochiae destruuntur, Praelati contemnuntur, nulla disciplina contradicente. Sed cur non exercetur ipsa, nisi quia quilibet illorum quasi sibi conscius non audet illorum mala facta punire? The complaints of the parochial clergy against the Medicants run as follows, see Reformatorii Constant. decretales Tit. x. c. 12 in v. d. Hardt Conc. Const. I. xii. p. 715: quod superiores dictorum Fratrum non eo modo, sicut deberent, sed in scriptis, imo interdum nomine non expresso, Ordinariis locorum suos terminarios, ut plurimum idiotas, et interdum minus quam presbyteri curati scientes praesentant;

The wavering intervention of the Popes was not enough to bring this ceaseless controversy to an end.[9] Undoubtedly the Mendicants were more zealous for the Church than the rest of the clergy, but their zeal was too often engaged only in the further-

praesentati soli, absque socio, per parochias velut vagi transcurrunt, absolutiones suas, ultra Curatorum efficaciores, tanquam apostolica auctoritate concessas, praedicant saepius; quod in casibus eis non commissis absolvunt, pecuniaria etiam pactione praecedente aut interveniente; decedentibus et testari volentibus secretius ingerunt, sibi et non Curatis legari, et apud suos Conventus sepeliri. Quibus omnibus secretius ingestis et practicatis canonicam ipsis Curatis non exhibent portionem (viz. the quarter assigned by Boniface VIII. see Part ii. § 69 note 3) in dictorum Curatorum multiplex praejudicium et gravamen.

[9] Sixtus IV., induced by the remonstrances of the German bishops, and especially by the contest betwixt the secular clergy and the Mendicants at Esslingen, appointed a commission to adjust the dispute: this commission concluded an arrangement between the two parties, which Sixtus IV. confirmed by the Bull Vices illius (in the Extravag. Commun. lib. i. Tit. 9. c. 2), to the effect quod ipsi parochiani sacerdotes de cetero non dicant, a Mendicantibus haereses processisse: cum in veritate fides nostra sit illuminata, et Ecclesia exaltata per eosdem, et praesertim per Ordines Praedicatorum et Minorum, ut jura testantur. Quodque Fratres Mendicantes non praedicent, populos parochianos non teneri audire missam in eorum parochiis diebus festivis et dominicis; cum jure sit cautum, illis diebus parochianos teneri audire missam in eorum parochiali Ecclesia, nisi forsan ex honesta causa ab ipsa Ecclesia se absentarent. Quodque etiam nec Fratres, nec Curati inducant aliquo modo laicos ad eligendum sepulturam apud eos, et bene caveant propter poenas, quas imponunt canones, cum sit libera. Quod etiam ipsi Mendicantes desistant praedicare, quod parochiani non sint obligati, saltem in Paschate proprio confiteri sacerdoti. Per hoc tamen ipsi Fratres Mendicantes non censeantur exclusi, quo minus secundum juris communis et privilegiorum eisdem concessorum dispositionem confessiones audire, et poenitentias injungere valeant. Quod etiam de caetero inter ipsos Fratres Mendicantes et Curatores, quoad effectum praedicandi, horas cantandi, et campanas pulsandi, servetur consuetudo antiqua, quae temporibus antiquis servata fuit in ipso oppido Eslingensi. Et casu, quo veniat aliqua occasio sive necessitas, non fiat commutatio temporis vel horae in ipsis praedicationibus fiendis, nisi de consensu partium. Quodque etiam ipsi Fratres in sermonibus eorum non detrahant Praelatis et rectoribus parochialium Ecclesiarum, nec etiam populos a suarum Ecclesiarum parochialium frequentia et accessu abstrahant, sive retrahant quoquo modo. Et vice versa ipsi rectores et Praelati aliquo modo non detrahant Mendicantibus, sed illum favorem, quem possunt, eis impendant, et in omnibus et per omnia praestent, ita ut vera unitas et perfecta caritas inter eos ostendatur. Here one can recognize at least the cause of the dispute: naturally enough the contest was not decided universally and for ever by such compacts and confirmations.

ance of ecclesiastical superstition,[10] and the praise of the saints and privileges of their order.[11] Nevertheless they were thought

[10] The Fraternities of the Rosary proceeding from the Dominicans, the first of which was founded at Cologne in 1475 by the Dominican Jac. Sprenger, come particularly under this denomination (Echard Bibl. Praed. i. p. 881). The Dominicans indeed spread abroad the notion, which also Leo X. repeats after them in his Bull of Indulgence granted to the Fraternity in 1520 (in Eus. Amort de origine, progressu, valore ac fructu ingulgentiarum. i. p. 171), quod olim, prout in historiis legitur, a. s. Dominico quaedam Confraternitas utriusque sexus fidelium, de Rosario b. M. V. nuncupata, ad honorem angelicae salutationis instituta, et in diversis mundi partibus praedicata fuit sequentibus signis (comp. Part. ii. § 69 note 10). Sed cum ipsa Confraternitas decursu temporis fere neglecta fuisset, et in oblivionem transisset, ac anno 1475 civitas et dioecesis Coloniensis gravibus bellis premeretur, eadem Confraternitas, ut civitas ab eis bellis liberaretur, in Ecclesia domus Praedicatorum Coloniensium innovata et de novo instituta fuit. In confutation of this pretence of an earlier origin, comp. Acta SS. August. T. i. p. 428 ss. Sixtus IV. grants to this Confraternitas de Rosario b. M. V. in 1478, for certain festivals in honour of the Virgin, the first indulgence of 7 years and 7 quadragenae (in Amort l. c. p. 170), and describes it as ad honorem angelicae salutationis instituta, cujus confratres et consorores tribus diebus cujuslibet hebdomadis orationem dominicalem quindecies, et angelicam salutationem centum et quinquaginta vicibus ad honorem ejusdem b. Mariae Virginis juxta ipsius Confraternitatis instituta dicere consueverunt, quas quidem orationes Rosarium appellant; and adds that also extra civitatem Coloniensem in aliis civitatibus et locis sint quam plures utriusque sexus ejusdem Confraternitatis confratres. The Fraternity spread so quickly that even in 1481 a similar one was founded in Schleswig, the rules of which are given in (Noodt's) Beiträgen zur Erläuterung der Civil-, Kirchen- u. gelehrten Historie der Herzogthümer Schleswig u. Holstein, Bd. 2. (Hamb. 1752. 4) S. 31. Innocent VIII. in 1483 granted the brethren vivae vocis oraculo, a plenary indulgence, semel in vita, et semel in mortis articulo, which Leo X. confirmed in 1520, see Amort l. c. p. 171.

[11] The council of Basle condemned the following assertions in 1444, quae maxime praedicabantur a Mendicantibus in Taurinensi et Astensi Dioecesibus (Patritii summa Concill. c. 138. in Hartzheim Concill. Germ. v. p. 865): Parochianos non teneri de jure dominicis diebus et solemnibus missas in propriis parochialibus Ecclesiis audire, sed ubi pro eorum devotione maluerint, praetermissis suis parochiis; et hanc libertatem non posse eis adimi a synodalibus constitutionibus: quodque Parochiani suis Curatis illis diebus non tenentur ad oblationem faciendam, sed in voluntate dantis sit, cui velit eam dare.—Obnoxium quavis causa faciendi missas celebrari pro vivis et defunctis, non satisfacere debito suo, si per curatum sacerdotem id fieri curet, quoniam ratione curae ad id sit obligatus. Decimarum solutionem, etsi de praecepto sit, non tamen de praecepto esse, cui sit solvenda: liberum igitur esse omnibus cui velint eas solvere, vel in opera pietatis pro arbitrio

impendere. Morientes in habitu et professione Ordinis Minorum ultra annum non passuros in poenis purgatorii, quoniam b. Franciscus ex divino privilegio quotannis ad purgatorium descendat, professoresque omnes sui Ordinis adducat secum ad coelum (compare Part iii. § 112, note 7). Fratres Mendicantes, etiam non praesentatos Ordinariis, omnium confessiones posse audire; illosque, qui apud eos sint confessi, non obligari, etiam semel in anno confiteri proprio sacerdoti, nec petere confitendi veniam. Episcopos dioecesanos etiam in suis Synodis non posse sibi reservare absolutiones aliquorum criminum praeter casus in jure expressos. Thus in 1494 the Synod of Nitra in Hungary past some decrees against the impostures of the Mendicants, Constitutiones Syn. Nitriensis c. 30. (in C. Péterffy Conc. Hungariae. P. i. p. 277): Nam sicut ad nostrum pervenit auditum, non sine multa temeritatis audacia, et deceptione multiplici animarum indulgentias populo motu proprio de facto concedunt; super votis dispensant; a perjuriis, homicidiis et peccatis aliis sibi confitentes absolvunt; male ablata incerta, data sibi aliqua pecuniae quantitate, remittunt; tertiam et quartam partem de poenitentiis injunctis relaxant; animas tres, vel plures parentum vel amicorum illorum, qui eleemosynas eis conferunt, de purgatorio, ut asserunt mendaciter, extrahunt, et ad gaudia Paradisi perducunt; confratribus et benefactoribus ipsorum remissionem plenariam peccatorum indulgent; et aliqui ex ipsis eos a poena et culpa, ut eorum verbis utamur, absolvunt. John Busch (see § 140 note 4) once heard a Carmelite from Brabant preach at Hanover (see Busch de reform. monasteriorum iii. c. 16. in Leibnitii Scriptt. Brunsv. ii. p. 925) who being instigated by the unreformed Franciscans of the place, taunted him as the reformer of monasteries, and at the same time made such statements as these: quoties missa per mundum celebratur, toties una anima de purgatorio liberatur, and: Mendicantes, Episcopis praesentati a suis superioribus, sunt supra Plebanos. Busch compelled him to recant both of these statements in public. How the Franciscans laud their founder is shown by the opinions which the observant Joannes Mercator had preacht in Besançon, and which were condemned by the Sorbonne in 1486 (d'Argentré collectio judiciorum de novis erroribus I., ii. 318): I. Sedes Luciferi erat super choros angelorum et in decimo ordine, quae erat vacua et modo mirabiliter praeparata atque adornata, reservata b. Francisco soli, quia ab ea ejectus fuerat Lucifer propter suam superbiam. Et in hoc seculo nullus fuit inventus habens tantam humilitatem, quantam habuit b. Franciscus. II. B. Franciscus assimilabitur Christo in quadraginta modis seu manieribus. Quodque ipse est secundus Christus et secundus filius Dei. III. B. Francisci conceptio fuit praenunciata ab Angelo. Natus in praesepio inter bovem et asinum. Quem parere aliter, seu alio loco non poterat mater sua. IV. B. Franciscus stigmata suscepit successive, duabus horis semper interpositis, et in susceptione cujuslibet cecidit in terram propter nimium dolorem, quem in suscipiendo suscipiebat, ita ut spiritum emisisset, nisi Christus eum confortasset. V. B. Franciscus in suscipiendo praedicta stigmata tantos dolores sustinuit vel quasi, quantos habuit Christus in passione. VI. B. Franciscus incepit recipere praedicta stigmata a summo mane, et perseveravit in susceptione usque ad horam nonam, qua hora dominus noster Jesus expiravit. VII. B. Franciscus cum clavis retortis ab intus et extra,

to be the most faithful servants of the Popes;[12] and this they

in ipsis stigmatibus inclusis, dicta stigmata portavit per duos annos VIII. Christus in propria persona percutiendo sua manu stigmata praedicta infixit. IX. B. Franciscus vulnus seu stigmata lateris sui suscepit, quando Christus latus suum vulneratum in cruce lateri ipsius b. Francisci applicuit. X. In susceptione stigmatum praedictorum petra scissa est, ut in passione Christi, in cujus petrae scissura ipse Johannes, qui hoc praedicat, brachium suum immisit. XI. B. Franciscus obtinuit a Deo privilegium, quod anno quolibet descendit ad locum Purgatorii in die solemnitatis suae, et animos quorumlibet Religiosorum et Religiosarum et omnium de habitu ipsius s. Francisci seu Fratrum Minorum in ipso Purgatorio existentium extrahit, et secum educit in Paradisum, quemadmodum Christus seu ejus anima descendit ad inferna, et tertia die animas patrum secum eduxit. XII. B. Franciscus etiam obtinuit a Deo, quod Religiosi qui non bene servant regulam suam, non possent diu remanere in hoc mundo nec in praedicta Religione; et quod murmurantes aut male loquentes de Religiosis et de Ordine praedicto graviter punirentur in hoc saeculo et in alio. Quod nulli in vita sua revelavit ipse b. Franciscus, nisi s. Leoni confessori suo, qui post ejusdem b. Francisci obitum revelavit. The Franciscans were even surpast by the Carmelites in extravagances with regard to purgatory. They had asserted long before, that persons dying in the Carmelite scapulary would not be condemned (see Part ii. § 69 note 12); they now added, that these persons were fetcht out of purgatory by the Virgin Mary, on the next Sunday evening after their death. In confirmation of this they forged, in the course of the 15th century, a Bull of John XXII., the so-called Bulla Sabbathina, which is first mentioned about 1496 by Joannes Palaeonydorus, a Carmelite at Mechlin, see Jo. Launoji dissertt. de Simonis Stockii viso in his Opp. II. ii. p. 406. According to this the Holy Virgin had appeared to the Pope as a Carmelite nun, and declared to him (l. c. p. 404): Fratres professi dicti Ordinis supplicio solvantur et culpa, et die, quo ipsi saeculo recedunt, ac properato gradu accelerant Purgatorium, ego mater gratiosa descendam Sabbato post eorum obitum, et quot inveniam in Purgatorio liberabo, et eos in montem sanctum vitae aeternae reducam. At the same time was forged a confirmation of this Bull by Alexander V. in 1409 (l. c. p. 423), and the fraud met with such success that the Bulla Sabbathina actually was confirmed by Clement VII. in 1530 (l. c. p. 440. 446), and Paul V. in 1613. Amort hist. indulgentiarum i. p. 144 considers the Bulla Sabbathina and its confirmation by Alexander V. to be genuine.

[12] As a proof of the eulogiums which the Popes were wont to bestow upon them in their Bulls, see the beginning of the so-called Bulla aurea (see note 2): Sacri Praedicatorum et Minorum Fratrum Ordines, instar duorum primorum fluminum a coelestium voluptatum et amoenitatum Paradiso egredientium, sacrosanctae Ecclesiae terram, ne mundanarum cupiditatum et vitiorum calore arescat, praeclarae doctrinae, virtuosorum operum, ac multiplicium meritorum imbribus irrigantes, magis illam in dies fructuosam efficiunt. Hi sunt duo Seraphim, qui in sublimi contemplationis et seraphici amoris alis elevati, a

were, so far as the interests of their order fell in with those of the Pontiff; where they diverged their obedience also came to an end.[13]

§ 142.

INDEPENDENT ECCLESIASTICAL COMMUNITIES.

At the beginning of this period, the Beghards, but particularly the Brothers of the common life (Fratres vitae communis, also Fratres bonae voluntatis, Fratres collationarii, Clerici devoti, called also in many places, Fratres Hieronymiani or Gregoriani) in the Netherlands, had to sustain a severe attack from Matthew Grabo, Lector of the Dominican monastery at Groningen; he pronounced their whole method of life unlawful and heretical. However, these brethren were supported by the reformed canons of the Windsheim General-chapter, with whom they maintained unbroken the closest intercourse. Grabo being accused before the Bishop of Utrecht, appealed to the Pope. So the question was

terrenisque rebus abstracti, assiduo divinarum laudum clamore, et immensorum beneficiorum humano generi a summo opifice Deo exhibitorum declaratione, ferventissimis praedicationibus populos instruendo, et ad coeleste iter dirigendo insistentes, multiplicata talenta eis credita, Domino Deo mundae segetis, animarum scilicet Redemptoris nostri Jesu Christi pretiosi sanguinis effusione redemptarum, copiosos in horrea s. Ecclesiae manipulos referunt. Ili sunt duae tubae, per quas Dominus praecipit ad pabulum sacri Evangelii universum populum assiduis praedicationibus advocari, ut in omnem terram exiret sonus eorum, et redderent sibi populum acceptabilem, et bonorum operum sectatorem.

[13] In 1519 Erasmus wrote to Albert elector of Mayence (Epist. 477. Opp. ed. Lugd. Bat. T. III. P. i. p. 515): Mundus oneratus est constitutionibus humanis, oneratus est opinionibus et dogmatibus scholasticis, tyrannide Fratrum Mendicantium, qui cum sint satellites Sedis Romanae, tamen eo potentiae ac multitudinis evadunt, ut ipsi Romano Pontifici atque ipsis adeo Regibus sint formidabiles. His, cum pro ipsis facit Pontifex, plus quam Deus est: in his, quae faciunt adversus eorum commodum, non plus valet quam somnium. The following may serve as examples. The resistance of the Franciscans to John XXII. (Part iii. § 113 note 7 ff.) The rejection by the Dominicans of the immaculate conception of the Virgin Mary, notwithstanding all the papal decisions, see below § 145 note 14 ff., and the disregard of the Decretal of Boniface VIII. (see Part ii.§ 69 note 3) see above notes 8, 9, 10

brought before the council of Constance.[1] Here the principal

[1] Jo. Buschii (see § 140 note 4) Chronicon Canonicorum regularium Ord. S. Augustini Capituli Windesemensis (Accedit Chron. Montis S. Agnetis auct. Thoma a Kempis, una cum vindiciis Kempensibus Heriberti Rosweydi Soc. Jesu pro libro de imitatione Christi. Antverp. 1621. 8.), written in 1464, lib. ii. c. 58. p. 547 : Quidam de Ordine Praedicatorum Frater, Matthaeus Grabo nomine, grande volumen ediderat contra devotos Presbyteros, Clericos et Beginas, pariter in communi sine regulae alicujus professione viventes. Quem Pastori in Daventria repraesentans adhaesionem expetiit, et ut in ejus transiret sententiam publice contra eos sermocinando, rogavit. But he sent the book to the rector of the house of the Brethren at Deventer, and he to the prior of the regular canons at Nordhorn, who carried the case before the Bishop of Utrecht. When Grabo appealed to the Pope, the Bishop betook himself to the council, with the proposal ut iste audacter Frater Matthaeus Grabo digna feriretur animadversione, reprobis in exemplum, and bore witness quod nihil unquam mali, dignum suspicione, contra morem Ecclesiae, in devotis hujus patriae sexus utriusque invenit delitescere, sed omnes et singuli vitam veram apostolicam Ecclesiae primitivae, ut veri Christiani, ad purum servarent. The purport of Grabo's work appears from the letters written by his advocates at the council of Constance to the Pope, in v. d. Hardt Conc. Const. iii. p. 106 : cum lector (M. Grabo)—videret, plures personas sexus utriusque novae Religionis habitum assumentes, et conventicula facientes, nullum habitum approbatum profitentes, statuentesque sibi ipsis Superiores pro libitu voluntatis, et sub simulata devotione populum attrahentes, et multa contra veritatem sacrae Scripturae ac sacros Canones attentantes, et de eleemosynis Christifidelium domos sumptuosas ad modum monasteriorum regularium aedificantes, et se invicem in eis includentes cum observatione quorundam rituum minime per Ecclesiam approbatorum : coepit super hoc apud semetipsum ardenter cogitare, et an hoc stantibus regulis fidei et sacris canonibus Ecclesia dissimulare deberet; revolvensque diligentius sacrae scripturae sanctorumque Doctorum libros et sacros Canones, quasdam conclusiones, reprobantes illorum modum vivendi, extraxit, et scripturae commendavit. Quarum una principalis est, ex qua aliae deducuntur exceptis paucis : *nullus potest licite et meritorie, imo nec veraciter, obedientiae, paupertatis, et castitatis universalia consilia conjunctim, extra veras Religiones manendo, adimplere.* Forsooth ad saeculares pertinet tantum particularia vota offerre, ad regulares autem universalia praedicta. Moreover the conclusio undecima : *abdicare quemquam omnia propter Christum, extra praedictas religiones manendo, seu nisi veram aliquam Religionem ingrediatur, est sibi et suis, quorum cura sibi incumbit, vitam subtrahere :* quod est, homicidium tot hominum committere quot ejus curae subduntur. Haec est de mente s. Thomae Secunda Secundae Qu. 33. Ex quibus sequitur, quod *nullus potest abdicationem omnium propter Christum facere extra veram Religionem manendo sine peccato mortali :* quia subtraheret sibi vitam.—Ex quibus sequitur, quod *dicens pertinaciter, omnia esse meritorie abjicienda propter Christum in saeculo manenti, haereticus est dicendus.*—Ex quibus sequitur, quod *proprietas*

authorities pronounced at once in favour of the Brethren,[2] and

temporalium rerum est statui saeculari essentialiter annexa. Et per consequens *Dominus Papa salva auctoritate sua non potest dispensare cum saecularibus, ut omnibus in singulari careant, seu nihil in singulari habeant.*—Si enim Dominus Papa posset hoc alicui concedere,—posset ei concedere propriae vitae subtractiones etc.—Sequitur etiam, quod *religiosus sine peccato mortali non potest abdicare voluntatem habendi communia* (compare Part iii. § 113 note 11, ss.):—quia sine illis vivere non posset, cum per suam professionem renunciaverit omnibus et singulis propriis singularibus.—Grabo's statements are more fully comprized in the 25 articles which follow. The last of these are: XXI. Excommunicati sunt omnes communem vitam ducentes extra Religionem approbatam. XXII. Quare similiter excommunicati sunt illi, qui vitam communem extra Religionem approbatam ducentibus praebent eleemosynam. Et qui tales fovent consilio et auxilio vel defensione, similiter stant et sunt in statu perpetuae damnationis. Et nisi de hujusmodi eorum excessibus magna contritione poenituerint, ad vitam aeternam non possunt pervenire, neque salvi permanere. XXIII. Omnes vitam communem ducentes extra Religionem approbatam sunt illi, a quibus Salvator noster praecipit esse abstinendum, et tanquam a falsis Prophetis attendendum. XXIV. Quilibet faciens contra jura canonica peccat mortaliter. XXV. Nullus corpore validus absque communi utilitate et necessitate potest extra veras Religiones sine peccato eleemosynas Christifidelium tollere.

[2] For instance Petrus de Alliaco and Jo. Gerson in their opinion upon Grabo's propositions in v. d. Hardt iii. p. 112 ss. The former remarks on Act. 4, 32—34, quod in illa congregatione primitiva fuerunt multi uxorati et alii diversarum conditionum saeculares (yet they had all things in common) qui scilicet non erant adstricti per votum ad tria consilia evangelica castitatis, obedientiae, et paupertatis quemadmodum sunt professi Religionum per b. Basilium, Benedictum et Augustinum ac similes introductarum. Quas iste, ponens hujusmodi conclusiones, appellat veras Religiones, tanquam extra illas non sit vera Religio, quod falsum est, imo haereticum, si sic per praecisionem intelligatur: quoniam christiana vera est Religio etiam apud saeculares. He pronounces Grabo's tractatus to be haereticalis et igni tradendus. Gerson also supported this opinion, and declaims with especial force against the misuse of the word Religio, see l. c. p. 116: Propositio iii. Religio Christiana potest absque voto obligante ad consilia perfecte, imo perfectissime, observari. Patet de Christo, qui non legitur vovisse consilia, qui fuit tamen suae legis perfectissimus observator. Patet insuper de Apostolis et discipulis Christianis in primitiva Ecclesia, quorum multi erant uxorati, multi possessiones habuerunt, quidam in communi, quidam in proprio.—Prop. iv. Religio christiana non requirit ad perfectiorem sui observationem tam in praeceptis, quam in consiliis, quod superaddatur alia religio. Quales dicuntur observationes institutae per sanctos Basilium et Augustinum etc., et quales Anshelmus vocat religiones factitias. Prop. v. Religiones hujusmodi factitiae satis improprie et abusive et forsan arroganter dictae sunt status perfectionis. Gerson decides to this effect Corollarium iii., quod tota doctrina fratris istius inniti-

Grabo was sentenced to renounce his errors.[3] Henceforth also the institution of the Brethren of the common life spread through the Netherlands and northern Germany in connexion with the Windsheim congregation of regular canons.[4] The numerous

tur stultae et insanae fantasiae, imo et blasphemiae.—Coroll. iv., quod fautores et defensores istius fratris sunt arcendi seu repellendi, et nisi desistere voluerint, graviter puniendi; ita tamen, quod non laxetur nimia licentia ad defensionem Begardorum et Beguttarum, si reperiantur effrenes, et discoli, et scandalosi in sacris observationibus.

[3] Jo. Buschii Chron. Windeshemense lib. ii. c. 58. p. 549: The judges appointed by the council to examine the case dictum fratrem Grabonem miserunt in carcerem. Et nisi librum suum propter articulos erroneos in eo comprehensos ipse damnaret, et se plurimum errasse publice proclamaret, ceteraque similia juxta sua demerita juste sibi injungenda libenter perficeret, de carcere exire nisi ad ignem omnino non posset. Qui pelli suae pertimescens, saniori usus concilio, reum se cognovit, cuncta praemissa et multo majora in publica omnium audientia aperte confessus, librum suum damnavit, vitam et conversationem devotorum Presbyterorum, Clericorum et Beginarum Daventriae, Zwollis et alibi in communi sine professione viventium valde recommendavit, et sic ignem mortemque evadens in pace fuit dimissus. Haec omnia seriatim Patres dictarum congregationum registrata conservant. The form of renunciation by Matth. Grabo may be seen in v. d. Hardt. ii. p. 118 ss. On the whole matter see Mosheim de Beghardis et Beguinabus p. 461 ss.

[4] Jo. Buschii Chron. Windeshem. lib ii. c. 15. p. 316: Sicut magister Gerardus Magnus origo fuit et pater primus omnium hominum modernae devotionis hujus patriae, ad quem Deo servire cupientes securum semper habuere recursum, et post eum pater venerabilis Dominus Florentius Radewini primus Rector congregationis Clericorum in Daventria; ita devotus pater noster, frater Joannes de Huesden, Prior in Windesem (from 1391—1424), eorum fidelis factus est successor in cura consulendi, auxiliandi, et defendendi. Ipse enim discreta sua providentia, caritateque latissima omnium corda devotorum benigne ad se trahens, unum ex ipsis se fuisse, et etiam semper mansisse, verbis, rebus, et moribus ubique demonstravit. Qui totum mundum salvare cupiens, plurima servorum et ancillarum Dei habitacula undique in patria multiplicari procuravit: nam et fratres domus suae, Capitulique generalis ad hoc aptiores in loca diversa transmisit pro novis monasteriis Ordinis nostri erigendis, fundandis et consummandis, antiquisque reformandis et in regulari observantia debite instituendis: patres etiam Congregationum valde sollicitavit, ut Presbyteros, Clericos, et sorores sive Beginas ad hoc utiles vel idoneos ad diversas mundi partes, in civitates, oppida et villas, pro novis congregationibus inchoandis, et in communi vita more suo instituendis, animo pio et volenti [*mittere*] non tardarent.—Factum est autem, ut plurima Ordinis nostri Monasteria, multaeque Clericorum et sororum devotarum Congregationes per totam istam patriam Zallandiam, Westphaliam, Gelriam, Brabantiam, Hol-

houses of the Brethren were always distinguisht, both by a practical religious mysticism, and by a zeal for useful employment in many ways.[5] Many brethren were engaged in schools or active in their behalf;[6] others were employed in business of all kinds, to

landiam, Zelandiam, Drentheam, Twentheam, Frisiam, Trajectum, et circa partes Rheni in diebus nostris de novo sunt constructa, et etiam ex antiquis plurima reformata. Ex quibus *patres, fratres et sorores de tertia regula s. Francisci nuncupati plus quam centum domos sive Congregationes devotas extrahentes*, sub uno provinciali Capitulo regulariter vivere, et Deo fideliter deservire usque hodie comprobantur; et *ipsi patres Congregationum devotarum primi*, juxta morem Ecclesiae primitivae sub regula Christi caritate pariter in communi secundum Evangelium viventes, *habent adhuc hodie domos sexus utriusque unitas numero paene quinquaginta*, virorum videlicet paene viginti, et sororum triginta; nosque jam habemus *Monasteria Ordinis Canonicorum regularium sexus utriusque Capitulo generali de Windesem incorporata plus quam septuaginta, virorum videlicet sexaginta duo, et tredecim sanctimonialium.*—Patres ergo devoti in diebus Domini Florentii Radewini pro sui status et devotionis conservatione in Daventria simul ad colloquium consueverant convenire; post ejus transitum ad Congregationem Clericorum in Zwollis—ad colloquium annuale in Dei timore celebrandum omnes pariter convenerunt in *Dominica Misericordias Domini* post Pascha, aut in feriis consequentibus, cum Ecclesia generale Capitulum in Windesem celebraret, propter loci convenientiam, et Capituli nostri generalis propinquitatem, et maxime propter Priorem nostrum in Windesem, ad quem finito colloquio cuncti Patres eorum principaliores accedere solebant, ut cuncta in ipsorum decreta colloquiis perpetue de ipsius consilio firmarentur. Simili modo Patres Congregationum Westphaliae, Saxoniae, Coloniae *Dominica Jubilate* in Monasteriensem civitatem ad colloquium annuale pariter conveniunt, Priore de Northorn, aut Priore de Bodike ibidem tunc praesente. More particular notices of individual houses may be seen in Verhandeling over de Broederschap van G. Grote, en over den invloed der Fraterhuizen, op den wetenschappelijken en godsdienstigen Toestand, voornamelijk van de Nederlanden, na de xiv. Eeuw, door G. H. M. Delprat. Utrecht 1830. 8. p. 36 ss.

[5] See Delprat p. 193 ss.

[6] Several of the Houses of Brethren opened schools themselves, e.g. that in Delft (Delprat p. 92), in Herzogenbusch (p. 96), in Ghent (p. 106), in Utrecht (p. 127) in Liege (p. 142), and in Cambray (p. 145). The instruction given in these schools may have been at times in the highest degree incomplete, see Erasmi epist. ad Lamb. Grunnium, below note 13. Elsewhere the brethren were satisfied with helping the existing schools of the town, with furnishing poor scholars with lodging, food, and books, with taking them under their care, and giving them an opportunity to earn something for themselves. Thus the school at Zwoll owed its celebrity, which began under the Rector Joannes Cele († 1417, see with regard to him Buschii chron. Windesem lib. ii. c. 68 p. 601 ss.) in great measure to the brethren of the place (Delprat. p.

earn their livelihood.[7] At the same time it was a principal object of the association to forward the religious education of the people,[8] and in particular to train pious clergy and monks: it

p. 63). Thus also the brethren supported the schools at Gouda (Delprat p. 109), Groningen (p. 116), and Harderwyk (p. 119) But above all the school at Deventer, as it was under the Rector Alexander Hegius (from 1465—1498, see with regard to him Herm. Hamelmanni oratio de doctis Westphaliae viris in his Opp. Genealog. ac. hist. i. p. 94 ss. Delprat p. 295), known to fame through almost the whole world, and several brethren assisted in the education of this school (Delprat. p. 54 ss). In Herford the brethren taught in the school of the Pusinnen-church, see Knefel's Gesch. des Friedrichsgymnasiums in Herford. Herford 1817. S. 9.

[7] The Congregations or Houses of Brethren consisted of Presbyteri, Clerici, and Laici, whose offices were naturally distinct. The Presbyteri had in their charge the government of the Society, the religious worship and the work of education, the Clerici were the young men who were receiving education with a view of dedicating themselves to the clerical office under the rule, the Laici the pious laymen, who plied business of all kinds. The brethren often employed themselves chiefly in the copying of manuscripts (Delprat p. 314); the house of Hildesheim provided the reformed monasteries in the neighbourhood with the requisite church books (Busch de reform. monast. 1, 54 in Leibnitii Script. Brunsv. ii. p. 855), soon after the invention of printing a press was set up by the fraternity of Gouda, the first in the Netherlands (Delpr. p. 111, 313): in the house at Herford the parchment required by the copyists was prepared, beer was brewed for sale, wafers were manufactured for the oblation, &c. Knefel's Gesch. des Friedrichsgymnasiums in Herford S. 9.

[8] Their collationes (in the Netherlands collatien) contributed especially to this end; these were assemblies for divine service on Sundays and festivals, in which portions of the gospels were read in the language of the people, and practically explained, after which the preachers askt questions of the persons present. The brethren also spread small religious tracts among the people (Delprat p. 213. 261). Proofs of the same facts may be seen in Delprat p. 306 ss. Comp. Jo. Busch Chron. Windesem. lib. i. c. 47 p. 214: Quantae in saeculo sunt personae sexus utriusque, quae amicitia his (congregationibus) conjunctae a saeculi vanitate per eas conversae, et ad meliora, sanctum videlicet propositum, et bonam voluntatem libenter Deo serviendi, ipsarum exemplo inductae et provocatae, quamvis ad omnia evangelica consilia statim arripienda propter multa impedientia nondum dare se valent, vitam attamen sanctam, a peccatis alienam, ad earum informationem student observare, quis enumerabit? This activity was naturally most offensive to the Mendicants, and so occurrences might often happen, such as the following, which Jo. Busch de reform. Monaster. iii. c. 17 in Leibnitii Scriptt. Brunsv. ii. p. 925 s. records: Lector quidam Ordinis Fratrum Praedicatorum in Zutphania publice praedicavit, quod laici libros teutonicales habere non deberent, et sermones non nisi ad popu-

soon became a fruitful training school for the monasteries.[9] This sphere of duty and the reverence in which the Brethren were held by the people, kept alive the jealousy of the Mendicants; and inasmuch as the Brethren belonged to the large class of Beghards they could not fail to find in the double meaning of

lum in Ecclesia fieri deberent. Ego autem simplex tunc frater in Windesem, in Zutphaniam missus cum fratre pro negotio, hoc audiens et sciens, plus quam centum congregationes sororum et Beginarum in terra Trajectensi plures habere libros teutonicales, et eos quotidie legere singulariter et in refectorio, constanter contradixi. Busch betook himself, on this account, to the prior of the Dominicans. He answered at first: Laici quidam altos habent in teutonico libros, videlicet Sententiarum et similes quos quidam Ordinis nostri transtulit in teutonicum ex latino, Valens Doctor; alii Missale etiam cum Canone habent in teutonico: ergo non valet, quod laici libros legant in teutonico. Busch answered: Hoc non approbo, quod simplices laici, viri vel foeminae, tam altos et divinos libros habent teutonicales: imo et Canonem, in teutonico apud Moniales inventum, ego combussi. Veruntamen libros morales de vitiis et virtutibus, de incarnatione, vita et passione Christi, de vita et sancta conversatione et martyrio ss. Apostolorum, Martyrum, Confessorum et Virginum; homilias quoque et sermones Sanctorum, ad emendationem vitae, morum disciplinam, inferni timorem, patriaeque coelestis amorem provocantes, habere et quotidie legere cunctis doctis et indoctis utilissimum est. Quod si istos admittere non vultis, ego dicta doctorum s. Ecclesiae, Augustini, Gregorii, Ambrosii et Hieronymi, caeterorumque orthodoxorum in scriptis vobis ostendam, quod hujusmodi habere libros omnino utile est et licitum. At last he threatened to bring him before the Bishop of Utrecht; and then the Prior compelled the Lector to recant in public.

[9] Jo. Buschii Chron. Windesemense ii. c. 16. p. 321: Licet nos Canonici regulares altiorem in Ecclesia militante gradum super patres et fratres Congregationum devotarum obtinere videamur, et in oculis hominum statum gerere digniorem; tamen Pater noster Joannes Huesden (see above note 4) frequenter nobis valde eos commendavit, dicens, quod ipsi in veris virtutibus, vita sancta, conversatione et moribus in regno Dei nos saepe praecedent, quia vere vitam ducunt apostolicam, in Ecclesia primitiva sub s. Spiritus regimine ab omnibus Christianis observatam, a mundo jam tunc despectam et parum reputatam.—Commendavit autem eos non solum ex eo quod vitam sanctam et communem, simplicem obedientiam, cordis et corporis castitatem, sub simplici habitu et humili statu, Deo noti, hominibus despecti, summa devotione gestiunt custodire; verum etiam et maxime quia cunctis Ordinibus reformatis, imo toti Ecclesiae Dei de bonis religioni ac regimini aptis Clericis et personis quotidie satagunt providere. Frequentantes enim Clericos, et laicos servientes saepissime ad se accersientes, ad mundi contemptum, emendatioris vitae propositum, religionis desiderium, morum disciplinam, Dei timorem, gehennae horrorem, patriaeque

this name a pretext for persecution.[10] Eugene IV. indeed took the persecuted Brethren under his protection;[11] but many of them found themselves nevertheless compelled to unite with the Ter-

caelestis amorem suis sanctis exhortationibus miris modis solent inducere: quos consequenter ad amica familiariaque colloquia invitare, de vitiis exstirpandis virtutibusque acquirendis ac tentationibus resistendis informare, et ad meliora provocare, in Dei timore conservare, humilem habitum facere portare, in confessionibus expedire, et si forent pauperes, hospitia et bona habitacula diligenter procurare, atque continuo ad monasteria transmittendos componere solent et praeparare. Cumque in scientiis usque ad sacerdotium, et in sanctis moribus usque ad vitam regularem viderunt eos profecisse, tunc ad loca confugii, ubi animas suas poterunt salvare, videlicet ad monasteria Ordinum diversorum juxta desiderium omnium et singulorum per literas testimoniales eos solent dirigere, aut propriis in personis ipsis conventibus ad habitandum praesentare. Tali namque modo cuncta Ordinis nostri monasteria jam annis plus quam septuaginta per Patres praefatos in debita observantia noscuntur conservata —Quemadmodum igitur Patres jam praedicti nostra monasteria per idonearum Deum timentium personarum subministrationem in sancta religione probantur conservare; ita nos vicissim sanctam conversationem eorum et vitam Deo placentem *ab hominum iniquorum, maxime Mendicantium non reformatorum perniciosa infestatione omnino defendamus*:—qui omnes ex uno fonte initium nostrum primordiale agnoscimur habuisse.

[10] See notes 8, 9, Jo. Busch de reform. Monaster. iii. c. 15. in Leibnit. Scriptt. Brunsv. ii. p. 923: Praedicator Ordinis Fratrum Minorum, Dominus German,—Lector et Guardianus in Hanover, publice in ambone praedicavit in Hanover, omnes Beginas fore condemnandas, quae sine tertia regula s. Francisci pariter habitarent, sive in communi sive in propriis viventes. The Beguines in Hanover betook themselves thereupon to Busch, at that time provost of Sulta: he took up their case: the guardian appealed to the constitutions of Clement V. (Part iii. § 113. note 1.) and wisht to remonstrate, but he was nevertheless soon taught to recant.

[11] By the Bull addrest to all Bishops in Germany, Brabant, and Flanders Piis votis fidelium dd. iv. Idus Maji 1431 (in Mosheim de Beghardis et Beguinabus p. 668 ss.) in which first the Bull of Gregory XI. (Part iii. § 115 note 7) is adopted and confirmed; and then it proceeds inter alia; Et quanquam praedicti pauperes (above they are called dilecti filii de cellis, seu voluntariae paupertatis pauperes), viri de per se scilicet, et mulieres seorsum, in suis distinctis domibus absque mutua eorum conversatione commorantes, in paupertate et continentia, in humilitatis spiritu Ecclesias devote frequentent; et Romanae Ecclesiae ac eorum Ordinariis—in omnibus reverenter obediant; nullisque erroribus seu ritibus, qui salutaribus praeceptis et fidei orthodoxae repugnent, se involvant; sed liberaliter—miserabiles ac alias honestas personas, ad eorum loca declinantes, gratia hospitalitatis recipiunt, ac requisiti infirmorum curam gerunt, decedentium fidelium corpora, etiam tempore furoris pestilentialis in terris, quas habitant, ad sepulturam ecclesiasti-

tiaries of the Franciscans,[12] in order to obtain peace. However afterwards the Mendicants were more favorable to the Brethren, for the monkish training which they gave to the young, brought them also many novices.

cam deferendo, ac alia pietatis et caritatis opera exercendo; etiam de his, quae manibus propriis et mendicatis acquirunt suffragiis, egenis erogando, viventes in communi; adeoque Christifideles populi zelo sinceritatis, favoris et dilectionis ipsos plurimum complectuntur:—verumtamen iidem pauperes, ut fidei digna relatione percepimus, a quibusdam haereticae pravitatis inquisitoribus, ac diversis maxime Religiosis Ordinum mendicantium, ac aliis eorum aemulis in ipsorum bono proposito indebite et injuste inquietantur et perturbantur; ac praetextu praemissorum, captatis exinde quibusdam occasionibus et fictis coloribus, eis diversa gravamina inferuntur pariter et jacturae in animarum molestantium periculum, et pauperum hujusmodi laesionem et scandalum. On the other hand it was appointed to these societies to live in common as hitherto: it was forbidden that any one should disturb them; all right over them was taken away from the Inquisitors and Mendicants ita quod ipsi inquisitores fratres et quivis alii nullam inquisitionis, visitationis, jurisdictionis, superioritatis potestatem vel officium in eosdem, eorumque domos valeant exercere, nec in ipsos excommunicationis seu alias sententias vel poenas promulgare. They were to be subject to the ordinary alone: but strolling Beghards were not to be tolerated: a power was given to the ordinary to proceed against all the persecutors of these societies with every ecclesiastical censure. In fine this Bull was not to be understood, as if it confirmed the statum praedictorum ut ordinem religionis approbatae. Another Bull issued by Eugene IV. in favour of the brethren dd. 15. Dec. 1431 may be seen in Revius Daventria illustris p. 68 ss.

[12] According to the statement of John Busch frequently repeated, *e.g.*, Chron. Windesem. ii. 15. above note 4, this was the case with more than a hundred congregations. Others on the contrary adhered all the closer to their freedom and distinctiveness. Thus the Brethren in Deventer rejected the proposal of Nicholas Cardinal of Cusa, to convert them into canonici, see Dumbar Analecta T. i. p. 173. Delprat p. 191.

[13] Erasmi epist. ad Lambertum Grunnium (in Opp. ed. Lugd. Bat. T. iii. p. ii. p. 1822 or App. Ep. 442): Two young men of promise, in order to induce them to enter the monastic state, were sent, instead of the University in contubernium quorundam, qui vulgo Fratres Collationarii vocantur, qui nusquam gentium non nidulantes, instituendis pueris quaestum facitant. Horum illud praecipuum est studium, ut si quem puerum videant indole generosiore et alacriore, cujusmodi fere sunt ingenia felicissima, eam plagis, minis, objurgationibus, altisque variis artibus frangant ac dejiciant, id appellant cicurare, vitaeque monasticae fingant. Quo quidem nomine satis amantur a Dominicanis ac Franciscanis, quod dicant ipsorum Ordines brevi interituros, nisi penes illos aleretur seminarium. Ex illorum enim cortibus legunt suos tirones. Equidem arbitror et inter illos esse viros quosdam minime

In Upper Germany and Switzerland these Brethren of the common life could find no entrance; and here the societies of the Beghards remained continually addicted to mendicancy, and nurseries of heresy.[14]

malos: sed quum optimorum auctorum inopia laborent; quum in suis tenebris suis quibusdam moribus ac ritibus degant, seque non aliis, sed sibi ipsis comparent; quum bonam diei partem cogantur precum et operarum pensis impendere; non video, quo pacto valeant liberaliter instituere pueritiam: certe res ipsa loquitur, non aliunde prodire adolescentes inelegantius doctos, aut moribus deterioribus.—Unus praeceptorum talis erat, ut Florentius (one of these youths) neget, se usquam vidisse monstrum vel indoctius, vel gloriosius. Et tales non raro praeficiuntur pueris. Non enim eliguntur eruditorum judicio, sed arbitrio patriarchae, qui plerumque litteras nescit. Alter vero, qui semper visus est unice delectari indole Florentiana, quum sentiret agi de reditu in patriam, coepit privatis colloquiis sollicitare animum adolescentis, ut ipsorum accederet instituto, multa commemorans quibus pueri solent illectari. Quod utinam esset factum! Nam aut volentem pietatis amor apud illos detinuisset, aut si res ita tulisset, licuisset in pristinam redire libertatem. Neque enim hoc hominum genus, quod habent praecipuum bonum, ac priscae religionis vestigium, votis insolubilibus adstringitur. —Ex hac hominum sodalitate novi, qui non modo terriculamentis ac blanditiis, verum etiam horrendis obtestationibus, ac prope dixerim, exorcismis et incantamentis pueros nondum egressos annum decimum quartum divites ac bene natos conati sunt obtundere, ut insciis parentibus ipsorum instituto semet addicerent.

[14] Compare especially the works of Felix Hämmerlin, composed against the Beghards (see § 139 note 7): Contra validos mendicantes, Descriptio Lolhardorum, Glossa bullarum per Beghardos impetratarum, written altogether about 1438: E.g. in the Descriptio Lolhardorum (Opp. fol. C. 2. a): Frequenter etiam accidit, ut patet, quod inter illam malam societatem fuerunt sectae et haereticorum conventicula in diebus et in terris nostris.—Et summarie quod in tota Alemannia superiore non est contra fidem catholicam haeresis introducta, nisi per vulpeculas illius sectae Beghardorum, Lolhardorum et Beghinarum malitiosissimae: absque eo quod quamplures latrones et Sodomitae sunt in eorum habitu reperti. In Switzerland part of the Beghards maintained themselves in towns, part led the life of Anchorites, see Glossa Bullarum (fol. C. 3.): Infirmorum curam gerunt illi frequenter, qui in civitatibus morantur, et ad hoc opus sylvestres et anachoretae non conveniunt, sed in talibus pure quiescunt.—In sepulturis quorumcunque se non intromittunt, qui in nemoribus degunt. Compare ejusd. liber de Religiosis proprietariis (fol. B. 5, a): Anachoretas nunc fallaciter se simulant Beghardi et Lolhardi in nemoribus et extra morantes, nullam regulam profitentes, et aliqui de tertia regula fratrum Minorum se recognoscentes, et fallaciter scapulare sumentes.

§ 143.

NEW ORDERS.

The most remarkable of the orders founded at this time is that of the Minims.[1] The founder Francis of Paula,[2] a small town in Calabria, after a short residence in an unreformed Franciscan monastery, first lived a life of unusual rigor as a hermit in the neighbourhood of his paternal town; and afterwards, in 1457, gathered about him a society of congenial spirits. With the fame of his miraculous powers,[3] his order also, which had been confirmed by Sixtus IV. in 1474, the members being designated as Eremitae s. Francisci,[4] spread first in Italy, then also in France after the superstitious Lewis XI., in fear of death, had summoned the founder to his side (1482),[5] and thence into Spain. The order, which was chiefly distinguisht from the rest of the monastic orders by its stated observance of the vita quadragesimalis, afterwards received a rule from its founder,[6] and therewith, in

[1] Helyot hist. des ordres religieux T. vii. p. 426 ss. Pragmatische Geschichte der vornehmsten Mönchsorden, Bd. 9. S. 7 ff.

[2] On his life see Acta Sanctorum Apr. T. i. p. 103 ss. ad d. 2. Apr. The earliest and most credible account of his life is composed by a disciple of the Saint A.D. 1502, ibid. p. 106 ss.

[3] Even his earliest Biographer, a disciple of the saint, records miracles in great numbers. Still these were common miracles enough: and the author himself confesses, that not all the Saint's miraculous cures were successful, see § 57 Acta ss. l. c. p. 119: Hic vero posset interrogare aliquis, cur non ii omnes exauditi sunt, qui ejus opem imploraverunt? In promptu autem responsio est, multos languere corporaliter, ut spiritualiter vivant etc.

[4] By the Bull Sedes Apostolica dd. 23. May 1474.

[5] Comp. on this head the account of the eye-witness Philip de Comines Mémoires lib. vi. c. 8.

[6] The first rule was confirmed by Alexander VI. in 1492. But afterwards Francis undertook certain alterations, and so four rules followed one after the other; the second was confirmed by Alexander VI. in 1501, the third in 1502, and the fourth and last by Julius II. dd. v. Kal. Aug. 1506. This fourth rule falls into three divisions, the Regula fratrum, the Regula sororum, and regula Tertiariorum. In the second and third rule, besides the three monastic vows, there was added as a fourth the votum vitae quadragesimalis: in the fourth rule, cap. 6, this was enjoined in the following words, ut singuli hujus Ordinis fratres a cibis

order to distinguish it from the fratres minores, and even to outdo them, the name Ordo Minimorum fratrum Eremitarum Fratris Francisci de Paula. The founder was canonized in 1513 soon after his death,[7] († 1507 in Plessis les Tours): in order to raise him to a saint, his disciples began to attribute to him points of resemblance to Christ, in imitation of the Franciscans, and these insipid fabrications, even after his canonization (1519)[9] were continued and enlarged by the Minims.[10]

carnalibus omnino abstineant, et dignos poenitentiae fructus in cibo quadragesimali taliter agant, quod ipsi carnes ac omnia sementinam originem a carnibus ipsis trahentia penitus vitent. Carnes igitur et pinguedo, ova, butyrum, caseus, et quaevis lacticinia ex eisdem congesta et producta, intus et extra, omnibus et singulis, fratribus ipsis et oblatis, sint omnino et irrefragabiliter interdicta.

[7] The Bulla beatificationis by Leo X. dd. Non. Jul. 1513 is in the Act. SS. l. c. p. 165.

[8] Thus it appears first in the processes which were instituted with a view to his canonization, that when a boatman refused to ferry him over to Sicily without money, he walkt across the straits on foot, see act, SS. l. c. p. 168: discessit ab eis usque ad balistae ictum, et orationem fecit et mare benedixit. Et in illo instanti aspexerunt b. Franciscum solum super undas euntem: et sic per illam partem transfretavit in Siciliam. Here indeed the whole story rests only on the assertion (testis) apud maritimam terrae Royae audivit dici: However, afterwards the account became more circumstantial and more imposing. Then in the same place it is recorded p. 173, how Franciscus de Paula had divided a few apples among many persons, cum unusquisque malum unum cepisset, nihilominus cistula evacuata non fuit, sed plena remansit; likewise, p. 186, how he had fed many people with a few loaves, et non videbatur deficere nec diminui, sed potius crescere; p. 182, how he calmed the raging of the sea and thus saved a boat: viso navigio coepit clamare: *Jesu, Jesu*, signum crucis faciendo. Unde immediate mare tranquillum factum est, et tempestas fugata est et cessavit.

[9] See Acta SS. l. c. p. 217.

[10] Thus the story, that upon the saint's birth, hymnodiam personuisse angelicam, sicut Christo nato, is first found in a work of Nicolaus Rovillardus, Romae 1623, see Act. SS. l. c. p. 198.

FOURTH CHAPTER.

INTERNAL HISTORY OF THE CHURCH.

§ 144.

HISTORY OF SCHOLASTICISM.

The Time of original production in Scholasticism was long gone by. The various Schools only repeated and maintained what their founders once had taught; their highest aim was to surpass each other in dialectic skill. Nominalism maintained the advantage it had won; though suspicion of its orthodoxy continued to cling to it. In 1473 Lewis XI. forbad all Nominalist teaching;[1] but in 1481, when he found himself obliged to

[1] The King's edict of 1. March 1473, may be seen in Bulaei hist. Univ. Paris. v. p. 706 sq. see p. 708: Et ulterius statuimus et edicimus, quod praedicta Aristotelis doctrina ejusque commentatoris Averrois, Alberti M., s. Thomae de Aquino, Aegidii de Roma, Alexandri de Hales, Scoti, Bonaventurae aliorumque Realium Doctorum, quorum doctrina, ut dictum est, retroactis temporibus sana securaque comperta est, tam in sacra theologia quam in artium Facultatibus in praedicta Universitate Paris. deinceps more solito legatur, doceatur, dogmatizetur, discatur et intimetur. Alteram autem praedictorum Nominalium —in eadem civitate aut alibi quoquoversum in regno nostro deinceps palam nec occulte quovismodo nullatenus esse legendam, docendam et dogmatizandam, aut aliquatenus sustinendam expresse decernimus. All the teachers of the University were to swear to be willing to obey this edict. The contemporary Robertus Gaguinus Ep. 25, informs a friend at Rome (l. c. p. 711): Res autem eo deducta est, ut Nominalibus veluti Elephantiae pruritu pestilentibus edictum sit exilium. Quorum celebriores libri, quos et bibliothecis Pontificum interdicto distrahi nefas erat, ferro et clavis tanquam compedibus, ne introspectentur, vinctos esse jussit Rex Ludovicus. Putares misellos codices arreptitia quadam phrenesi et daemonico furore, ne visentes impetant, esse ligatos. Sic indomitos leones et belluas vinclis cohibemus et carcere. A work

restore its freedom,[2] its triumph was decisive. Undoubtedly Nominalism still continued to assert a degree of freedom of thought, such as is betrayed in the works of Gabriel Biel at Tübingen († 1495) the last of the more eminent of the Schoolmen.[3] But the great mass of the Nominalists clung to a barren

in defence of the Nominalists thus states the causes of these persecutions (d'Argentré collectio judiciorum de novis erroribus I. ii. p. 287): Cujus potissimum tres causae reperiuntur. Prima est laus et gloria eorum, qui huic doctrinae insudant. Secunda causa est, quia qui dicuntur Nominales, ita aliquos et maxime Thomistas superant disputando, ut nullo modo eis resistere possint, et ob hoc eos penitus exterminare nituntur. Tertia causa est ex quadam haeresi conficta in Universitate Lovanii. Quidam enim Lovaniensis Regens (Petrus de Rivo, see the history of this controversy l. c. p. 258) tractatum composuit in quo negabat certitudinem et praesentiam divinam de contingentibus, asserens propositiones de futuro contingenti, etiam contentas in Biblia et a Christo prolatas, non esse veras. Quem tractatum his haeresibus plenam approbavit Lovaniensis Universitas, promotoremque suum Parisius misit sollicitare Facultatem theologiae, quatenus dictum tractatum approbaret. Cui cum multi dictae Facultatis Doctores, et illi maxime, qui doctrinae Nominalium exterminationem procurant, faverent; se viriliter objecerunt et opposuerunt illi qui dicuntur Nominales, nullum periculum pro defensione fidei formidantes, impedieruntque, ne theologiae Facultas dictum tractatum approbaret. Quod molestissime illi, qui dicuntur Reales, tulerunt, et usque ad xxiv. se dicto tractatui subscripserunt et illum approbaverunt.

[2] Bulaeus v. p. 739. d'Argentré I. ii. p. 302. The Provost of Paris writes to the University: Le Roi m'a chargé faire declouer et defermer tous les livres des Nominaux,—et que je vous fisse sçavoir que chacun y estudiast qui voudroit. The nations of Germany and Picardy, according to their extant declarations, regarded this decree as a triumph of the truth. The German nation divulges, quod veritatis et doctrina et via, quae diu latere non potest, publicaretur;—et clausi in compedibus seu catenis libri, ut lubet, aperirentur, a Studiosis visitentur, et a Doctoribus dogmatizentur, quicumque etiam Magistri doctrinam, quam lubet, libere doceant.

[3] His principal works are an unfinisht Collectorium ex Occamo in libb. iv. Sententiarum (ed. Tubingae 2 voll. fol. 1502, and at other times: sometimes quoted as Comm. in libb. iv. Sent. on which account these two titles have been once and again erroneously considered to belong to two different works), and Expositio Canonis Missae (ed. Tubing. 1499 and at other times). It is in consequence of his free-thinking views, that agreeably to the decree of Constance, he maintains the supremacy of the Church over the Pope Expos. Can. Lect. xxiii. fol. 30. col. 1; that he advocates the decrees of Basle (Coll. lib. iii. Dist. iii. Qu. 1. Art. 2.: Sunt impudentes, qui dicere ausi sunt, Basileense Concilium non fuisse legitime congregatum, et ideo constitutiones suas nullas fore, contra acceptationem eorum in concordatis Principum); that he doubts the

logic. Among the Schoolmen of this time St Antoninus[4] is pre-eminent in moral philosophy, but even in this field the love of logic only too often out-weighed truth and morality.[5] In the course of this period Scholasticism sunk in general estimation to the same degree that the newly awakened knowledge of antiquity increast. The struggle betwixt the two was the more unequal, as all men of distinguisht ability applied themselves to the latter. The gloomy halls of Scholasticism became more and more the resort of narrow-mindedness, ignorance, and defective education.[6] It made itself as ridiculous for its obscurity as it was contemptible for the empty and often irreverent trifling with

"character," which was thought to be the effect of certain sacraments (Coll. lib. iv. Dist. vi. qu. 2. art. 1. concl. 1. Characterem esse ponendum, nec ratio necessaria, nec evidens auctoritas probat, compare the whole Quaest.) That he declares absolution to be not judicialis (Coll. lib. ii. Dist. xxvii.: Non unquam sacerdos absolvit eum, qui non prius a Deo, summo sacerdote, absolutus est. Unde sacerdos absolvendo confitentem pronunciat eum absolutum, non remittit peccatum). Compare H. W. Biel diss. theol. de Gabriele Biel celeberrimo Papista Antipapista. Vitemb. 1719. 4.

[4] With regard to him see the sources at the beginning of this period. Summa Theologica in 4 Partt. There is an extract from this work in de Wette's Gesch. d. Christl. Sittenlehre. Zweite Hälfte. S. 179 ff.

[5] So says the author of the Preface to the edition of Petrus de Alliaco de emendatione Ecclesiae liber (s. loco et anno, but probably publisht in 1511) probably Ulric of Hutten: Theologia ista scholastica, quae est ingeniosa cum ad conscientias in nugis aggravandas, tum rursus ad inveniendas excusationes in peccatis multo solertissima.

[6] Their ignorance of Holy Scripture and the Church fathers was most astonishing, cf. Erasmus de ratione verae theologiae p. 87: Quale spectaculum est, theologum octogenarium nihil aliud sapere quam mera sophismata, et ad extremum usque vitae nihil aliud quam argutari? Nam hujusmodi non paucos vidimus olim Lutetiae, quibus si quid depromendum fuisset ex Paulo, videbantur sibi prorsus in alium mundum translati. Ejusd. epist. apologetica ad Mart. Dorpium (Opp. ed. Lugdun. T. ix.). Possem tibi producere, qui annum egressi octogesimum tantum aetatis in scholasticis tricis perdiderint, nec unquam contextum evangelicum evolverint, id quod a me compertum ipsi quoque demum confessi sunt. Bilibaldi Pirckheymeri epist. apologetica pro Reuchlino. Nurenbergae 1517 (in v. d. Hardt. hist. literaria reformationis. P. ii. p. 135): Non parum multos invenies, qui absque depravata illa concertatione, ac argutiarum fuligine sanctissimam theologiam consistere minime posse existimant. Hinc est quod vetus testamentum a similibus negligitur, novum quasi idiotis scriptum vilipenditur, Apostolorum doctrina vix lectione digna putatur. Hinc quod divus Hieronymus tamquam grammaticus contemnitur, b. Augustinus etiamnum ignorantiae damnatur, quem dicaculi illi nec argumenta

imaginary problems ;[7] and is represented in the Epistolis obscurorum virorum, though perhaps with a degree of satyrical exaggeration, still with truth in the main features. Thus at the time

sua, si in vitam reverteret, intellecturum somniant, non propter rudem illam et insignem barbariem, sed quia instantiarum, relationum, ampliationum, restrictionum, formalitatum, haecceitatum, quidditatum, et reliqua id genus portentosa vocabula ignoraret. Quicquid enim syllogismorum spinositate non intorquetur, id penitus a theologica eruditione alienum putant. Robertus Stephanus in the preface to Responsio ad censuras theologorum Parisiensium, quibus biblia a se excusa calumniose notarunt 1532 : Ante paucos annos quidam ex Sorbona sic loquebatur: miror quid isti juvenes nobis semper allegent novum testamentum. Per Deum ego Plus habebam quam quinquaginta annos, quod nesciebam, quod esset novum testamentum.

[7] Cf. Jacobus Carthusianus (or de Paradiso see § 136 note 31) de arte curandi vitia (ex Ms. in v. d. Hardt' Autographa Lutheri praef. p. 48) : Quid theologi nostro tempore student, nisi de potestate Dei, de providentia, de communicatione idiomatum, de natura Angelorum? Et de hujusmodi altis et raris et dubiis disputant in altis cathedris, magnis quaestionibus et libris se ostentantes. De practica autem emendationis vitae, et de modo agendi poenitentiam, de practica caritatis Dei et proximi, de humilitate servanda, ac do zelo animarum, de abusionibus deponendis et confutandis, quae sunt in Ecclesia Dei adeo magnae et multae, ut vix verus ordo vivendi secundum Christianam Religionem possit apparere. . . . Erasmi annot. in 1. Tim. i. 6. says with reference to the unprofitable questions of the Schoolmen : Haec si vel animi laxandi gratia, vel citra contentionem agitarentur, ferri poterant. Nunc quibusdam tota aetas in hujusmodi quaestionibus consumitur, et res usque ad clamorem, usque ad vera dissidia, usque ad convitia, nonnumquam usque ad pugnos procedit.—Quid autem nunc loquar de quaestiunculis, non solum supervacaneis, sed pene dixerim impiis, quas movemus de potestate Dei, de potestate Romani Pontificis? An Deus possit quodvis malum, etiam odium sui praecipere, et omne bonum prohibere, etiam amorem et cultum sui; an possit actu infinitum secundum omnem dimensionem producere ; an potuerit hunc mundum etiam ab aeterno meliorem facere quam fecit; an possit producere hominem, qui peccare nullo modo queat ; an revelare possit alicui suum futurum peccatum, aut damnationem ; num possit aliqua distincte intelligere, si ad illa non habeat distinctas relationes rationis; an possit respectum producere sine fundamento et termino ; an possit naturam universalem producere et conservare sine singularibus ; an possit aliquo praedicamento contineri; an potestatem creandi possit communicare creaturae ; an possit ex facto facere infectum, ac per hoc ex meretrice facere virginem ; an quaelibet persona divina possit quamlibet naturam assumere, quomodo Verbum humanam assumpsit ; — an haec propositio : Deus est scarabeus, aut cucurbita, tam possibilis sit, quam haec : Deus est homo ; an Deus assumpserit individuum humanum, an speciem ; an potius conveniat Deo, non posse facere impossibile, an impossibile non posse fieri

of the Reformation, Scholasticism was already destitute of real life: hereafter it was only preserved in several countries, and chiefly in the religious houses, as a mummy, and as such can no longer be the subject of history.

a Deo etc.—Jam vero de Romani Pontificis potestate pene negotiosius disputatur quam de potestate Dei, dum quaerimus de duplici illius potestate, et an possit abrogare quod scriptis Apostolicis decretum est; an possit aliquid statuere quod pugnet cum doctrina evangelica; an possit novum articulum condere in fidei symbolo; utrum majorem habeat potestatem quam Petrus, an parem; an possit praecipere Angelis; an possit universum purgatorium quod vocant tollere; utrum simplex homo sit, an quasi Deus; an participet utramque naturam cum Christo; an clementior sit, quam fuerit Christus, cum is non legatur quenquam a purgatoriis poenis revocasse; an solus omnium non possit errare. Sexcenta id genus disputantur magnis editis voluminibus, idque a magnis theologis, praesertim professione religionis insignibus. —Et tamen hujusmodi quaestiunculis serio occupantur quorumdam theologorum scholae. His aetas rerum omnium fugacissima conteritur, cum pleraque sint ejus generis, ut doctius nesciantur quam sciantur, ut ridicule quaerantur, temere definiantur. Breve tempus est, et arduum est negotium agere vere Christianum. Quin igitur omissis rebus supervacaneis ea potissimum spectemus, quae Christus nos scire voluit, quae prodiderunt Apostoli, quae proprie ad charitatem faciunt, de corde puro, et conscientia bona, et fide non ficta, quam unam Paulus appellat finem et perfectionem totius legis. Tot jam annis cavillamur in scholis, quibus verbis sit loquendum de Christo. An haec propositio sit vera: Christus fuit ab aeterno, an recte dicatur compositus ex utraque natura, an constare, an conflatus, an commixtus, an conglutinatus, an coagmentatus, an ferruminatus, an copulatus. Nihil horum placet, tantum placet unitus etc.—Si haec essent colloquia pomeridiana Christianorum, probarem hujusmodi sermonibus excludi fabulas ineptas. Nunc haec videntur fidei nostrae praesidia. Quaerimus ea, quae nec scire possumus, nec scire jubemur. Illa negligimus, quae sola fuerant meditanda. Sunt autem quaedam hoc ipsa perniciosa, quod obscuritate sua remorantur ac fatigant ingenium, melioribus alioqui rebus occupandum.—Et in hac theologia tam non simplici vitam omnem consumunt, qui simplicem et apostolicam profitentur. Et qui ipso etiam cognomine summam modestiam profitentur, hujusmodi philosophiae professione tollunt cristas. —Novi quemdam theologum, qui negabat annos novem sufficere ad intelligenda quae Scotus scripsit tantum in praefationem Petri Lombardi. Audivi rursus alium, qui praedicabat fieri non posse, ut quis intelligeret unam propositionem in toto Scoto, nisi metaphysicam ipsius universam teneret memoria. Hujusmodi labyrinthis Basilides, Valentinus et Marcion captabant animos simplicium. Denique fingamus haec esse frugifera, quanta hic occurrit opinionum pugna? Fingamus rursus omnia convenire, quam multa frustra quaeruntur, quam multa temere definiuntur? Et praetexunt, has argutias ad revincendos Ethnicos et haereticos esse necessarias; quum illa nusquam sint usui, nisi inter ejusdem scholae sodales. In a letter written from Paris, A.D. 1499 ad

§ 145.

HISTORY OF DOCTRINE AND WORSHIP.

As in all other departments of the Church, so also in the department of religious worship at this time, the most shameless abuses and exaggerations of superstition, and ecclesiastical fraud, are displayed side by side with the frank resistance and demands of the reforming party.[1] However, the former remained in vogue in the Church, while the latter died away with no decided effect; chiefly because they left untoucht that corruption of doctrine which was the root of the evil. Thus voices were raised to protest against the overgrowth of Canonizations,[2] to denounce the frauds of the clergy in lying miracles and forged relics,[3] and to

Thomam Grejum in Edit. Lugd. Epist. 85. t. iii. p. 1. p. 77. s Erasmus jests bitterly upon nostrae tempestatis theologastros, amongst whom he lived, quorum cerebellis nihil putidius, lingua nihil barbarius, ingenio nihil stupidius, doctrina nihil spinosius, moribus nihil asperius, vita nihil fucatius, oratione nihil virulentius, pectore nihil nigrius.

[1] Jacobus Carthusianus (or de Paradiso, see § 136. not. 31), de arte curandi vitia (ex Ms. in v. d. Hardt Autographa Lutheri praef. p. 48): Tot sunt superstitiones, tot malae, imo pessimae et scandalosae consuetudines in Ecclesiis tam saecularium quam religiosorum; ita ut tota fere religio christiana videatur suffocata, velut zizania quaedam inimicus homo superseminavit tritico. Ita ut iterum merito Christus posset nostris temporibus replicare, ut olim Judaeis fecit: *propter traditiones vestras praevaricati estis mandata Dei.* De his omnibus et plurimis aliis nemo Praelatorum aut theologorum moderno tempore facit mentionem debitam: et si contingat aliquando fieri, hoc tamen fit adeo superficialiter, cum tot excusationibus, ut nullus eis, nec aliis inde sequatur fructus emendationis.

[2] Gerson de probatione spirituum Consid. viii. Opp. i. p. 40. Clarae memoriae Magister Henricus de Hassia (see Part. iii. § 106. not. 1) comprimendam esse tot hominum canonizationem scripsit. Jo. Bodinus (Procurator to the King at Laon † 1596) methodus historica c. 4.: Bessarion (Cardinal † 1472) quum inter divos inepta quadam ἀποθεώσει Romae quam plurimos referri videret, quorum vitam improbarat, se valde dubitare dixit ,utrum vera essent, quae ab antiquis prodita fuerunt.

[3] Jac. Carthusianus (see § 136 note 31) de septem Ecclesiae statibus (in Walchii monim. medii aevi ii., ii. p. 60) reckons among the necessary reforms, ut cum severitate debita coërceantur divinatores, incantatores, arioli, aruspices, somnia observantes, carminibus illicitis insis-

subject the legends of the saints to criticism.[4] Nevertheless the number of saints, of resorts for pilgrimages,[5] of pious frauds, and most insipid fables increast unceasingly. In particular the miracle of the bleeding Host was often repeated, that the custom of withholding the cup from the laity in the Lord's Supper,[6] first

tentes, et benedictionibus superstitiosis, necromanticis artibus operam impendentes: *altaria aut Ecclesias in conventiculis locorum sub specie miraculorum aut sanctorum erigentes propter turpem quaestum.* An example in Wittii hist. ant. Saxoniae see above § 140. note 13. A Bernardine preacht about 1509 at Vienna (Conspectus hist. Univers. Viennensis Saec. ii. p. 73), quod sacerdotes in Ecclesia non ostendant veras reliquias, sed reliquiarum loco imponant ossa equorum, et sic decipiant homines.

[4] Thus Gobelinus Persona (see before Division 4) Cosmodromium Aetas vi. c. 15 in Meibomii Rerum Germ. i. p. 201 s. demonstrates successfully, that the legend of a St Catherine who was supposed to have suffered at Alexandria under Maxentius, must be false. Nicholas of Cusa, and especially Laurentius Valla, proved the forgery of the donation of Constantine (see Part 1. § 20. note 21). James Wimpheling, on account of his statement (lib. de integritate 1505) that Augustine was no monk, at least not such a one as the Augustin monks of the day, was entangled in a vehement dispute with them; however, the Pope at length commanded silence, see Auctarium catalogi test. veritatis ed. Cattopoli 1667 p. 272 ss. Erhard's Gesch. des Wiederaufblühens wissenschaftlicher Bildung. Bd. 1 S. 448 ff.

[5] Polydorus Vergilius (see § 139. note 14) de rerum inventoribus lib. vi. c. 13 wrote in the year 1499: Caeterum illud aeque adeo desiderari posset, ut sacerdotes frequentius populum docerent, quonam pacto deberent et venerari ejusmodi imagines, et apud eas sua offerre donaria: quod quia illi tacent, et vulgo ex suo usu tacere putantur, idcirco eo insaniae deventum est, ut haec pietatis pars parum differat ab impietate. Sunt enim bene multi rudiores, stupidioresque, qui saxeas vel ligneas, marmoreas, aeneas seu in parietibus pictas, variisque coloribus litas imagines colant, non ut figuras, sed perinde quasi ipsae sensum aliquem habeant, et iis magis fidant, quam Christo, vel aliis divis, quibus dicatae sint. Quo fit, ut stultitiam stultitia cumulantes, illis offerant aurum, argentum, annulos gemmatos, omnifariasque gemmas ibidem senio perituras, et ut ad id faciendum plures inescentur illi, qui talem segetem metunt, nummos perforent, filoque pendentes in collo aut manibus ipsarum imaginum suspendant, donaria in locis conspicuis egregie collocent, titulosque apponant, quo nomina offerentium et diis et hominibus notiora fiant. Sic bona pars hominum per haec magis delirare inducitur, ac insuper longa aliquoties itinera conficere, ut unam imaguncalam adeat, ibique donaria sua relinquat, praetermisso cuncto alio aut pietatis aut charitatis, officio, rata se omnino sat largitionis fecisse sat poenituisse, si inter itionem lautius victitando aurum obtulisset, in cujusvis thecam nummariam inde iturum.

[6] See Part 2. § 77. note 10—12. Decretum Constantiensis Concilii contra communionem sub utraque, et contra Jacobum de Misa in

sanctioned by the Church at the Council of Constance, might be inculcated upon the people, an evident work of designing fraud. The imposture of the holy blood at Wilsnack in Priegnitz, was indeed recognized and censured by a Synod at Magdeburg in 1412,[7] and afterwards continually by individuals;[8] the Cardinal

the Sessio xiii. 15 June 1415 in v. d. Hardt Conc. Const. iii. p. 646 and iv. p. 333: Cum in nonnullis partibus quidam temerarie asserere praesumant, populum Christianum debere Eucharistiae sacramentum sub utraque panis et vini specie suscipere, et non solum sub specie panis, sed etiam sub specie vini populum laicum passim communicent; etiam post coenam, vel alias non jejunum communicandum esse pertinaciter asserant, contra laudabilem Ecclesiae consuetudinem rationabiliter approbatam, quam tanquam sacrilegam damnabiliter reprobare conantur: hinc est, quod sacrum Constantiense Concilium adversus hunc errorem saluti fidelium providere satagens, matura plurium Doctorum tam divini quam humani juris deliberatione praehabita, declarat, decernit et definit, quod, licet Christus post coenam instituerit et suis Apostolis ministraverit sub utraque specie panis et vini hoc venerabile sacramentum, tamen hoc non obstante sacrorum canonum auctoritas, laudabilis et approbata consuetudo Ecclesiae servavit et servat, quod hujusmodi sacramentum non debet confici post coenam, neque a fidelibus recipi non jejunis, nisi in casu infirmitatis aut alterius neccessitatis, a jure et ab Ecclesia concesso et admisso. Et sicut haec consuetudo ad evitandum pericula aliqua et scandala rationabiliter introducta est, sic potuit simili vel majori ratione introduci et rationabiliter observari, quod, licet in primitiva Ecclesia reciperetur hoc sacramentum a fidelibus sub utraque specie, tamen postea a conficientibus sub utraque specie, et a laicis tantummodo sub specie panis suscipiatur: cum firmissime credendum sit, et nullatenus dubitandum, integrum corpus Christi et sanguinem tam sub specie panis quam sub specie vini veraciter contineri. Unde cum hujusmodi consuetudo ab Ecclesia et sanctis Patribus rationabiliter introducta, et diutissime observata sit, habenda est pro lege, quam non licet reprobare, aut sine Ecclesiae auctoritate pro libito immutare. Quapropter dicere, quod hanc consuetudinem aut legem observare sit sacrilegum aut illicitum, censeri debet erroneum: et pertinaciter asserentes oppositum praemissarum tanquam haeretici arcendi sunt, et graviter puniendi per dioecesanos locorum seu officiales eorum, aut inquisitores haereticae pravitatis in regnis seu provinciis, in quibus contra hoc decretum aliquid forsan fuerit attentatum aut praesumtum, juxta canonicas et legitimas sanctiones, in favorem catholicae fidei contra haereticos et eorum fautores salubriter adinventas.

[7] Compare Part iii. § 119. note 15. John Huss in his work De omni sanguine Christi glorificato (Opp. i. p. 198 ss.) first declared himself against this fraud, and probably thus occasioned the Articuli Ottoni Havelbergensi Episcopo in Madgeburgensi Concilio ann. 1412 propositi (in Hartzheim Concil. Germ. v. p. 35): I. In oppido vestro Wilsnack illicita fieri perhibentur in opere, sermone, et fallacibus

Nicholas of Cusa as Papal Legate in 1451, prohibited all bleed-

signis: et primo quidem innumerabilia et incredibilia miracula, et saepe quod mortui resurgant, quorum tamen nemo visus est. II. Licet talia figmenta sint publica, nunquam tamen audivimus, aliquem vestrorum Clericorum propter hoc esse punitum, ut aliis cederet in exemplum; cum tamen scriptum sit, peccantem coram omnibus arguere, ut et caeteri timorem habeant. III. In majorem confirmationem errorum magna miraculorum volumina conscripta sunt, et dictim talia figmenta conscribuntur, ita quod de Christo, et ejus Apostolis non tot scripta sunt, quam ibidem habentur: et haec magna praesumptio est, posteris nostris talia relinquere in scriptis, quasi per praedecessores Praelatos et Doctores sint approbata. IV. Veneratur ibidem populus cruorem, nescimus quem: cum tamen nullus ibidem habeatur, nec aliquid simile cruori. Hoc primo ortum habuit ab illius loci quondam Plebano, cui fides non debuit haberi, ex eo quod per se fassus est in Magdeburg, qualiter egit, testibus fel. mem. Christiano s. theol. Doctore de Ord. Minorum, et quondam Magistris in theol. Henrico de Geysmania et Petro Steinbecke. V. Alii cautius loquentes asserunt, non cruorem, sed sacramentum ibidem venerari, contra quos communis nominatio loci militat, quia dicitur *ad sacrum sanguinem*, et invocatio talis est: *adiuva me sacer sanguis*, vel *sacer sanguis me liberet*. Quando tamen necesse non est, ad illum locum propter sacramentum recurrere, cum ubique in Ecclesiis habeatur. VI. Pro reliquiis ibidem exponitur nescimus quid de cera candelae, quo fideles consignantur, cum juris sit dispositio, nullas venerari reliquias, nisi a sede Apostolica sint approbatae. VII. Dicuntur ibidem publicari indulgentiae multae et magnae, nec tamen constat, quis easdem dederit. VIII. Clerici ibidem ministrantes divina, leves et multiloqui, absque timore Dei absolvunt in casibus gravibus, nescitur cujus auctoritate. IX. Sumptuosum ibi aedificium erigitur, ex quo fama loci confortatur et dilatatur in remotiora, quod non expedit, antequam res examinetur et justificetur. X. Multa insuper ibidem dominatur avaritia: ille pro pecunia visitat peregrinos; ille vendit signa, quibus tamen nullum correspondet signatum; alius, si petatur pronuntiari aliquod miraculum, petit pecuniam; alius etiam a pauperibus mendicantibus exigit pecuniam pro cedula, in qua innotescit, talem et talem ex ipsis ibi fuisse; alius petit ad structuras, alius ad sacras candelas etc. Quapropter cum non modicum imputetur Ecclesiae Magdeburgensi et ejus Pontifici, quicquid ibi committitur erroris, petit sacrum hoc Concilium, super omnibus ac singulis praemissis informari a vobis.

[8] True the Dominican John Cuno at Leipsic, and the Franciscan John Calbe in Misnia, suffered persecution on this account: but the judgment of the universities of Leipsic and Erfurt drawn forth by them in 1444, pronounced the miracles of Wilsnack suspicious. The Dominican John Wünschelberg of Hamburg in his treatise on false signs and wonders in 1446, derives all the miracles of Wilsnack from the avarice of the parochial clergy. Henry Tacke, prebendary of Magdeburg, strove with zeal against this abuse: his efforts were vain with Frederick II., Elector of Brandenburg, and the Bishops of Brandenburg and Havelberg, but were more successful with the Archbishop

ing hosts;[9] however these frauds continued to be not only tole-

Frederick of Magdeburg. Then he referred the matter to Rome, and Pope Nicholas V. charged the Bishop of Lubeck to investigate the case; he wrote admonitory letters on the subject to the Bishops of the March in 1450: compare especially the Historia Matthaei Ludeci, dean of the Cathedral Church at Havelberg of the Discovery, miracles, and destruction of the pretended sacred blood of Wilsnack, Wittenberg 1586. 4, a collection of early works and many documents (some of which may be found also in Ludewig Reliqu. MSS. viii. p. 286 ss. and 348 ss.) given in the fortgesetzten Sammlung von alten. u. neuen theolog. Sachen 1748. S. 165. Lentzen's Stiftshistorie von Havelberg. Halle 1750. 4. S. 43 ff.

[9] dd. Halberstadt 5. Jul. 1451 (in Lentzen's Stiftshistorie von Havelberg S. 64 f.): Sane multis probatissimorum virorum relatibus et visibili experientia comprobavimus, fideles ad multa loca nostrae legationi subjecta concurrere ad adorandum Christi Dei nostri pretiosum cruorem, quem in nonnullis transformatis hostiis speciem rubedinis habere arbitrantur. Attestantur autem verbis suis, quibus communiter talem rubedinem Christi cruorem nominant, se sic credere et adorare, et quia sacerdotes, qui ob pecuniarum quaestum ista non solum fieri permittunt, sed etiam ut sic credant et adorent, per miraculorum publicationem populum alliciunt et sollicitant. Nos igitur, qui rem tam perniciosam et nostrae fidei contrariam sine Dei maxima offensa sub silentio pertransire non possumus, cum corpus Christi glorificatum sanguinem glorificatum penitus invisibilem habere catholica fides nos instruat, ad tollendam omnem occasionem, per quam simplex vulgus taliter seducitur, praesentium tenore, auctoritate, qua fungimur, statuimus et ordinamus, quod, ubicunque tales hostiae transformatae reperiuntur, per omnes provincias Alemanniae nostrae legationi subjectas, statim postquam ad notitiam sacerdotum, qui locis illis praefuerint, haec nostra ordinatio perducta fuerit, ab ulteriori publica ostensione transformatarum hostiarum penitus cessent, et nequaquam amplius populo palam miracula publicent, aut signa plumbea ad instar transformatarum hostiarum fieri permittant, sed istas transformatas hostias potius per sacerdotem celebrantem sumi in communione praecipiant, quam sacratissimam Eucharistiam in spiritualem refectionem nobis divino munere datam per specierum corruptionem desinere permittant. Omnem autem locum, in quo post monitionem ab ostensione hostiae transformatae cessatum non fuerit eo ipso quod ter ipsa prohibita ostensio continuatur, ex nunc prout ex tunc, et ex tunc prout ex nunc strictissimo supponimus interdicto, quousque Archiepiscopus provinciae loci illius, ubi inhibita ostensio praesumta fuerit, habita certitudine de obediendo huic nostrae ordinationi hujusmodi interdictum duxerit amovendum. Volentes, quod ostensores ipsi post nostram eis insinuatam ordinationem ab omni officio, quousque ab Archiepiscopo absoluti fuerint, suspensi existant. Pariformiter et sub eadem interdicti latae sententiae poena statuimus et mandamus, omnes tales imagines et picturas ab oculis simplicis vulgi amoveri, ad quas propter figuram visibilem in suis adorationibus vulgus ipsum specialius recurrit, et per publicum concursum in figura ipsa se salutem quaerere, verbo

rated, but even encouraged by the Popes,[10] and enjoyed accordingly without intermission, a widely extended credit and considerable gains. But above all this period was most zealous in the glorification of the Virgin Mary as the actual dispenser of all things.[11] A shrine dedicated to her at Recanati in Picenum, was pronounced in the second half of the fifteenth century to be her own house brought thither by an angel, and establisht Loretto as a famous resort for pilgrimages.[12] The Ave Maria was

aut signo ostendit. Nevertheless the letter of Frederick, Archbishop of Magdeburg (in Lentzen S. 65), in which he summons the clergy of Wilsnack to answer for themselves at Calbe, shows how little this prohibition was observed in that place Equally in vain John Capistranus preacht against the evil, and the Augustin John Dorsten wrote against it at Erfurt, his consultatio de concursu ad Wilsnack (1472—1475).

[10] Thus Eugene IV. granted the pilgrims to Wilsnack indulgences of several years dd. VI. Non. Jan. 1446 in Raynald. ann. 1447 no. 9, and ordered for the preservation of the bleeding hosts, that a consecrated host should be placed between (ibid. no. 10): and Nicholas V. dd. iv. Id. Sept. 1447 repeated these decrees (Ludewig Reliquiae Manuscriptorum viii. p. 366). Even in 1500 four cardinals granted an indulgence to this pilgrimage.

[11] Compare especially the Mariale (Mediolani 1494. 4. and at other times) of Bernardinus de Bustis, an Italian Franciscan † after 1500, a series of sermons in praise of Mary. This may serve as an example Part. xii. sermo ii. P. i.: A tempore quo virgo Maria concepit in utero verbum Dei, quandam ut sic dicam jurisdictionem seu auctoritatem obtinuit in omni Spiritus Sancti processione temporali, ita ut nulla creatura aliquam a Deo obtineat gratiam vel virtutem, nisi secundum ipsius piae matris dispensationem.

[12] The first to mention this shrine is Flavius Blondus, secretary to Eugene IV., and the succeeding Popes, till Pius II. † 1463, in his Italia illustrata, in Piceno p. 339: Recanatum inter et Adriaticum mare, paululum a Musione recedit celeberrimum totius Italiae, ut in aperto immunitoque vico, sacellum gloriosae Virginis Mariae in Laureto appellatum. Quo loco preces supplicantium a Deo genitricis suae intercessione exaudiri, illud maximum certissimumque est argumentum, quod eorum, qui votis emissis exauditi fuerunt, ex auro, argento, cera, pannis, veste linea laneaque appensa donaria, magno luenda pretio, basilicamque omnem pene complentia, Episcopus in Dei Virginisque gloriam intacta conservat. It may be concluded from this notice that the miraculous transportation at that time was either still entirely unknown, or else was one of the legends of the common people, and disregarded by the educated. The first author who mentions it, and at the same time records the story of Teremanthus Praepositus which was fastened up in the shrine, is Baptista Mantuanus (see § 139, note 7) Redemptoris mundi Matris Ecclesiae Lauretanae historia (in ejusd. Opp. omn. Antverp. 1576. 8. T. iv. p. 216 ss.). According to this account, which

the prayer most favoured.[13] The immaculate conception of Mary of which the Franciscans continued to be the champions, was more and more triumphantly vindicated against the Dominicans;[14] who, on the other hand, sought to display their venera-

has always been the most ancient source, this house was borne by the angels in 1291 to Tersato in Dalmatia, thence it was carried in 1294 into the region of Recanati, but even there it was again twice removed. The provost Teremannus appeals to the evidence of two townsmen of Recanati, one of whom asserted, quod avus avi ejus vidit, quando Angeli praedictam Ecclesiam per mare etc. Undoubtedly the composition of this work belongs to the period between 1450 and 1480, and by it the story was first divulged. The fiction was first assailed by Petr. Paul. Vergerius de idolo Lauretano, ital. scripsit, Ludovicus ejus nepos vertit ann. 1556 in the Primus tomus operum Vergerii adv. Papatum, Tubing. 1563. 4. p. 301. It was then defended by the Jesuits, Petr. Turrianus, Petr. Canisius, and Horat. Tursellinus, especially by the latter in the Lauretana historia, Mogunt. 1599, 8. Baronius also ann. 9. no. 1. takes it under his protection, and is reprimanded for this by Is. Casaubonus Exercit. vii., while the cotemporary Matthias Berneggerus, Professor at Strasburg, Hypobolimaea divae Mariae deiparae camera, s. Idolum Lauretanum. Argentor. 1619. 4. triumphantly refutes all the defenders of the fiction, but with too dogmatical a style of controversy.

[13] The evening prayer, to which indulgences had been granted before this time (Part. iii. § 120, note 3) was now still more favoured by Calixtus III. as a spiritual aid against the Turks, in the decree, A.D. 1456 (Antonini Summa hist. P. iii. Tit. 22. c. 14. init.): ubique terrarum fidelium singulis diebus inter Nonas et Vesperas pulsari in omnibus Ecclesiis ad Ave Maria ter, in qua pulsatione quicunque diceret genibus flexis ter Ave Maria et Pater noster, consequeretur indulgentiam trium annorum et trium quadragenarum. The Ave Maria was especially exalted by the labours of the Dominicans and their fraternities of the rosary (see above § 141, note 10.) Sixtus IV. in 1479 granted a new indulgence for the Psalterium b. M. V. (in Amort de indulgentiis i. p. 170): Nobis fuit propositum, quod in ducatu Britanniae et pluribus aliis locis ab aliquo tempore certus modus sive ritus orandi pius et devotus, qui etiam antiquis temporibus in diversis mundi partibus observabatur, videlicet quod quilibet dicit qualibet die ad honorem b. V. et contra imminentia mundi pericula toties angelicam salutationem, quot sunt Psalmi: et iste ritus Psalterium b. V. vulgariter nuncupatur. Nos hujusmodi modum orandi approbamus, et universis praefato modo orare volentibus pro qualibet vice, qua sicut praemittitur oraverint, pro qualibet quinquagena praefati Psalterii quinque annos et totidem quadragenas indulgentiae relaxamus. After the precedent of the famous Dominican, Vincentius Ferrerius († 1419, see Part iii. § 123, note 14) the angelic salutation became the customary beginning of sermons, see Dom. Marci hierolexicon (Romae 1677 fol.) v. Salutatio angelica.

[14] See the view of the troubles caused by it in Wadding legatio

tion for Mary by fraternities of the rosary.[15] True the decree of Basle in favour of the immaculate conception could no longer, in after time, be regarded as binding in the Church;[16] and even

Philippi iii. et. iv. ad Paulum P. v. et Gregorium xv. de definienda controversia immaculatae conceptionis b. V. M. Lovan. 1624. fol. p. 377 ss. Among the assailants of this doctrine the Dominican Vincentius Bandellus, Professor of Divinity at Bologna, † 1506, is distinguisht for the works lib. de veritate conceptionis gloriosae Virginis Mariae, 1475, and tract. de singulari puritate et praerogativa conceptionis salvatoris nostri J. Chr. 1481, compare the extracts from them in Wadding p. 133 ss. Among its defenders is the above-mentioned Bernardinus de Bustis (see note 10): the first part of his Mariale consists of 8 Sermones de conceptione Mariae, then follows the Officium immaculatae conceptionis gloriosae V. M. which was drawn up by him and confirmed by Sixtus IV.

[15] See above § 141. note 10.

[16] Conc. Basil. Sess. xxxvi. d. xv. Kal. Oct. 1439, and so during the struggle betwixt the Council and the Pope (in Mansi xxix. p. 183): Hactenus difficilis quaestio in diversis partibus et coram hac sancta Synodo super conceptione ipsius gloriosae virginis Mariae matris Dei, et exordio sanctificationis ejus facta est: quibusdam dicentibus, ipsam virginem et ejus animam per aliquod tempus aut instans temporis subjacuisse actualiter originali culpae; aliis autem e converso dicentibus, a principio creationis suae Deum ipsam diligendo gratiam eidem contulisse, per quam a macula originali illam beatissimam personam liberans et praeservans, sublimiori sanctificationis genere redemit, cum fundaret eam altissimus ipse, et ipsam fabricaret Filius Dei Patris, ut esset mater ejus in terris. Nos vero, diligenter inspectis auctoritatibus et rationibus, quae jam a pluribus annis in publicis relationibus ex parte utriusque doctrinae coram hac sancta Synodo allegatae sunt, aliisque etiam plurimis super hac re visis, et matura consideratione pensatis, doctrinam illam disserentem, gloriosam virginem Dei genetricem Mariam praeveniente et operante divini numinis gratia singulari numquam actualiter subjacuisse originali peccato, sed immunem semper fuisse ab omni originali et actuali culpa, sanctamque et immaculatam, tanquam piam et consonam cultui ecclesiastico, fidei catholicae, rectae rationi, et sacrae Scripturae, ab omnibus catholicis approbandam fore, tenendam et amplectendam diffinimus et declaramus, nullique de cetero licitum esse in contrarium praedicare seu docere. Renovantes praeterea institutionem de celebranda sancta ejus Conceptione, quae tam per Romanam, quam per alias Ecclesias sexto Idus Decembris antiqua et laudabili consuetudine celebratur, statuimus et ordinamus eandem celebritatem praefata die in omnibus Ecclesiis, Monasteriis, et conventibus Christianae religionis, sub nomine Conceptionis festivis laudibus colendam esse, cunctisque fidelibus vere poenitentibus et confessis, ea die Missarum solemniis centum, primis autem vel secundis vesperis totidem, sermoni vero verbi divini de ea festivitate interessentibus centum quinquaginta dies, concessione perpetuis temporibus duratura, de injunctis sibi poenitentiis haec sancta Synodus elargitur.

the Franciscan Pope Sixtus IV. dare not venture to take a decided part against the powerful Dominicans.[17] But the Universities pronounced themselves all the more emphatically in favour of the doctrine,[18] and after the precedent of Paris in 1497, even bound their members to it by an oath.[19] The burn-

[17] In a Bull A.D. 1474 (Extravag. Comm. lib. iii. tit. xii. c. 1) he recommends the celebration of the Conceptio immaculatae virginis (which he does not venture to call the Conceptio immaculata virginis) by conceding to all who take part in it the indulgence granted to the feast of Corpus Christi. The second Bull A.D. 1483 (l. c. c. 2) is entitled against diversorum ordinum praedicatores (a saving expression instead of against the Dominicans), who, in suis sermonibus ad populum publice per diversas civitates et terras adfirmare hactenus non erubuerunt, et quotidie praedicare non cessant, omnes illos, qui tenent aut adserunt, eandem gloriosam et immaculatam Dei genetricem absque originalis peccati macula fuisse conceptam, mortaliter peccare, vel esse haereticos; ejusdem immaculatae conceptionis officium celebrantes, audientesque sermones illorum, qui eam sine hujusmodi macula conceptam esse adfirmant, peccare graviter. Sed et praefatis praedicationibus non contenti, confectos super his suis adsertionibus libros in publicum ediderunt (the works of Vincentius Bandellus are meant, see above note 13), ex quorum adsertionibus et praedicationibus non levia scandala in mentibus fidelium exorta sunt, et majora merito exoriri formidantur in dies. All these sayings and writings were condemned and forbidden under pain of excommunication. But then the same punishment was threatened against those qui ausi fuerint adserere, contrariam opinionem tenentes, videlicet gloriosam virginem Mariam cum originali peccato fuisse conceptam, haeresis crimen vel peccatum incurrere mortale, cum nondum sit a Rom. Ecclesia et Apostolica sede decisum. Valerius Anshelm's Berner Chronik Bd. 3. S. 370: Wiewohl ehgenannter Babst (Sixtus IV.) hat die Empfängniss Mariä fryglaubig gebullet, so hat er dennoch sines subtilen Schottens (Duns Scotus, D. subtilis) Opinion mit grossem Ablass und Fyrtag begabt: daher die Barfüsser einen starken Vortanz den Predigern, so doch des Rosenkranzes obriste und grösste Brüderschaft inhielten, battent angewunnen, und den mit allerhand Künsten und Wundern—gestärkt und bestät.

[18] How even the more peaceful spirits decided in favour of the doctrine, may be seen in Gabr. Biel (§ 144. note 3) Collectorium lib. iii. Dist. iii. Qu. 1. Art. 2.: Auctoritas Ecclesiae major est auctoritate cujuscunque Sancti, saltim post canonicos scriptores: nam Ecclesia statuit festum Conceptionis generaliter per universum celebrandum: ergo ejus conceptio fuit sancta, et per consequens peccato immaculata, ergo sine originali.—Nec propter hoc culpandus est divus Bernhardus, sed nec s. Thomas, s. Bonaventura, caeterique Doctores cum magno moderamine oppositum opinantes, quoniam eorum tempore hoc licuit, quoniam nulla determinatio vel Concilii vel Apostolicae sedis facta fuit. Nec festivitas illa generaliter tunc fuit per orbem celebrata. Quae si praecessissent, haud dubium, quin promtissime suae opinioni cessissent.

[19] The occasion of the Paris decree is told by Trithemius Chron. Hir-

ing of four Dominicans at Berne in 1509, on account of certain

saug. ad ann. 1497. T. ii. p. 568: Eodem anno in festo purissimae Conceptionis beatissimae Mariae semper Virginis (rather as it appears from the Acts in d'Argentré I. ii. p. 336 ss. on this festival, 8. Dec. 1496)—quidam Frater Ordinis s. Dominici, theologus Parisiensis, verbum salutis dicturus ad populum in Dieppe oppido Rothomagensis Dioecesis, amplo inter alia boatu clamabat, eandem castissimam Dei genitricem non fuisse praeservatam ab originali peccato, sed post contractum mox purgatam et mundatam a Deo. Erat ei nomen, qui hoc dixit, Frater Johannis Veri (le Ver). Ex hac temeraria positione magnum in populo Dei scandalum fuit secutum, propterea quod s. Romana Ecclesia, Cardinales quoque, Archiepiscopi et Episcopi, pene omnes Doctores Parisienses, Colonienses, Lovanienses cum aliis multis, simul et Claustralium regularium Professores cuncti cum toto populo christiano praeter paucos Fratres Ordinis memorati, sentiunt, credunt, docent et praedicant, beatissimam Dei genitricem peccato nunquam subjacuisse originali, sed praeservatam et immunem semper ab omni macula delicti tam originalis quam actualis in aeternum. Trithemius next records how John Verus was compelled by the Sorbonne to recant 16. Sept. 1497, and (p. 570) how the University was thus induced to decree the oath 17. Sept. According to the minutes in d'Argentré I. ii. p. 333 ss. this is not quite correct. Jo. Verus (see p. 337) would not at first submit to the sentence of the Sorbonne, and appealed to the Pope: for this he was condemned by the secular authorities to imprisonment: he appealed to the Parliament, and only recovered his freedom at length by recanting 18. Sept. 1497. On the other hand, the theological faculty, in an assembly on the 3d March, 1496 (more gall. and so 1497) had already determined upon the oath (l. c. p. 333): Cum proximo saeculo quaestio de puritate conceptionis felicissimae Dei et Domini nostri Jesu Christi genitricis Mariae solito frequentius agitari coepisset, Spiritu Sancto scilicet ejus rei veritatem aliquando propalari volente, diligentius utriusque partis libratis rationibus primum (Majores nostri) pro tempore suum prudentissime suspenderunt judicium. Demum in eam partem inclinatiores, quae Virginis gloriae et puritati astipulari videbatur, ita—vanissimam temeritatem—confutaverunt,—ut contrariam quaestionis partem, quae Virginem, dum conciperetur, speciali Dei munere ab originali macula fuisse immunem affirmat, et pietati, fidei et rectae rationi et scripturis divinis valde quadrantem decernerent. Quae sententia paucos post annos ita sacro Basileensi plenario Concilio—Spiritu Sancto inspirante placuit, ut eam tandem doctrinam—tenendam diffinierit.—Quod sanctum Synodi decretum cum omnium Ecclesiarum, tum etiam totius populi Christiani judicio, consensu ac religione comprobatum confirmatumque videamus, non possumus quorundam vanam, superbam, temerariam insanamque obstinationem non admirari,—qui hoc nostro adhuc tempore ejusmodi piam et religiosam doctrinam, universalis Synodi et Ecclesiae, quae juxta Christi promissionem errare non potest, judicio auctoritateque probatam aut oppugnare, aut in dubitationem revocare non verentur, implacabile impiissimumque bellum adversus piissimae Dei genitricis eximiam dignitatem gerentes. Quorum furori ut alacrius fortiusque occurramus atque resistamus pro

fraudulent appearances of saints which they had got up to impugn this doctrine, contributed to give it a more decisive preponderance.[20]

nostra professione, ordine et gradu, Majorum nostrorum vestigia sequentes, universi tertio congregati post multam, gravem et maturam deliberationem in ejus piissimae doctrinae, quae benedictissimam Dei Matrem ab originali peccato Dei singulari dono fuisse praeservatam affirmat, quamque jam pridem veram credidimus et credimus, defensionem ac propugnationem speciali sacramento conjuravimus nosque devovimus. Statuentes, ut nemo deinceps sacro huic nostro Collegio adscribatur, nisi se hujus religiosae doctrinae assertorem strenuumque propugnatorem semper pro viribus futurum simili juramento profiteatur. Quod si quis ex nostris, quod absit, ad hostes Virginis transfuga, contrariae assertionis—patrocinium quacumque ratione suscipere ausus fuerit, hunc honoribus nostris omnibus privatum atque exauctoratum a nobis et consortio nostro, velut Ethnicum et Publicanum, procul abjiciendum decernimus. Then follows a requisition to bishops and parish priests likewise to adopt this doctrine. In this and some succeeding congregations the oath was taken by 112 doctors of divinity (p. 334.) In 1499 the theological faculty of Cologne followed the example of the Sorbonne (Chron. Hirsaug. ii. p. 574), and that of Mayence in 1501 (l. c. p. 583.)

[20] There are accounts of cotemporaries: De quatuor haeresiarchis Ord. Praedicatorum de Observantia nuncupatorum apud Switenses in civitate Bernensi combustis anno Christi 1509. 4. (reprinted in Hottinger hist. eccl. N. T. Saec. xvi. seu Pars v. p. 334 ss.) and Valerius Anshelms Berner Chronik Bd. 3. S. 371 ff. Bd. 4. S. ff. Compare the Berner Gespenstergeschichte in Rauschnick's Denkwürdigkeiten aus der Geschichte der Vorzeit. Bd. 1. Marburg 1822. The manœuvres of the Dominican Wigand Wirth at Frankfort gave the first occasion for the fraud. So early as 1494 he had assailed John of Trittenheim, under a feigned name, for maintaining the immaculate conception of Mary in his work De laudibus s. Annae c. 7; but by so doing he only drew forth several works in defence of the doctrine, and at length was obliged to recant. The efforts of the Dominicans against Trithemius at Rome also continued without effect (see Trithemii Chron. Spanheimense in ejusd. Opp. hist. ed. Marqu. Freherus. P. ii. p. 405 s.). Afterwards Wigand was involved in controversy with a parish priest at Frankfort on the same subject; a papal commissioner appointed at the request of the Dominicans decided against him: and a violent lampoon composed by Wigand drew down upon him a fresh accusation at Rome. The Dominicans held a chapter at Wimpfen in 1506 to deliberate upon these circumstances, and here some of their leading men privately concerted the introduction of miracles in support of their doctrine, which were at that time greatly facilitated by the reception of John Jetzer, a narrow-minded and bigotted tailor, into the monastery at Berne in 1507. The Prior, Subprior, Lector, and Procurator, contrived apparitions to him of St Barbara, the blessed Virgin Mary, St Cæcilia, St Catherine of Siena; they imprinted upon

§. 146.

HISTORY OF THE RELIGIOUS EDUCATION OF THE PEOPLE.

The Religious duties of the people were only recommended on the plea of obedience to the Church: even the moral law derived its binding power from the command of the Church. Readiness to submit to the known and unknown faith and will of the Church past current for piety. Accordingly all independence of mind in religion could only appear to the hierarchy as fraught with danger, and so very little was done to promote religious zeal and instruction. The greater number of the parochial clergy could not even preach at all:[1] the preaching clergy, chiefly mendicants, usually entertained their hearers with pitiful fables for the aggrandisement of their sanctuaries,[2] or they made a show of

him the five holy wounds, painted the hosts blood-colour, made a statue of the Virgin shed tears, &c., all in order that by means of him they might spread abroad revelations against the immaculate conception; and at last proceeded, when he had discovered the imposture, to poison him, until he escaped from the monastery, and divulged the matter.

[1] In the Necrologium of St Gall it was remarkt of a certain monk Bernhard in 1499: Nota, quod Bernardus iste fuit tam magnae scientiae, ut per aliquos annos praedicaturam habuerit, see arx Gesch. v. St. Gallen. Th. 2. S. 473. Compare Trithem, institutio vitae sacerdot. c. 1. and 4. above § 139 note 1.

[2] Jacobus Carthusianus de arte curandi vitia (see § 141 note 8). Trithemius l. c. c. 4. Henr. Bebelius (see § 139 note 7) de falsa etymologia propriorum nominum conficta per auctorem legendae aureae (see Part ii. § 78. note 5) in the collection Commentaria epistolarum conficiendarum Henrici Bebelii etc. Phorcae 1510. 4. fol. cxxviii. verso: quas aniles fabulas adeo magis detestor, quo plures inveniantur, qui has referendo et populis praedicando non solum inducunt homines ad earum fidem, verum etiam in iis demorantes ea, quae vera sunt et in salutem animarum dici possunt, omittunt. Sunt enim plures et praesertim aliqui monachi, qui dum concionantur ad imperitam plebem, ut phaleratis et ampullosis verbis populum demulceant, ut famam eruditionis et disertitudinis consequantur, et ut culinam suam vel Fratrum lautius instruant, vel potissimum dum Evangeliis tanquam consuetis atque rebus quotidianis pudet esse contentos, non verentur excogitare nunc somnia, nunc revelationes (ut ipsi ajunt) sanctorum Patrum, quibus in Christum, nedum sanctos, falsa et mendacia aliquando com-

useless scholastic learning,[3] as may be seen in the still extant

miniscuntur, dum non credunt satis placere se, nisi exotica aliqua atque peregrina in medium afferant, ut plebs postmodo gloriabunda jactet, se audisse a Domino Sixto vel Fratre Johannutio quod antea numquam audiverit a quoquam. Et, ut paulum digrediar, ego omnem ferme haeresim quam dicunt existimo inde maxime exortam, ut homines superbi et magnae opinionis freti eruditione et fama anhelaverint aliquid dicere, et persuadere novum et inauditum, quo cunctis seculis et nationibus suam famam insinuent. Sed ut redeam, cum Dominus Sixtulus vel Frater Lolhardus in nigra barba sic famam suam illustravit, ne existimationem suam in posterum extenuet, aut plebem in laudem suam tepidiorem reddat, non dubitat dies atque noctes somniare et figmenta componere, quo semper clariorem se reddat et magis admirandum tandem eo usque progreditur, ut fabulis, quae ipsi exempla vocant, totos dies consumat, quas ipse pro sua existimatione magnificanda satis admirabiles jam primum excogitavit: et dum totus in eloquentia volubilitateque linguae, et rerum nullibi gestarum diurnali recitatione haeret, fit, ut nihil vel parum de sacris literis proferat, parum dicat, quod sit animae salutiferum.—Illud mihi ridendum videtur, quod concionatores isti, cujuscunque sancti festum celebrant, concionando clamant, fulsisse illum super omnes alios sanctos virtutibus et vitae sanctimonia, vel singulari sanctitatis privilegio dotatum persuadent; postquam ad alium venerint sanctum, itidem faciunt, semper praesentem super omnes alios extollendo. Taceo de laudibus, quas aliquando praeter fidem tutelaribus sanctis, quos Patronos vocant, sacerdotes in dedicationibus adscribunt, ubi omnis modus laudationis exceditur, omnisque ingenii vis quasi quidam torrens effunditur, adeo, ut ea quae incerta sunt et vix vera, et ubi fides desideratur, impediant etiam quae vere de illis dici possunt. Aut quis risum continebit, dum quidam Fratres sui Ordinis auctores et primates postergatis virginibus, confessoribus, martyribus, Apostolis et Evangelistis, Patriarchis atque Prophetis, adeo alte conantur locare, ut adhuc solium quaerant, ubi eos reponent in coelestibus: alii suum dictum a Christo magnum patrem persuadere volunt, alii suo doctori Paulum apparuisse Apostolum atque dixisse, suas illum epistolas melius omnibus aliis doctoribus esse interpretatum. Quae nisi cogar, nunquam credam etc.

[3] Jo. Trithemius Epistt. famill. lib. i. ep. 26. ad Jac. Kymolanum dd. Coloniae 22. Jul. 1505. (in ejusd. Opp. hist. ed. Freheri ii. p. 461): Nostri concionatores majore in numero purissimos Dei sermones Aristotelicis Julianisque intermiscent opinionibus, crebrius philosophos gentilium, quam Christi Apostolos allegantes. Proh pudor tam celebris facta est verbi Dei praeconibus. Peripateticorum auctoritas, ut in cathedra Christi crebrius Aristoteles citetur in medium, quam Paulus aut Petrus sacratissimi principes Apostolorum. Quid talium sermones simplici et indocto Dei populo proficiunt, in quibus ad ostentationem totum, ad compunctionem vero nihil inducitur? Ad scholas Gymnosophistarum istae meretriculae gentiliumque traditiones remittendae sunt, ut in schola Christi nihil aliud quam doctrina Christi pura et immaculata praedicetur. Furfures enim purissimae farinae commiscuit,

sermons of Meffreth, a priest of Misnia from 1443—1476,[4] of Leonard de Utino, a Dominican at Bologna † 1470,[5] and even in the sermons of Gabriel Biel,[6] which are otherwise distinguisht for their practical turn. The sense of the unprofitableness of this style of preaching induced certain talented preachers, towards the end of this period, to set real life plainly before the eyes of their hearers, in order to rouse their moral energies, by representations and warnings; these being faithfully conceived were calculated not only to awaken a horror of vice, but also to make it ridiculous. In this frequently comic style preacht the Dominican Gabriel Barletta in Italy about 1470,[7] John Geiler of Kaisersberg, preacher at Strasburg † 1510,[8] and the two Franciscans Olivier Maillard † 1502,[9] and Michael Menot († before 1519)[10] in

quisquis hunc praedicandi modum primus adinvenit. Melanchthon in Apologia Augustanae Confessionis. Art. ii. de justificatione (ed. Rechenberg. p. 62): Audivimus quosdam pro concione, ablegato Evangelio, Aristotelis Ethica enarrare.

[4] The Hortulus Reginae is by him, a collection of sermons for the whole Christian year, divided into the Pars hiemalis, Pars aestivalis, and Sermones de Sanctis, ed. Norimb. 1487. Basil. 1488. Monachii 1615. fol.

[5] By him are Sermones de Sanctis, ed. Utinae 1466 and at other times. Quadragesimale de legibus. Lugd. 1494. 4. and at other times.

[6] See § 144. note 3. By him are Sermones de tempore (i.e. on the Gospels for the days) ed. Wendelinus Steinbach, Tubing. 1500. 4. (remarkable among these are the three Sermones medicinales contra pestilentiam. Domin. 22—24. post fest. Trinit.) Sermones de festivitatibus glor. Virg. Mariae 1499.

[7] Sermones Quadragesimales. Bresciae 1497. 8. Sermones de Sanctis. ibid. 1498. 4. There is a proverb: qui nescit barlettare, nescit praedicare. Compare Niceron's Nachrichten von den Begebenheiten u. Schriften berühmter Gelehrten. Th. 3. S. 88 ff. Baumgarten's Nachrichten von merkw. Büchern. Bd. 7. S. 124 ff.

[8] There are several collections of sermons by him, under the names: Seelenparadies. Strasb. 1510, Usslegung über das gebette des Herren 1515, Predigen Teutsch. Augsb. 1510, Navicula s. speculum fatuorum, (Predigten über Seb. Brants Das nüw Schiff von Narragonia) 1511. Predig d. himelfart Ma. 1512. Navicula poenitentiae. 1512. Christenlich bilgerschafft zum ewigen vatterland 1512. Das Evangelibuch 1513. Postill 1522. Die Emeis (Ameise) 1517. etc. Compare Vierling de Jo. Geileri Caesaremontani scriptis germanicis disp. Praes. J. J. Oberlino. Argent. 1786. 4. F. W. Ph. v. Ammon Geiler v. Kaisersbergs Leben, Lehren und Predigten. Erlangen 1826. 8.

[9] Sermones de Adventu, quadragesimales, dominicales, et de peccati stipendio et gratiae premio. Argent. 1506. 4. Niceron mémoires pour

Paris. Amongst the small and peaceful circle of the religious mystics, no man exercised so important an influence as Thomas Hemerken of Kempen (Thomas à Kempis), a pupil of the Brethren of common life, and a canon in the monastery on the Mount of St Agnes in Zwoll † 1471, by his devotional works,[11] especially by the Book de imitatione Christi.[12] In this circle the translations of the Bible also which seem to have been printed in

servir à l'hist. des hommes illustres. T. 23. p. 47 ss. Baumgarten's Nachr. von einer hallischen Bibliothek. Bd. 4. S. 51 ff.

[10] Sermones quadragesimales. Paris. 1519 and at other times. Niceron T. 24. p. 386 s. Baumgarten Bd. 4. S. 59 ff. J. C. Schelhorn amoenitates hist. eccl. et liter. T. i. p. 778 ss. Michel Menot, ein Beitrag zur Gesch. der Homiletik von J. G. V. Engelhardt. Erlangen 1823. 8.

[11] There is some notice of his life in a book composed by himself the Chronicon Canonicorum Regularium montis s. Agnetis (ed. Herib. Rosweydus at the end of Jo. Buschii Chron. Canon. Regularium Ord. S. August.) Antverp. 1621. 8. p. 29. 51. 104. 137. Besides his life is written by Jodocus Badius Ascensius († 1535) in his Opp. ed. Sommalii p. 11 ss. To a devotional work belong: Soliloquium animae, Hortulus rosarum, Vallis liliorum, De tribus tabernaculis, Doctrina juvenum, De vera cordis compunctione, De solitudine et silentio etc. Opp. ed. Norimb. 1494. Paris 1520. fol. ab Henr. Sommalio e Soc. Jesu. Antverp. 1607. 4. and at other times.

[12] The author of the work was at first doubtful through a mistake, but afterwards when the book increast in fame (it is translated into almost all known languages; it is calculated that there have been 2000 editions of the original, and 1000 of the French translation alone), its authorship became so much the subject of rivalry through the intervention of the interests of orders and nations, that the controversial works form a library. After the year 1415 the book was publisht without the author being accurately known: however several old manuscripts and the earliest editions give this Thomas as the author: two manuscripts, that of Louvain and that of Antwerp, are written with his own hand. Moreover an uncontrovertible witness speaks in his favour, his cotemporary and a member of the same order, who certainly was personally acquainted with him, John Busch (see § 140 note 4); he expressly names him as the author in his Chron. Windesemense (see § 142 note 1) lib. ii. c. 21. written in 1464, and accordingly in Thomas' lifetime. To this also may be added the testimonies of Petrus Schottus at the beginning of an edition in 1488, and of Jo. Trittenheim de scriptoribus ecclesiasticis (written in 1494) c. 707. Lastly the whole style of the book and its numerous Germanisms declare in favour of Thomas. But in proportion as John Gerson was more famous as a mystic author at that time (Part iii. § 117 note 6) it was so much the easier to suppose him to be the author instead of the unknown Thomas. The earliest manuscript which declares him as the author is that of Salzburg in 1463: The edition of the French translation in 1488 wavers betwixt St Bernard and Gerson, but that of 1493 distinctly announces Thomas

great numbers at this time,[13] may well have been in use. Among the great mass of the people they would find less acceptance, as the hierarchy was constantly opposed to all translations of the Holy Scripture into the vulgar tongue.[14]

to be the author. A French translation of 1573 is the first to bear the name of John Gerson as the composer upon the title. However Gerson's brother, John Prior of the Celestines, who collected his works, has not reckoned the book in question as one of them. Besides, its contents prove that the author was a monk. In several manuscripts the name Jo. Gersen, Gessen, Gesen is written, evidently a mutilation of Gerson. But since Peter Manriquez in 1604 considered that it must be assumed that the book is earlier than Bonaventura, in whose (pretended) Collationes it is quoted; the Italian Benedictin Cajetani in 1615, supported by the manuscript of Arona, which claims to belong to the 13th century, was the first to maintain, that the real author is Jo. Gersen of Cabaliaca, Benedictin Abbot of St Stephen of the citadel at Vercelli, betwixt 1220 and 1240. The regular canons now took the side of Thomas, the Benedictins upheld their newly discovered Abbot; and thus arose a most vehement strife between the orders, upon which the Parliament of Paris, on the petition of the Kempists, decided in 1652, that the book should be printed with the name of Thomas only. Among the champions of Thomas Eusebius Amort, canon at Polling in Bavaria († 1775) is especially distinguisht for several well-grounded controversial works. The dispute is not yet ended: in favour of Gerson came forward Ant. Alex. Barbier: dissertation sur 60 traductions françaises de l'Imitation de J. Ch. Paris 1812. and J. B. M. Gence in a handsome edition of the disputed work. Paris 1826. 8. In favour of the Abbot Gersen: Mémoire sur le véritable auteur de l'imitation de J. C. par G. de Gregory. Revu et publié par les soins de M. le Comte Lanjuinais, Pair de France. Paris 1827. 12. (translated by J. B. Weigal. Sulzbach 1832. 8.) In favor of Thomas a Kempis Gersen Gerson and Kempis; or is one of these three and which of them the author of the four books of the Imitation of Christ by J. P. Gilbert, Wien 1828. 8.

[13] The French translation of the Bible by Gujars des Moulins, canon at Aire in the Diocese of Terouane, prepared from 1291—1294, was printed by order of Charles VIII., and so before 1498 (du Pin Prolegomènes sur la Bible p. 219 ss.) The Italian translation of the Venetian Benedictin Nicolaus Malermi was printed in 1471 and 1477. The editions of the Bible in German are more numerous. A high-German translation was printed first at Mayence in 1462, and on the whole fourteen times before the Reformation, at Strasburg, Augsburg, and Nuremberg, see G. W. Panzer's literar. Nachricht von den allerältesten gedruckten deutschen Bibeln, Nürnberg 1777. 4. His Gesch. der Nürnbergischen Ausgaben der Bibel. 1778. His Beschreibung der ältesten Augspurgischen Ausgaben der Bibel 1780. 4. A low-Saxon translation was printed three times at Cologne in 1470, Lubeck 1494, and Halberstadt, see J. M. Götze's Versuch der gedruckten Niedersächsischen Bibeln v. J. 1470 bis 1621. Halle 1775. 4.

§ 147.

ECCLESIASTICAL REWARDS AND PUNISHMENTS.

The Council of Constance recognized indeed the abuse of indulgences, and sought to keep it within bounds:[1] However it

[14] Compare Part ii. § 87 note 41—42. But even a Jo. Gerson thought. Lectio altera contra vanam curiositatem Consid. ix. (Opp. i. p. 105), prohibendam esse vulgarem translationem librorum sacrorum nostrae Bibliae, praesertim extra moralitates et historias. Claras rationes ad hoc plurimas invenire facile est. Certain zealots declared themselves against all religious works written in the language of the country, see § 142 note 8. Similar is the prohibition which Berthold, Archbishop of Mayence, issued in 1486 against printing German translations, in Gudeni codex diplom. anecdotorum res Moguntinas illustrantium iv. p. 469: Vidimus ipsi libros de divinis officiis et apicibus religionis nostrae, e latina in germanicam linguam traductos, non sine religionis dedecore versari per manus vulgi.—Dicant translatores tales, si verum colunt,—anne lingua germanica capax sit eorum, quae tum graeci, tum et latini egregii scriptores de summis speculationibus religionis christianae et rerum scientia accuratissime argutissimeque scripserunt? Fateri oportet, idiomatis nostri inopiam minime sufficere, necesseque fore, eos ex suis cervicibus nomina rebus fingere incognita; aut, si veteribus quibusdam utantur, veritatis sensum corrumpere, quod propter magnitudinem periculi in litteris sacris magis veremur. Quis enim dabit rudibus atque indoctis hominibus et femineo sexui, in quorum manibus codices sacrarum litterarum inciderint, veros excerpere intellectus? Videatur sacri Evangelii, aut epistolarum Pauli textus: nemo sane prudens negabit, multa suppletione et subauditione aliarum scripturarum opus esse. The Archbishop accordingly forbad the printing and the sale of any German translation, without the consent of certain commissioners, on pain of excommunication.

[1] See the decree projected by the reformation committee of the Council (§ 131. note 13) in v. d. Hardt I. xii. p. 751: Quia tempore hujus nefandi schismatis, quo singula quasi spiritualia publicae exponebantur venditioni, multae quaestuationes ac petitiones cum quamplurium indulgentiarum et concessionum privilegio, ut verosimiliter praesumitur, pro pecunia plus quam animarum salute sunt concessae, in gravamen pauperum et ecclesiastici status ridiculum, et quibus ex facilitate (thus Amort ii. p. 35 for qualitate) veniae incentivum praebetur delinquendi: idcirco haec s. Synodus omnes hujusmodi novas quaestuationes, sub cujuscunque facti aut factae nomine ab Apostolica sede concessas, necnon omnia et singula privilegia indulgentiarum, concessionum aut gratiarum, cujuscunque etiam sint tenoris et continentiae, dictis novis et etiam antiquis quaestuationibus et petitionibus, tempore jam lapsi schismatis, imo et tempore unionis, post constitutionem felicis

could only effect a short respite, and afterwards indulgences and the abuses consequent thereupon, multiplied so greatly[2] that no century surpasses the fifteenth in these points. The Jubilee and Postjubilee years[3] were multiplied still more; at length in 1470 a standing ordinance was determined on by Paul II., according to which every five-and-twentieth year was to be a jubilee year.[4] Besides general indulgences were frequently

recordationis quondam Domini Clementis V., quae incipit Abusionibus (Clementinar. lib. v. T. 9. c. 2.), qualitercunque concessa, revocat, irritat, cassat, et annihilat, eaque ut antea nullius vult esse roboris vel momenti. Per hanc revocationem haec Synodus antiquis quaestuationibus et petitionibus, dummodo per Presbyteros bonae famae, habiles et idoneos, sine sermone publico, sed cum literarum, petitionum suarum et indulgentiarum antiquarum vera expositione, sine commixtione falsitatis, et secundum formam dictae Clementinae fiant, aliquatenus derogare non intendit. The German nation wisht that this decree should be taken up by Martin V., see Avisamenta Nat. Germ. Art. 17. in v. d. Hardt I. xxii. p. 1011 (compare above § 131 note 18). But Martin V. modified it as follows, see Responsio Martini Art. 17. l. c. p. 1038 (compare § 131 note 18): Cavebit Dominus noster Papa in futurum nimiam indulgentiarum effusionem, ne vilescant; et in praeteritum concessas ab obitu Gregorii XI. citra perpetuas, item quae dicuntur de poena et culpa, sive de plena remissione, concessas locis, item omnes concessas ad instar alterius indulgentiae, revocat et annullat.

[2] The Council of Basle even granted several indulgences, compare the papal instruction in Raynald. 1436. no. 6. see above § 132. note 30, and Jo. Polemar § 132 note 45. The Schoolmen managed to justify this increase of indulgences, see Gabriel Biel expos. Missae Lect. 57: ante tempora b. Gregorii modicus vel nullus fuit usus indulgentiarum: nunc autem crebrescit earum usus. Quod sine dubio Ecclesia habens Spiritum Christi, et ideo non errans, singula, prout expedit, temporibus suis distribuit, mota et illuminata a Spiritu Dei, qui novit tempora, quae Pater in sua posuit potestate, quorum mysteria indagare non sufficimus. Possumus tamen conjicere aliquas causas, cur magis modo, quam olim usus indulgentiarum crebrescit. Quoniam, ut timor transgressionis mandatorum Dei induceretur in conversos fideles, graves poenitentiae injungebantur et poenae. Item, nunc tepescente charitate, nec satisfactiones condignae injunguntur, nec modice injunctae perficiuntur; ideo valde necessarius est copiosus indulgentiarum usus.

[3] The years 1425 and 1450 had been already kept as jubilee-years: the jubilee-indulgences of the diocese of Augsburg in 1451 were merited in Poland, Spain, Hungary, and several places in Germany, see Eus. Amort de origine, progressu, valore ac fructu indulgentiarum. Aug. Vind. 1735. fol. P. i. p. 87 ss.

[4] The Bull dd. 13. Kal. Maji 1470, see in Raynald. 1470. no. 55. in Amort i. p. 91 gives as the reason: Nos—attendentes humanae conditionis statum fragilem, ad peccandum proclivem, et ad declinationem usque adeo celeri cursu—properare, brevissimum quoque vitae

granted for taking part in warlike expeditions against unbelievers, and enemies of the papal see, or put up to sale for the maintenance of such wars.[5] Other indulgences were conceded for other services rendered to the Church.[6] Besides, various ecclesiastical associations,[7] especially the monastic orders,[8] were provided with rich indulgences, not only for their own members; but the later orders, particularly the Mendicants, were supplied for a lucrative trade with laymen as well as with other orders.[9] Moreover, the numerous resorts of pilgrimages were endowed with large indulgences;[10] and at length indulgences were granted

spatium, et peccatis nostris exigentibus crebras pestilentias, varios morbos letiferos, gravissimas quoque Turcarum et infidelium adversus fideles persecutiones assiduas, atque universam Christianitatem retroactis temporibus quassatam adhuc variis non quidem minoribus injuriis lacessiri, et calamitosis casibus et dispendiis subjacere, aliasque plurimas aerumnas in Christi populo adeo invalescere, ut eis atque aliis sinistris casibus plerumque causantibus admodum pauci remissionum et indulgentiarum hujusmodi participes fieri mereantur etc.

[5] In 1411 against Ladislaus King of Naples, in 1420 and 1421 against the Hussites, 1453 (see § 133 note 10), 1455 (see § 133 note 12), and in 1463 against the Turks, in 1457 against the Moors, see Amort i. p. 74. Besides in 1502 a jubilee-indulgence in support of the Turkish war Amort i. p. 101, Cruciata for Emmanuel King of Portugal against the Moors 1505, see Raynald. ad h. a. no. 5. etc. The Bulla Cruciata which is sold in Spain down to this time, was first issued by Julius II. in 1509, in order to gather money for a Turkish war: in 1519 Leo X. granted the proceeds to the King of Spain, who keeps them to this day, see Amort i. p. 79.

[6] Especially for subscriptions towards church-building. The best known among these indulgences is that of Julius II. in furtherance of the building of St Peters, first issued in 1506 and often afterwards renewed (e.g. 1510 see the Bull in Amort i. p. 205) from the fact that it afterwards became the occasion of the Reformation.

[7] E.g. the Confraternitas praeputii dominici at Antwerp, from Eugene IV. in 1446 (Amort i. p. 201), the Confraternitas s. Rosarii from Sixtus IV. in 1478 (see § 141 note 10), there are more examples in Amort i. p. 169 ss.

[8] In Amort i. p. 132 ss. Sixtus IV. decreed in 1480, that the Portiuncula indulgence (see Part ii. § 69. note 9. Part. iii. § 112. note 7) might be obtained by all members of the Franciscan order in all Franciscan Churches on the first of August, Wadding Annales Minorum ann. 1480. no. 41. 1481. no. 38.

[9] There were indulgences for those who frequented the mendicants churches, for their benefactors, etc. See Amort. i. p. 141. ss.

[10] E.g. The holy blood at Wilsnack § 145. note. 9. The resorts of pilgrims were innumerable. The most frequented were Rome, Loretto, St Jago di Compostella, Einsiedeln, Aix, Treves. The tunica Domini

for certain festivals,[11] for certain prayers,[12] even in honor of crowned heads.[13] That the papal indulgence extended over Purgatory too, had been long ago maintained by some divines, though impugned by others.[14] Now, the doctrine, that it availed there per modum suffragii, was the one most generally held,[15] and was even

inconsutilis at Treves, received from Leo X., in 1512, a general indulgence and other marks of favour, see Wittii hist. Westphaliae p. 639 ss., and drew in the same year a countless throng of pilgrims, with whom a profitable trade in relics was carried on. See Scheckmann Chron. S. Maximini in Münch's Franz v. Sickingens Thaten u. Bd. 3. S. 116 ff.

[11] Martin V. granted to the festo corporis Christi an indulgence of 100 days, Amort i. p. 201, which, however, Eugene IV. doubled, see the calculation, l. c. p. 204. Sixtus IV., in 1472, granted to the Feast of St Francis an indulgence of 50 years, in 1475 to the festo conceptionis b. M. V., another of 700 days, l. c. p. 203.

[12] Especially for the Ave Maria, see § 145. note 12.

[13] Thus in 1481, Sixtus IV. granted a rich indulgence to those qui seren. Principem Venetiarum ad divina comitantur officia, et rempublicam consilio et opera gubernant et adjuvant, see Amort i. p. 203.

[14] This was first maintained by Alex. Halesius and Thomas Aquinas, see Part ii. § 84. notes 17—18. Comp. Amort. ii. p. 59 ss. Gerson sermo ii. pro defunctis denies indulgentias acquiri posse pro mortuis. Jo. Niderus Summa Confessorum lib. iii. qu. 191. (in Amort ii. p. 92) maintains it: non enim est aliqua ratio, quare Ecclesia merita communia possit transferre in vivos, et non in mortuos.

[15] One principal author of this period declares this to be his opinion with regard to indulgences, Nicolaus Weigel or Wigelius, Professor at Leipsic, and representative of this university at the Council of Basle (see Walch monimenta medii aevi vol. ii. fasc. i. Praef. p. xxv. u. das Leipziger Osterprogramm v. 1786: De legato Academiae Lipsiensis ad Conc. Basileense), from whose Opus de Indulgentiis, written in 1441 against the Hussites, Amort ii. p. 94, gives an extract. Cap. 59. p. 111 on the question, an possint indulgentiae dari iis, qui sunt in purgatorio, the extract runs: Doctores varie respondent. Quod possint dari, potest probari 1. Levit. 25. frater fratrem redimit: ergo idem potest Ecclesia. 2. Petrus habet claves regni. 3. Deus omnibus providit, ut juvari possint ab alio, ergo et animabus. 4. Animae illae non pertinent ad Ecclesiam triumphantem, ergo ad militantem. 5. Suffragia piorum juvant animas, ergo et indulgentiae. 6. Thesaurus sufficit etiam pro purgatorio. 7. Papa saepe facit praedicare crucem, ut aliquis habeat pro se, et tribus vel quatuor suis caris in purgatorio detentis. 8. Papa ligat et solvit post mortem 24. qu. 2. 9. Papa constitutus est judex vivorum et mortuorum. Sed ad illam partem, quod non, sunt multae rationes et satis fortes. 1. Animae non sunt de foro Papae. 2. Non possunt aliquid operari in bonum Ecclesiae. 3. Non possunt a Papa ligari. 4. Si Papa potest eos absolvere, esset crudelis, si non quotidie eos absolveret. Pro concordantia auctor ex Ri-

officially ratified by Sixtus IV. in 1477.[16] Henceforth the Popes in their bulls of indulgence, continually issue decrees in favour

chardo de Media-Villa dicit, quod prosint per modum suffragii, secundario ac indirecte.

[16] See his Declaratio in Amort ii. p. 292: Cum superioribus mensibus nobis relatum esset, in publicatione indulgentiae, per nos alias Ecclesiae Xanctonensi (*Sainctes*) concessae, plura scandala et discrimina fuisse exorta, praedicantesque in hujusmodi publicatione multos abusus commisisse, multosque errores praedicasse, ac inter alia occasione dictae indulgentiae, quam animabus in purgatorio existentibus per modum suffragii concessimus, nonnullos scripta nostra male interpretantes publice asseruisse atque asserere, non esse ultra opus pro animabus ipsis orare, aut pia suffragia facere :— nos scandalis et erroribus hujusmodi ex pastorali officio obviare volentes per Brevia nostra ad diversos illarum partium Praelatos scripsimus, ut Christifidelibus declarent ipsam plenam indulgentiam pro animabus existentibus in purgatorio per modum suffragii per nos fuisse concessam, non ut per indulgentiam praedictam Christifideles ipsi a piis et bonis operibus revocarentur, sed ut illa in modum suffragii animarum saluti prodesset, perindeque ea indulgentia proficeret, ac si devotae orationes, piaeque eleemosynae pro earundem animarum salute dicerentur et offerrentur. But this declaration was again misunderstood by wicked men; for its meaning was by no means indulgentiam non plus proficere aut valere, quam eleemosynas et orationes. Rather eam perinde valere diximus, i.e. per eum modum per, acsi, i.e. per quem orationes et eleemosynae valent. Et quoniam orationes et eleemosynae valent tanquam suffragia animabus impensa; nos, quibus plenitudo potestatis ex alto est attributa, de thesauro universalis Ecclesiae, qui ex Christi Sanctorumque ejus meritis constat, nobis commisso, auxilium et suffragium animabus purgatorii afferre cupientes supradictam concessimus indulgentiam, ita tamen, ut fideles ipsi pro eisdem animabus suffragium darent, quod ipsae defunctorum animae per se nequeant adimplere. Gabriel Biel in his Expositio Missae Lect. 56 expresses himself still very ambiguously upon the question, utrum indulgentiae prosint defunctis; but when he wrote Lect. 56, the Declaratio Sixti P. had fallen into his hands: he received it naturally with full faith; but at the same time he sought to make the matter itself plainer: Et quod frequenter repetitum est *per modum suffragii*, non est intelligendum, quasi modus suffragii tollat efficaciam indulgentiarum, ita quod opus illud, pro quo dantur indulgentiae, non plus valeat animabus, quam si idem opus factum esset pro eis, nullis indulgentiis adjunctis, sicut quidam intelligere voluerunt: sic enim frustra daretur indulgentia pro animabus. Sed quod additur *per modum suffragii*, excludit modum judiciariae potestatis, quae dicit judicialem absolutionem. Cum enim defuncti implere non possint opus, pro quo dantur indulgentiae, dum illud pro eis fit ab alio, jam opus alterius suffragatur eis, ut possint consequi indulgentias, non minus quam si ipsi per se opus illud implevissent; et ita indulgentiae proficiunt eis per modum suffragii, i.e. propter aliquod opus ab alio factum, et eis per modum suffragii applicatum.

of souls in Purgatory, and demean themselves, in spite of that mitigating formula, as holding full authority over it,[17] and as

[17] Down to the year 1490 indulgences for the dead were still very rare; but in this year Innocent X. adopted the following expedient to raise money for the Turkish war (Trithemii Chron. Hirsaug. ii. p. 536); misit in universam Germaniam plenarias indulgentias Jubilaei non solum pro vivis, sed etiam pro defunctis, quae sicuti eatenus fuerunt rarae, ita etiam plurimorum disputationi expositae. Summa disputationis haec erat, quod Papa de plenitudine potestatis non solum viventibus contritis et confessis poenam possit remittere peccatis alioquin debitam, sed etiam omnium in Purgatorio existentium animarum ita remittere poenas, ut ipsum Purgatorium si velit penitus evacuare possit. Habuit haec assertio nova impugnantes, habuit et assertores, qui varia in utramque partem ut movebantur synthemata scripserunt: cautius tamen quam liberius ne forte proscriberentur et ipsi. The Popes indeed retained the formula per modum suffragii, but they spoke as though the efficacy of this suffragium depended upon themselves. Thus it is stated in so many words in Alexandri P. vi. declaratio Jubilaei ann. 1500 in Amort i. p. 96, and in Julius' II. indulgence bull for St Peter's Church, A.D. 1510 l. c. p. 209: Et ut animarum salus eo potius procuretur, quo magis aliorum egent suffragiis, et quo minus sibi ipsis proficere valent, autoritate Apostolica de thesauro s. Matris Ecclesiae animabus in purgatorio existentibus, quae per charitatem ab hac luce Christo unitae decesserunt, et quae dum viverent, sibi ut hujusmodi indulgentia suffragaretur, meruerunt, paterno affectu, quantum cum Deo possumus, succurrere cupientes, de divina misericordia ac potestatis Apostolicae plenitudine volumus et concedimus, ut si qui parentes, amici, ac caeteri Christifideles pietate commoti pro ipsis animabus purgatorio igni pro expiatione poenarum eisdem secundum divinam justitiam debitarum expositis dicto anno Jubilaei durante pro reparatione dictae Basilicae s. Petri aliquam eleemosynam juxta dictorum poenitentiariorum—ordinationem, dictas Basilicas et Ecclesias modo praemisso devote visitando, in capsa in eadem Ecclesia seu Basilica s. Petri deputata posuerint, ipsa plenissima indulgentia per modum suffragii ipsis animabus in purgatorio existentibus, pro quibus dictam eleemosynam pie erogaverint, pro plenaria poenarum relaxatione suffragetur. The way in which the privileged altars rose, is explained by the declaration of the papal legate Raymund A.D. 1500, which the indulgence-preacher John de Paltz, provost of the monastery zum neuen Werke at Halle, heard from himself and has handed down in his Coelifodina (ed. 1510) Append. qu. 9. ad 3. according to this (see Amort ii. p. 283), five churches in Rome were provided by the Popes for ever with such indulgences. To wit, 1. a chapel in the Church s. Potentianae, in which is the inscription: haec est illa sacratissima Capella, in qua Princeps Apostolorum, scil. s. Petrus, suam primam celebravit, habetque eadem Capella gratiam hanc, ut quicunque celebraverit, vel celebrari fecerit unam Missam in illa Capella, liberat unam animam a poena purgatorii, ut patet in Bulla. 2. *Eccl. s. Praxedis*, in qua quicunque celebraverit vel celebrari fecerit quinque

Missas, liberat unam de Purgatorio. 3. *Eccl. s. Laurentii extra muros*, quam Ecclesiam si quis visitaverit in omnibus diebus Mercurii per totum annum, habet a Deo et Sanctis Laurentio et Stephano istam gratiam extrahendi unam animam de purgatorio. 4. *Ecclesia s. Sebastiani* etiam extra muros, in qua est scriptum apud Altare, sub quo est reconditum corpus s. Sebastiani sic: Sub hoc Altari reconditum est corpus s. Sebastiani Martyris, et in omni Missa, quae celebratur super eodem, liberatur una anima de purgatorio. 5. Capella, vocata *Scala coeli*, ubi decollatus fuit s. Paulus Apostolus, in qua Capella sic est scriptum: Haec est secunda Capella, quae fuit fundata in toto mundo ad honorem b. Mariae V. et vocatur Scala coeli, super quam meruit s. Bernardus videre scalam erectam usque ad coelum. In qua quicunque celebrant vel celebrari faciunt pro animabus existentibus in purgatorio, meritis ejusdem b. M. V. dictae animae cito liberantur. Haec ex publico instrumento a R. D. Raymundo mihi in indulgentia praedicanti misso in Missiva. Pontifices concedunt etiam Laicis quartis feriis per integrum annum devote visitantibus Ecclesiam s. Laurentii, quod possint etiam unam animam indulgentialiter liberare. Insuper idem R. D. Raymundus in declaratione Bullae quondam publicatae in prima sui legatione dicit, quod Calixtus P. dederit indulgentias pro animabus redimendis de purgatorio ad Hispaniam Ecclesiae Tyrasonensi. Similiter easdem indulgentias concessit P. Sixtus IV. Ecclesiae Sanctonensi in Francia sub commissione ejusdem R. D. Raymundi. Sub quo et Innocentius VIII. easdem misit indulgentias per Germaniam, quod et modernus P. Alexander VI. per eundem fecit anno sequenti immediate post Jubilaeum Romae celebratum anno 1500, mittendo ipsum cum amplissimo Jubilaeo tam pro vivis quam pro defunctis nedum per totam Germaniam, sed et per totum regnum Daciae. The papal indulgence preachers speak of the Pope's power over purgatory as quite unquestioned: thus Jo. Angelus Arcimboldus, Commissarius apostolicus, or chief retailer of indulgences, says in his instructions to his sub-delegates A.D. 1514 (in Kappen's Nachlese einiger zur Erläuterung der Reformationsgesch. nützlicher urkunden. Th. 3. S. 180): Advertant praedicatores, ut bene informent populum super validitate et efficacia praesentium indulgentiarum, ut eo facilius ad eas promerendas invitentur, cum per verbum praedicatoris intelligant, clarum esse et omni scrupulo et dubietate carere, Sanctissimo Domino nostro Papae omnimodam et plenissimam competere facultatem, indulgentias istas plenarias pro vivis et defunctis, et omnium peccatorum et poenarum, quas quis in purgatorio deberet pati, remissionem—concedendi.—Et qui de hac potestate dubitaret, de fide christiana dubitaret, nec christianus esset. Accordingly the limitation of this power of the Pope to the modus suffragii was soon held worthy of censure (see Morung's Schicksale below note 19) and the formula per modum suffragii frequently left out, e. g. in the letters of indulgence prepared by Christian Baumhauer, the Pope's commissary of indulgencies in 1510 (see Riederer's Nachrichten zur Kirchen-Gelehrten u. Büchergeschichte, Bd. 3. S. 413 and Kist en Royaards Archif voor kerkelyke Geschiedenis Deel 1. p. 215): Notum facimus, quod D. N. Papa cunctis Christifidelibus,—ultra plenissimas peccatorum indulgentias sacratissimi Jubilaei—ac alias plures gratias et facultates, quas ad hoc dispositi pro se ac certis defunctorum anima-

gate-keepers of Heaven, and dispensers of everlasting blessedness.[18] Persons who denied this universal power of the Popes

bus respective consequuntur, de plenitudine ac liberalitate potestatis apostolicae misericorditer concessit, et voluit, ut tam ipsi quam omnes et singuli eorum parentes ac benefactores cum charitate defuncti in omnibus precibus, suffragiis,—et caeteris omnibus spiritualibus bonis, quae fiunt et fieri poterunt in tota universali sacrosancta Ecclesia militante,—participes in perpetuum fiant. A Dominican nun of the convent Kirchheim in Swabia (see § 140 note 19) describes very graphically the means of winning indulgence for the dead, Sattler's Gesch. des Herzogth, Würtemberg. Bd. 5. Beilagen S. 279: Es kam eyn Legat von Rom in diss Land (A.D. 1489) mit so grosser Gnad und Applos, der glych vor nye gehört wart. Da lösst unser Muter Priorin den Aplos ouch uns allen in der Gemeyn. Und des Applos wurdent uns V. Brieff geben, die behalten sint, die kosteten me dann X. Fl. aber wir gobent es gern zu Loub, und das wir den Selen im Fegfür zu Hylff möchten kummen. Dann der Applos weret von unser lieben Frowen Tag nat. byss Sant Mychalis Tag: also lang hetten wir das Jubeljahr hinn, und möcht ein yeclich Swester dieselbe Zit als vil Selen erlösen, als sy wolt oder vermocht, und yeder Houpt rygeln zu Rom erlöset sy ein Sel, also wenn sy die VII. Kirchen uss gieng und in yeclicher Kirchen ein gantze Vigyl gesprach, so hett sy dann von yeclicher Vigyl ein Sel erlösst in yeclicher Kirchen, das moch eyn thun als dyck sy wolt, und für wöle Sele sy wolt, und wenn sy die Geng und das Gebett gedett, so was sy sicher uss kristiclichem Globen, das dieselbe Sel das Vegfürs ledig wer, sy wer denn nit in den Gnaden Gottes verscheyden gewesen. Darumm wiss uns der Vatter Lessmeyster, unser Bychtvatter, also an, daz eyn Swester, die ir selber VII. Selen welt fürnemen, so sy anvieng zu gan in die VII. Kirchen, die solt allemol me darzu nemen in solicher Meynung, ob es die nit bedörfften, oder ez nit enpfenglich werent, das sy dann die andren in der Meynung hetten. Also solten sy ymer ussin thun, und möcht ein Swester nemen wöle Selen sy wolten, doch stundent Vatter und Muter zum ersten in der Bull benempt, und darnach sine nehsten Fründe, und den wirs von Ordens wegen schuldig warent alz Styffteren und Gutdetern des Ordens, der wurdent ouch fyl genumen. Dann ein Teyl des Geltes, das wir von der gemein gaben, was allermeyst umm den Applos für die Selen, das jnen geholffen würd. Es holet etlich Swestern CC Selen, etlich C, etlich L und darnach yechliche vermöcht. ouch hetten wir grosse Gebett für uns selber umm die gantz Absolucio, als uns unser Bychtvatter uffsatzt, für unser Sünde und Versümpnis, sy wer wie sy wolt, möcht er uns uff das mal abnemen etc.

[18] Compare the promises in the crusading Bull of Pius II. in 1463 above § 133. note 38. In a style more arrogant Julius II. 1505 (Raynald. ad h. a. no. 5) promised to all those who should engage in person in the expedition of Emmanuel King of Portugal, plenariam omnium peccatorum suorum remissionem et indulgentiam, and thus added: ac eorundem omnium, quos in hac sancta expeditione proficisci contigerit, animas in sanctorum Angelorum consortio in coelestibus regnis et aeterna felicitate permansuras perpetuo decernimus collocan-

were persecuted,[19] and the Sorbonnè alone curbed its extravagant exaltation.[20] Besides there were several other graces connected

das: ita ut, si forsan designato tempore, non excepto ipsorum aliquo, postquam iter pro prosecutione tam sancti operis arripiunt, ex hac luce migrare contingat, indulgentiam hujusmodi omnino consequantur.

[19] So also among the errors of Petrus v. Osma (see § 136. note 24), which Sixtus IV. (Raynald. 1479. no. 32.) condemns as falsas, s. catholicae fidei contrarias, erroneas et scandalosas etc., the following maxim is found: Romanum Pontificem purgatorii poenam remittere non posse. Dietrich Morung, canon of Bamberg, had to atone for this assertion with imprisonment, see the contemporary priest at Hof, Joh. Linturius, in his continuation of Werner Rollewinck in Pistorii Scriptt. rer. Germ. t. ii.: Anno 1489 quidam Legatus a latere missus cum Jubilaeo et maximis indulgentiis a Papa Innocentio, dum Norimbergae moram duceret, Doctor Theodoricus Morung, Canonicus Bambergensis—bullis contradixit papalibus in eo, quod Papa non haberet animis in purgatorio annum jubilaeum impertiri, *nisi per modum suffragii* (as Sixtus IV. had declared, see note 16). Et idem Norimbergam veniens, in egressu ad Herbipolin, circa Norimbergam capitur per clientes Marchionis Friderici, et vulneratus ducitur in Kadlspergk. Absolvit Legatus clientes, et ad manus Sanctissimi eundem Doctorem captivum tenuit, committendo ipsum dicto Principi. Tandem etiam ipsum inhabilitavit propter libellum famosum, quem *Passionem Sacerdotum sub Principe Marchione Alberto*, patre dicti Friderici, intitulaverat, editum tempore persecutionis sacerdotum sub Principe illustri Marchione Alberto ex parte cujusdam *Steurae* (on account of a certain tax), quam ab eis aliquatenus exegit idem Princeps in suo districtu, qui libellus per eundem Doctorem confectus fuisse dicebatur: etiam propterea, quod Papalibus bullis contradixit, et quod sacrilegus incantator, et quod sub Laici vestitu nocturno tempore armatus, ut cliens equestris, incessit. Et hic Doctor captus tenebatur Anno 1494 circa festum Michaelis, incarceratus a Marchione Friderico in quodam castro Rauhenculm.

[20] Thus the Sorbonne decided in Nov. 1482 (in d'Argentré I., ii. p. 307): Haec propositio: *Omnis anima existens in Purgatorio ex justitia divina adjudicata ibidem stare pro quantocunque tempore, immediate evolat ad coelum, sive immediate a poena liberatur, si quis vivorum pro ea sex albos dederit per modum suffragii, seu eleemosynae in reparationem Ecclesiae S. Petri Xantonensis:* non sequitur ex Bulla, nec ex contentis in ea, seu ex indulgentiis concessis praedictae Ecclesiae S. Petri Xantonensis; nec sequitur ex eadem Bulla de aliqua determinata anima, puta patris, aut matris, vel uxoris, aut alicujus alterius, quod tali modo liberetur, ut propositio dixit. Secundo, talis propositio non est simpliciter, absolute, et catholice, asserenda nec ex tenore Bullae seu virtute indulgentiarum praedictae Ecclesiae S. Petri Xantonensis concessarum, sane nec secure populo quovis modo praedicanda. One may see from the proposition here censured, how the papal acknowledgment of the formula per modum suffragii, which was even made on the occasion of this indulgence at. Sainctes (see note 16), by no means lessened the extravagant assertion of its virtue. Soon after

with the Pope's indulgences,[21] some of which, as for instance the concessions with regard to property unrighteously gotten,[22] were open perversions of morality. Others, such as the permission to take milk diet in fasting times,[23] contributed at any rate still

in February 1483, amongst other propositions of the Franciscan Johannes Angeli (see § 136. note 23) the Sorbonne censured this also (see d'Argentré I., ii. p. 305): *Animae in purgatorio existentes sunt de jurisdictione Papae: et si vellet, posset totum purgatorium evacuare*, with the remark: Haec propositio in se est dubia, et ad mentem asserentis per modum jurisdictionis et ordinariae potestatis de falsitate suspecta et scandalosa, et nullatenus populo publice praedicanda.

[21] E.g. For a man to allow his father confessor to indulge him in certain irregularities, to give dispensation in case of a marriage contracted within too close a relationship, to commute certain vows into more convenient performances, etc., see Alexander's Jubilee-bull of 1500 in Amort i. p. 94. Julius' Indulgence-bull of 1510 l. c. p. 206. ss.

[22] Paul II., in 1467, empowered his legate Rudolph, who was to preach a crusade against George Podiebrad (see the Bull which is wanting in Raynald. ad h. a. no. 8, translated in Eschenloer's Gesch. d. Stadt Breslau, herausg. v. Kunisch. Bd. 2. S. 68), among other charges: "auch mit inen (die das Kreuz nehmen, oder Beisteuer geben) zu dispensiren—über die Früchte, Nütze und Genüsse, heimlichen böslichen genomen, und in den Gütern böslich erworben, zu solchem Streite wider die Ketzer alleine zu keren und zu wenden." In Alexander's Jubilee-bull of 1500 in Amort i. p. 94 the facultas was conceded, super male ablatis incertis, et male quaesitis, de quibus cui restitutio fieri debeat, notitia non habeatur, etiam secundum qualitatem personarum, et quantitatem male ablatorum et male quaesitorum, componendi, et residuum eis remittendi. In the Bull in which Alexander extends this jubilee over all Italy until Whitsuntide 1501 (l. c. p. 98) it is written: super male ablatis incertis, vel per usurariam pravitatem quaesitis, etiam certis, quando foenerator ab alio foeneratore extorserit, vel ipse usuras restituere paratus non esset, vel alicui privatae Ecclesiae deberentur, in quibus tamen Romana Ecclesia succedere posset. So likewise in the Jubilee Bull of Julius II. 1510 (l. c. p. 206 s.) Arcimboldus says on this point in his instructions to his subdelegates (see note 17) in Kappen's Nachlese iii. S. 195: Istos omnes casus debent praedicatores populo explicare, et super eis bene insistere, ut bene intelligantur, praesertim in primo casu super male ablatis incertis, quia in hoc multi sunt illaqueati, praecipue mercatores, qui aliquos incognitos aliquo modo decipiunt plus vendendo quam merces valent, vel vendendo malum pro bono, vel accipiendo aliquid plus in pretio ex eo, quia solutionem pretii per tempus exspectant, vel aliquo alio modo, qui infiniti sunt. Naturally there lurks here some consolation in hope of future impostures.

[23] Arcimboldus granted one such indulgence to the nuns of the convent of Bethlehem in Nimeguen (Archief voor kerkelyke Geschiedenis i. p. 227) in a letter of Indulgence A.D. 1517: Praeterea ut liceat

further to perplex all ideas of conscience. As it was evident that this constitution of indulgences could produce no other than the most injurious effects upon morality: so these effects were still further heightened by the universal frauds, which were constantly intermingled with the traffic in indulgences. Moreover at times forged indulgences, which even outstript the real in stupidity, were often believed by the common people:[24] at times

vobis, una cum hospitibus et familia vestra, pro tempore existente, quamdiu vixeritis, quadragesimalibus usque ad Dominicum Palmarum inclusive, et aliis diebus, quibus lacticiniorum usus est prohibitus (cum, ut accepimus, in partibus vestris oleum olivarum non crescat) butiro loco olei, caseo, absque alicujus licentia; et cum consensu utriusque medici tempore infirmitatis lacticiniis hujusmodi, ac etiam tunc et quocunque tempore prohibito ovis et carnibus vesci, pariter indulgemus. When Innocent VIII. granted to the subjects of the Duke of Saxony in 1491 the usum lacticiniorum on all fast days, in return for a rate for the rebuilding the Church at Freiburg, the Dominicans at Freiburg resisted, especially Georgius Frichenhusius and Johannes de Bambergo, and pronounced the dispensation surreptitious. Dr John v. Breitenbach, professor of Canon Law at Leipzic, sided with them, and maintained in his Consilium, (see the extracts in Seckendorf Comm. de Lutheranismo p. 13 s.) contribuentes sine conscientiae scrupulo butyro et lacticiniis libere vesci non posse. Alexander VI. commanded silence in 1496, and renewed the concession (see Andr. Molleri Chron. Friburg. P. i. p. 51. P. ii. p. 139). This also was done by Julius II. in 1512, when he assigned the produce partly to the erection of the Torgauer bridge, partly to the building of St Peter's Church, see the Bull (Butterbrief) in Kappen's Nachlese iii. s. 155 ff.

[24] Thus Nicholas V. was obliged to restrain several ecclesiastics in Spain, among whom there was even one Benedictin Abbot (Raynald. 1453 no. 19) who, supported by forged papal bulls, offered for sale, plenary jubilee-indulgences, and even asserted that they had the power, animas parentum et amicorum pro certo pretio pecuniarum a purgatorio *et inferno* extrahendi. In antient prayer books of the end of the 15th, and beginning of the 16th century, a form of prayer to the holy virgin is found, with an assurance that Sixtus IV. had granted an indulgence of 11,000 years to those who recite it devoutly (see Amort i. p. 52. Archief voor kerkelyke Geschiedenis i. p. 243), which Amort pronounces false though only from internal evidence. In a Dutch prayer book of the beginning of the 16th century, many such prayers are given with similar indulgences see Archief i. p. 241 ss. E.g. There is one with an indulgence of 100,000 years, and 20 Quadragenes. Joannes Major (see § 136 note 3) in Sent. iv. Dist. 20. Qu. 2.: fatuae et superstitiosae sunt quaedam inscriptiones viginti milliorum annorum, ubi quis dixerit quinquies *Pater noster* ante talem imaginem etc. Et deberent Praelati illas rejicere et prohibere, quia cedunt in derisum et contemtum indulgentiarum, nec continent veritatem. How much one may consider to

the Pope's indulgence preachers overstept their commission, and were ashamed of no method of turning their indulgences, like common wares, to the best possible account.[25] Thus the papal

have been possible in this respect at this time, is shown by the fact that Bernardino Corio, who wrote his Historia di Milano about 1500, records therein without scruple (ed. Venet. 1565. 4. p. 629), that Boniface VIII. on the application of Galeazzo Visconte, had conceded that the Jubilee-indulgence in 1301 might be obtained in Milan also, cioè, che ciascuno nel dominio del Visconte, *se ancho non fosse contrito, ne confesso*, fosse assoluto di ogni peccato, in questa città dimorando dieci dì continui; ma ogni giorno dovesse visitare cinque Chiese etc. The Congregatio Indicis gave orders in 1621 that this passage should be omitted from the editions (Muratorii Scriptt. Rer. It. iv. p. 123).

[25] cf. Jo. Huss Quaestio disputata ann. 1412 in the Hist. et Monum. Jo. Hussi i. p. 232, see below § 150 note 14. Already in 1433 the parochial clergy in Landshut had laid an appeal de abusu Quaestuariorum before the council of Basle, see Amort ii. p. 37. Afterwards the abuse became much greater. Compare Johannes Major (see § 136, note 3) in Sent. lib. iv. Dist. 20. Qu. 2.: Innumeri sunt in indulgentiis abusus, potissimum per eos, qui eas falso comminiscuntur. Deinde magnae fiunt impensae, ut habeantur, et habitae ab Episcopis divulgari permittantur. Mille quoque modi a quaestuariis istis adinventi pro habenda pecunia a plebe. Laudo factum optimi cujusdam viri et doctissimi Joannis Raulini († 1514), qui, cum in theologia Licentiatus esset, et hi quaestuarii sibi offerrent pecuniam pro suo Doctoratu ea lege, ut cum eis proficisceretur de parochia in parochiam concionando: quamvis pauper esset, id tanquam se indignum recusavit. Quales confessores admittantur in his locis publicis, Deus novit, et quam celeriter finem imponant, ut lanam ab ovibus colligant! Nam ubi solent esse casus conscientiae intricatissimi, quibus in promptu vix posset respondere consummatus theologus, asellus quispiam aegre capiens significationem propositi casus omnia ocyssime expediet. A monk Thomas, who lived before Luther, thus pictures the proceedings of the traffickers in indulgences (in Florimundi Raemundi de ortu et progressu haeresium lib. i. c. 8. ed. Colon. 1614, p. 63 ss.): utque tanto melius ac facilius deglubere eos (populos) possint, cum Parochis rem et consilia conferunt, dicentes: Domine Paroche, apportamus indulgentias plenarias. Quod si vestro mandato populus convenerit, et processiones factae fuerint, nos tertiam ejus, quod inde collegerimus, vobis dabimus, et de bonorum hominum fortunis una laeti convivabimur. Ibi Parochus concubinarius, indoctus, mercenarius et non pastor, quo ventrem suum replere et scortum alere possit, cum istis Bullarum portatoribus transigit. Qui pecunia per fas et nefas collecta convivantur, saltant, genioque indulgent. cf. Mich. Menot below note 30. See likewise Joannis Episc. Chemensis (see § 136 note 29) onus Ecclesiae c. 15. Franc. Belcarius (Beaucaire) Bishop of Metz († 1591) commentarii rerum Gallicarum lib. xvi. no. 15. on the retailers of indulgences under Leo X.: Tanta pontificiorum ministrorum impudentia erat, ut harum (in-

sale of indulgences was universally regarded as a mere money-

dulgentiarum) obeundarum munus palam nundinarentur inter se, et nonnunquam parum sobrii, praesertim in Germania, in diversoriis aut alias, aut alio ludi genere ad alios transferrent. Of the well known Dominican John Tetzel, who sold the Pope's plenary indulgence in Germany, at first as the subcommissary of Arcimbold, afterwards of Albert Elector of Mayence in 1512, an eyewitness, Frederick Mecum or Myconius, then a Franciscan monk at Annaberg, records as follows in his history of the Reformation, on the year 1512 (edited by E. S. Cyprian 2te Ausg. Leipsic 1718. 8. S. 14): Er erpredigt unzehlich viel Gelds, das er alles gen Rom schickt, in Teutschland, und sonderlich auf dem neuen Bergwerck S. Annaberg, da ich Friedrich Mecum ihn selbst zwey Jahr gehöret, ward treflich gross Geld erlangt. Unglaublich ist, was dieser ungelert und unverschämt Mönch durfft fürgeben. Er sagt, wenn einer Christo bey seiner lieben Mutter geschlaffen hätte, und legte nur Geld ins Pabsts Ablasskasten, so hätte doch der Pabst diese Gewalt im Himmel und Erden, dass ers vergeben kunt, und wenn ers vergebe, so müste es Gott auch vergeben. Item, wenn sie flugs einlegten, und Gnad und Ablass löseten so würden alle Berge um S. Annaberg eitel gediegen Silber werden. Item, sobald nur der Groschen im Becken klüng, führe die Seel, für die man einlegt, von Mund auf gen Himmel.—Und war der Ablass so hochgeehrt, dass wann man den Commissarium in ein Stadt einführt, so trug man die Bulla auf einen sammet oder gülden Tuch doher, und giengen alle Priester, Mönch, der Rath, Schulmeister, Schüler, Mann, Weib, Jungfrauen und Kinder mit Fahnen und Kertzen, mit Gesang und Procession entgegen. Da läutet man alle Glocken, schlug alle Orgel, beleitet ihn in die Kirchen, richtet ein roth Creutz mitten in der Kirchen auf, do hengt man des Pabsts Panier etc. und in Summa: man hätte nicht wohl Gott selbst schöner empfahen und halten können. In the year 1517, when Tetzel, as Subcommissary of the Elector Albert of Mayence offered for sale the indulgence for building St Peter's, in the countries adjacent to Saxony, because the Saxon princes had forbidden the sale in their country, Myconius, records S. 20: Unglaublich ists, was der unverschämte Mönch nur fürgeben, ausreden und predigen durfft. Gab Brieff und Siegel, dass auch die Sünd vergeben solten seyn, die einer noch willens wäre zu thun. Der Pabst hätte mehr Macht, denn alle Apostel, alle Engel und Heiligen, auch Maria die Jungfrau selb. Denn diese wären alle noch unter Christo, aber der Pabst wär Christo gleich. Ja nach der Himmelfahrt hätte Christus nun in der Kirchen nichts mehr zu regieren, bis aufm jüngsten Tag: sondern hätte solchs alles dem Pabst als seinem vicario und Statthalter befohlen. George Duke of Anhalt says, in his Preface to the Sermons of false prophets (Oper. f. 48. b.): Es durffte des Tezels Sub-Commissarius, auch ein Predigermönch, Bartholomäus genannt (welches ich mit meinem Ohren zu Dessau selbst in meiner Jugend gehört), unverschämt sagen, wie er von dem heiligen rothen Ablass-Creutz, daran des Pabsts Wapen gehangen, mit seinen Augen sehe das Blut Christi mildiglich herabfliessen, und dass solche grosse Gnade von der Zeit des Leidens Christi nicht gewesen. Er sagte auch, wie das Creutz Zeichen thät, und welche, etwas dawider redeten,

speculation;[26] and it happened more and more frequently that

thät er in Bann—Luther gives a similar account of Tetzel's godless doings in his book against Hansworst in 1541, which Sleidanus lib. xiii. ed. am Ende ii. p. 208 excerpts. The words of the latter, Is inter alia docebat, se tantam habere potestatem a Pontifice, ut etiam si quis *virginem matrem* vitiasset ac gravidam fecisset, condonare crimen ipse, posset interventu pecuniae: deinde non modo jam commissa, verum etiam futura peccata condonabat, have attained a degree of notoriety from the various reading virginem aut matrem, and the controversy thereupon. What sort of persons these retailers of indulgences were, is known from the personal statement of Cardinal Raymund, the Pope's Legate entrusted with the sale of the indulgences, who wrote to the German princes in 1503 (see Bernardi Wittii, a Benedictin at Liesborn, hist. Westphaliae, written in 1517, ed. Monast. 1778. 4. p. 610): Quanto nos magis istis pecuniis pepercimus, tanto inhonestius quidam ex nostris Commissariis eas disperserunt: in pluribus enim dioecesibus, ubi non fuimus in propria, nihil penitus de tertia parte remansit propter eorum excessivas expensas atque immoderatos usus. Sunt enim plures, quorum avaritiae nec hodie possit satisfieri etc.

[26] Thus writes Bernardus Witte l. c. p. 587 ad ann. 1490: Eodem anno et sequenti maximae, immo inauditae praeteritis saeculis indulgentiae pro terrae sanctae recuperatione per Raymundum, tunc Romanae Curiae Protonotarium et Apostolicum Legatum, universum pene nostrum per orbem perlatae sunt, infinitaque pecunia collecta. Verum in eum usum, ubi hactenus translatus fuerat, et hic thesaurus collocatus est. O auri sacra fames, quantum te Domina mundi cruciat! p. 605 ad ann. 1503: Raymundus—Apostolicae sedis ad Germaniam Datiamque etc. Legatus missus, ut Christifideles ad recuperationem terrae sanctae ac in Turcos Christi inimicos in pugnam animaret, promissa peccatorum indulgentia cunctis, qui contra Turcum militare vellent, parum quidem profecit, aes autem inopis et simplicis vulgi Romanae Ecclesiae gazis impendit.—Surdent profecto opulentum aures Evangelio, nec divinus sermo Principibus auditus est; contenti praesenti rerum statu potentes futurum Christi regnum nonnisi morientes inquirunt. Credula paupertas facile praedicatoribus obedit. p. 653 ad ann. 1516: On the indulgence which Leo X. offered for sale through Arcimboldus for St Peter's: Hujus rei gratia et quia in superioribus annis sub Alexandro et Julio summis Pontificibus similes quasi indulgentiae emissae fuerunt, provincia nostra satis extenuata est sed utinam vel Romana Curia semel satiata! sed perpetuam quis saturabit esuriem? Trithemii Chron. Hirsaugiense ad ann. 1490. T. ii. p. 536 on the sale of indulgences by Raymund: Multa certe florenorum millia ex ea gratiarum largitione per Germaniam fuere collecta, quorum tamen nescio si vel unus denarius in praedicatum Cruciatae opus contra Turcos fuerit expositus. Guicciardini historia d'Italia l. xiii.: Leone aveva sparso per tutto il mondo senza distinzione di tempi e di luoghi indulgenze amplissime, non solo per poter giovare con esse a quegli, che ancora sono nella vita presente, ma con facultà di potere, oltre a questo, liberare le anime dei defunti dalle pene del purgatorio; le quali cose non avendo in se nè verisimilitudine nè autorita alcuna, perche

the very act, which was announced as the dispensation of the loftiest spiritual graces, was not allowed by the secular nobles,[27] or was regarded with suspicion,[28] or gave rise to the strongest remonstrances.[29] Now also men began to come forward in in-

era notorio, che si concedevano solamente per estorquere danari dagli uomini, che abbondano piu di semplicità, che di prudenza ed essendo esercitate impudentemente dai commissari diputati a questa esazione, la piu parte dei quali comperava dalla corte la facultà di esercitarla, aveva concitato in multa luoghi indegnazione e scandalo assai, e specialmente nella Germania. How little the produce of the indulgence was always employed by the Popes according to its destination, see Guicciardini ed. Venet. 1592 p. 395 b. il Pontifice (Leone), il quale per facilità della natura sua esercitava in molte cose con poca maestà l'ufficio ponteficale, donò a Maddalena sua sorella l'emolumento e l'essatione delle indulgenze di molte parti de Germania. Leonis x. epist. ad Albertum Electorem Mogunt. dd. 26. Nov. 1517 (in H. Schmidt's Einleitung zur Brandenb. Kirchen u. Reformations-Historie. Berlin 1718. 4. 244: Fraternitati Tuae committimus et mandamus, ut postquam acceperit dictum librum Titi Livii (viz. the 33d de bello Macedonico), ipsi Johanni solvat seu solvi faciat cxlvii. Ducatos auri de Camera ex pecuniis indulgentiarum concessarum per illas provincias in favorem fabricae Basilicae Principis Apostolorum de Urbe.

[27] The German order forbad all their subjects to make the pilgrimage to Rome for the jubilee year in 1450, see Voigt in Raumer's hist. Taschenbuche f. 1833. S. 138. For the post-jubilee in 1451 the dispensation of the indulgence was to be left to the four Bishops in Prussia: but a part of the produce was to accrue to the papal exchequer, and the Bulls of Commission were to cost 1000 ducats. The ambassador of the order at Rome wrote on this subject to the Grandmaster S. 142: "Gnadiger Herr, solches Alles Zusammengenommen vernehmet ihr wohl, dass solcher Ablass gar zu theuer würde, und zu viel kostet, schon allhie zu Rom, und noch weit veil mehr daheim; und wenn es an mir wäre, dass ich rathen sollte, so wollte ich solchen Ablass lieber aus dem Lande bitten, als ihn hineinbringen, denn meist würde nur Geld und Gut aus dem Lande gezogen. Also lasse ich es anstehn und bekümmere mich darum nicht mehr." The order adopted this view, and did not allow the indulgence to be preacht.

[28] In 1466, when a Jubilee-indulgence in support of the Turkish war was to be preacht, the states of the German Empire made the condition, that the money should not be handed over either to the Pope or to the Emperor, but to the states, Müller's Reichstagstheatrum Th. 2. S. 216 ff. In 1500 Cardinal Raymund did not venture to proclaim the Jubilee year in Germany, until the Imperial government at Nurenberg had concluded an agreement with him, according to which the produce assigned for the Turkish war was to be kept under four different locks. (Raynald. 1500. no. 20. Sammlung der Reichsabschiede Bd. 2. S. 96 ff.)

[29] See M. Meyeri epist. ad Aeneam Sylv. see § 133 note 17. Gravamen Nat. Germ. viii. A.D. 1510. see § 135 note 8.

creasing numbers, whose zeal in the cause of religion and morality was especially directed against the system of indulgences;[30] although persecution was usually the reward of their labours.

[30] Nicholas V. had to publish regulations in 1448 (see the Bull in Raynald, ad h. a. no. 9), because in nonnullis Burgundiae partibus plerique saeculares et regulares Presbyteri,—etiam nonnunquam in sermonibus publicis ad populum—habitis, aliqua piarum aurium offensiva,—et praesertim indulgentiarum et remissionum peccaminum, necnon clavium Ecclesiae, et sacramenti poenitentiae materias concernentia affirmaruut,—unde ibi gravia scandala successerunt.—Among the errors which the Franciscan Johannes Vitrarius had preacht in Paris, and which were condemned by the Sorbonne in 1498, are found the following (d'Argentre I., ii. p. 341): VIII. On ne doit point donner d'argent aux Eglises pour les pardons (the opinion of the Sorbonne: scandalosa, devotionis fidelium diminutiva, falsa, reparanda). IX. Les pardons ne sont point donnés pour les Bourdeaulx (Est indiscrete populo praedicata, scandalosa in religiosos domos, quibus collatae sunt indulgentiae). X. Les pardons viennent d'enfer (Est piarum aurium offensiva, scandalosa, in Ecclesiam et claves Ecclesiae blasphema, haeretica, reparanda, si fuerit praedicata). On the other hand Michael Menot (see § 146. note 10.) A.D. 1517 preacht uncensured in Paris (sermones quadragesimales. Paris 1526. 8. fol. 147. b.): Vultis, quod ego dicam vobis unum verbum? Nunquam theologi fecerunt mentionem, nec posuerunt manum in istis indulgentiis: aut si fecerunt, raro et modicum. Videatis Joannem Andreae, Panormitanum, et omnes Canonistas, qui dicunt de indulgentiis parum. Scotus parum.—Sed soli caffardi eas praedicaverunt cum infinitis mendaciis, ut populum decipiant: qui saepe sunt parvi diaboli, quando sunt in taberna: quibus non est quaestio, nisi de luxuria, de ludo etc. Dic si vis: quid ergo est? oportet ire ad magnam indulgentiam, quae est contritio. Et si hoc facias, promitto tibi, quod Magdalenae promissum est. Vade ad lachrymas cordis: effunde abundanter. Deus non dixit ei, quod poneret quinque solidos in trunco, sed dixit ei: fides tua te salvam fecit (Luc. vii. 50).—At Vienna Philippus Turrianus, domus s. Spiritus commendator preacht against the indulgence in 1500, see Conspectus hist. Univers. Viennensis Saec. ii. (Viennae 1724. 8.) p. 73: diversas contra indulgentias cum populi offendiculo propositiones palam effutivisse ferebatur, and was compelled by the theological faculty to pay a fine. Ulrich Krafft, parish priest at Ulm († 1516, see Veesenmeyer comm. de vicissitudinibus doctrinae de s. coena in Eccl. Ulmensi. Norimb. 1789. 4. p. 8) preacht against Tetzel: Es ist ein Lockvogel aufgestanden, der euch das Geld gern aus dem Beutel schwatzen wollte: glaubet demselben nicht, lieben Freunde, Christus allein ist unser Ablass und Versöhnopfer, so vor unser Sünde genug gethan und bezahlet, see Vogel's Leben des päbstl. Gnadenpredigers, oder Ablasscrämers J Tezels (Leipz. 2te Aufl. 1727. 8). Besides, Wolf in his Lectiones memorabiles, mentions also the following persons as opposers of indulgences in the beginning of the 6th century (the passages in point have been quoted into the later editions of Flacii catologustest. verit.) Sebastianus, Doctor of Divinity and

Then the Hierarchy measured their rewards and punishments only by the degree in which blind submission was rendered or refused to them. For the submissive they managed to bring the precepts of Christianity into convenient harmony with their sinful desires: but the disobedient they persecuted with an unsparing and relentless hand, even when they were actuated by the purest zeal for religion and morality. The list of forms of disobedience, which were condemned on Maundy Thursday with the severest and most solemn excommunication, continued to increase.[31] That ban and Interdict were often rashly and unright-

Canon at Erfurt (in Flacius ed. Francof. 1666. p. 827), Ludolph Castrick, Pastor of St Michael's Church in Magdeburg (Flacius p. 833), Job. Pfennig, parish priest at Naumburg, afterwards at Annaberg, who wisht to escape from persecution into Bohemia in 1501, but was seized and kept in prison by the Bishop of Misnia (Flacius p. 841. G. Fabricii Annal. urbis Misn. p. 78), Tilemann, monk at Gröningen (Flacius p. 842).

[31] Compare Part iii. § 120, note 19. The Bulla coenae, which Paul II. publisht in 1468, and which also was especially issued against George Podiebrad, Gregory of Heimburg, and others, may be seen in Cypriani tabularium Ecclesiae Romanae. Francof. et Lips. 1743. 4. p. 38 ss. The Bulla coenae of Leo X. A.D. 1515, may be seen in Wittii hist. Westphaliae p. 647, and Hartzheim Concill. Germ. T. vi. p. 144: Consueverunt Romani Pontifices, praedecessores nostri, ad retinendum puritatem religionis Christianae—arma justitiae per ministerium Apostolatus in praesenti celebritate exercere. Nos igitur vetustum et solemnem hunc morem sequentes, excommunicamus et anathematizamus ex parte Dei omnipotentis, Patris, et Filii, et Spiritus Sancti, auctoritate quoque beatorum Apostolorum Petri et Pauli ac nostra, omnes haereticos, Gazaros, Patarenos, Pauperes de Lugduno, Arnoldistas, Speronistas, Passagerios, Wiclevistas seu Hussitas, Fratricellos, de opinione nuncupatos, et quoslibet alios haereticos, ac omnes fautores —eorundem. Item excommunicamus et anathematizamus omnes violatores et perturbatores libertatis ecclesiasticae,—et eos praesertim, qui —Ecclesiis et ecclesiasticis personis sine licentia speciali Romani Pontificis—onera—imponunt.—Item—omnes piratas, cursarios,—praecipue qui mare nostrum a monte argentario usque ad Terracinam discurrere, et navigantes in illo depraedari—hactenus praesumpserunt, ac omnes receptatores eorundem.—Item—omnes, qui in terris suis nova pedagia imponunt vel prohibita exigunt. Item—omnes falsarios Bullarum seu literarum Apostolicarum.—Item—omnes illos, qui equos, arma, ferrum, ligamina, et alia prohibita deferunt Saracenis, Turcis et aliis Christi nominis inimicis, quibus Christianos impugnant. Item—omnes impedientes seu invadentes victualia, seu alia, ad usum Romanae Curiae necessaria, adducentes:—cujuscunque fuerint ordinis, praeeminentiae, conditionis et status, etiamsi Pontificali, Regali, Reginali, aut alia quavis ecclesiastica, vel mundana praefulgeant dignitate. Item—omnes

illos, qui ad Sedem Apostolicam venientes, et recedentes ab eadem—spoliant,—mutilare vel interficere praesumunt.—Item—omnes temere mutilantes, — interficientes, capientes — Patriarchas, Archiepiscopos, eorumque mandatores. Item—omnes illos, qui—personas—ad Romanam Curiam super eorum causis et negotiis recurrentes,—aut—Procuratores ipsorum, vel etiam Auditores seu Judices super dictis causis—deputatos occasione causarum—ejusmodi verberant,—vel occidunt, seu bonis spoliant (see § 137 note 4) :— ac illos, qui, ne literis et mandatis et Apostolicae Sedis, et Legatorum—ejusdem—non habito primo eorum beneplacito et assensu pareatur,—sub gravissimis poenis prohibere (see § 137 note 5),—quive in animarum eorundem periculum se a nostra, et Romani Pontificis pro tempore obedientia pertinaciter subtrahere—praesumunt: quive jurisdictionem seu fructus ad ecclesiasticas personas pertinentes usurpant vel arripiunt (§ 137, notes 2 and 3):—cujuscunque praeeminentiae—fuerint, etiamsi Pontificali, Regali, Reginali, vel quavis alia praefulgeant dignitate. Item—omnes mutilantes, vulnerantes, interficientes, seu capientes et detinentes, seu depraedantes Romipetas.—Item—qui—occupant, detinent, vel hostiliter destruunt, seu invadunt—almam urbem, regna Siciliae vel Trinacriae, insulas Sardiniae et Corsicae, terras citra Pharum, patrimonium b. Petri in Tuscia, Ducatu n Spoletanum, Comitatum Venaysinum, Sabinensem, Marchiae Anconitanae, Massae, Treburiae, Romandiolae, Campaniae, et Maritimae provincias, et terras specialis commissionis Arnolphorum, Bononiensium, Ferrariensium, Beneventanorum, Perusii, Avinionensis civitatis, Castelli, Tuderti, et alias civitates, terras, et loca vel jura ad ipsam Romanam Ecclesiam spectantia.—Non obstantibus quibuscunque privilegiis—eis—concessis, quod excommunicari vel anathematizari non possint per literas Apostolicas non facientes plenam et expressam—de—nominibus omnibus propriis—mentionem: nec non consuetudinibus—contrariis.—Et a quibus quidem sententiis nullus per alium, quam per Romanum Pontificem, nisi duntaxat in mortis articulo constitutus, absolvi possit: nec etiam tunc, nisi de standō s. Romanae Ecclesiae mandatis, satisfactione vel sufficienti cautione praestitis—Illos autem, qui contra tenorem praesentium talibus—absolutionis beneficium impendunt de facto, excommunicationis et anathematizationis sententia innodamus :—et declarantes,—nos gravius contra eos spiritualiter et temporaliter—processuros : et nihilominus quidquid egerint absolvendo vel alias, nullius sit roboris ac momenti. Ut autem hujusmodi nostri processus ad communem omnium notitiam deducantur chartas sive membranas processus continentes eosdem in valvis Basilicarum Principis Apostolorum, sanctique Johannis Lateranensis de urbe affigi, seu appendi faciemus, quae processus ipsos suo quasi sonoro praeconio et patulo indicio publicabunt, ut hi, quos processus hujusmodi contingunt, quod ad ipsos non pervenerint, aut quod ipsos ignoraverint, nullam possint excusationem praetendere, seu ignorantiam praetendere, cum non sit verisimile, quoad ipsos remanere incognitum, quod tam patenter omnibus publicatur. (On this method of publication see Part ii. § 59 note 33. Part iii. § 99 note 7. § 103 note 9.) Verum ut praesentes literae, ac omnia in eis contenta, eo fiant notiora, quo in plerisque civitatibus et locis fuerint publicata, Venn. fratribus nostris Patriarchis, Primatibus, Archiepiscopis, Episcopis, et locorum Ordi-

teously employed, was confest and even censured by synods.[32] In consequence of the ever increasing decay of respect for the hierarchy, it followed necessarily that their censures were often as little regarded by men[33] as by the noxious animals against which superstition not unfrequently employed them.[34]

§ 148.

THE INQUISITION.

In the time of the papal schism and the reforming councils, the power of the Inquisition seemed to be broken together with that of the hierarchy;[1] but when the latter once more lifted up

nariis ubilibet constitutis per haec scripta committimus, et in virtute sanctae obedientiae districte praecipiendo mandamus, quatenus per se, vel alium, seu alios, praesentes literas, postquam eas receperint, seu earum habuerint notitiam, saltem semel in anno, aut pluries, prout expedire viderint, in Ecclesiis suis, dum major in eis populi multitudo ad divina convenerit, solemniter publicent, et ad Christifidelium mentes deducant et declarent.

[32] See Conc. Basil. above § 132. note 23.

[33] See § 136. note 29.

[34] Compare Müller's Schweizergeschichte, neue Aufl. Leipzig 1826. Th. 4. S. 246 ff. Valerius Anshelm relates one instance of the kind, Berner Chronik Bd. 1. S. 206 f. in the year 1479: Es hat ein wyse Stadt Bern, von ihren Geistlichen beredt, ihren darzu berathnen und geneigten Stadtschryber—einen wohluszgespitzten, latinischen, vollmächtigen Gewaltsbrief unter ihrem Sigel geben, die schadhaften, röubischen Inger, Käfer und Würm, mit geistlichs Rechtens, an ordentlichem G'richt zu Losann erlangtem und ussgekundtem Bann, Verlütung und Verschiessung,—wie, als man sagt, die Ael uss dem Genfersee,—uss all ihren Gebieten und Landen zu verbannen und zu vertryben. Und wiewohl die Inger, als contumaces und violenti raptores et occupatores, das Recht,—villicht uss Untrüw ihres unmündigen Fürsprechers, — verluren, und heftig gebannet wurden: dennoch, ungeirret des grossen Bannes blibent s'in ihrer Gewerd und Possession so stark, dass man zu unseren Zyten Sant Mangen Heilthumb von Sant Gallen—wider sie beschicht.

[1] Thus Jacobus Carthusianus (see § 136 note 31) de arte curandi vitia (in v. d. Hardt Autographa Lutheri praef. p. 47) could exclaim without fear: Utinam moderni theologi ac Praelati ordine procederent in correctionibus: non esset opus tot homines igne cremari. Sperandum melius esset de pluribus, si viderent vestigia Christi in Praelatis et theologis, qui per mansuetudinem suae doctrinae, et per pietatem omnes vicit, et trahendos ad se traxit. Moderni autem non sic. Sed qui nititur informari rationibus, exposcens rationem de fide, non sunt parati

its head, the former recommenced in Spain and Germany in new guise with an energy almost more bloodthirsty than ever before.

In Spain[2] the new Christians, who, being descended from the Jews converted by force since the year 1391, secretly amongst themselves maintained their allegiance to the religion of their fathers,[3] were the cause of its institution. But the inquisition set up on their account received a peculiar character from the fact that Sixtus IV. granted to the two Sovereins Ferdinand and Isabella (1478) the power to appoint and depose the inquisitors, and to confiscate the property of condemned persons to the royal exchequer. At first two inquisitors were appointed by the Sovereins (1480); but although these two displayed a sufficiently bloodthirsty zeal,[4] nevertheless, in order to introduce greater system and unity into the work of blood, they were soon reinforced by Thomas de Torquemada as general-inquisitor (1483).[5] By these men inquisitors were quickly establisht in all places of import-

reddere rationem, ut tamen docet fieri b. Petrus Sed statim fremunt dentibus, acclamantes: *haereticus est, comburatur.* Sicque attrahendos exasperant, et exasperatos repellunt, et, *si possunt*, damna bonorum et corporis illis procurant. Quae omnia Christus non docuit, sed omnia prohibuit. Inde accidit, quod moderni nil proficiant, sed potius Ecclesiam Dei diminuant. Et cunctos, etiam timoratos, scandalisant.

[2] Lud. a Paramo de origine et progressu officii sanctae Inquisitionis. Matriti 1598. fol. Spittler's Entwurf der Gesch. der span. Inquisition, vor der Sammlung der Instructionen des span. Inquisitionsgerichtes, übers. von J. D. Reuss. Hannover 1788. 8. Histoire critique de l'inquisition d'Espagne par D. Jean. Ant. Llorente. Tomes iv. à Paris 1817. 1818. 8.

[3] Llorente 1. p. 141 ss.

[4] Llorente 1. p. 145 ss. compare Sixti IV. epist. ad Ferdinandum et Isabellam dd. 29. Jan. 1482 in Llorente iv. p. 347: Quo factum est, ut multiplices querelae et lamentationes factae fuerint, tam contra nos de illarum (literarum) expeditione hujusmodi, quam contra Majestates vestras et contra dilectos filios Michaelem de Morillo Magistrum, et Joannem de s. Martino Baccalaureum in theologia, Ordinis Praedicatorum professores, quos dictarum litterarum praetextu inquisitores in vestra civitate Hispalensi nominastis, pro eo quod (ut asseritur) inconsulte, et nullo juris ordine servato procedentes, multos injuste carceraverint, diris tormentis subjecerint, et haereticos injuste declaraverint, ac bonis spoliaverint qui ultimo supplicio affecti fuere: adeo ut quam plures alii justo timore perterriti in fugam se convertentes hinc inde dispersi sint, plurimique ex eis—ad sedem Romanam, oppressorum ubique tutissimum refugium, confugerint.

[5] Llorente i. p. 172 ss.

ance, and provided with most minute instructions.[6] These surrounded themselves with assistants (familiares sancti Officii); all resistance even on the side of the civic authorities was overcome with terror.[7] At the countless funeral piles civil liberties were sacrificed to royal despotism, no less than reason to religious fanaticism.[8] Even the bishops, instead of being associated in judgment, were obliged to submit to the new inquisition;[9] the Popes themselves could no longer curb the hydra which had quickly outgrown their power.[10] From the year 1492, when all

[6] The first of 29. Sept. (according to Llorente of 29. Oct.) 1484 are in the collection of the instructions of the Spanish inquisitional tribunal, translated by J. D. Reuss S. i. ff. abridged in Llorente i. p. 175 ss.

[7] These were the efforts of the Cortes of Aragon in Rome A.D. 1484 against the new Inquisition, particularly against the confiscation of property, which infringed the privileges of the country, Llorente i. p. 187 ; The murder of the inquisitor at Saragossa in 1485 p. 189; disturbances at the same time through the whole of Aragon, p. 211; renewed resistance of the Cortes of Aragon in 1510, p. 371; general attempts of the Cortes of Castile, Aragon, and Catalonia, to overthrow the Inquisition on the accession of Charles V. to the throne in 1518 p. 376 ff.

[8] Ranke's Fürsten u. Völker von Südeuropa im sechszehnten u. siebzehnten Jahrh., vornehmlich aus ungedruckten Gesandtschaftsberichten, Bd. 1. (Hamburg 1827. 8) S. 241. The first opinion in Spain of the new inquisition is revealed by Sixti IV. epist. ad Isabellam dd. 23. Febr. 1483 in Llorente iv. p. 354: Quod autem dubitare videris, nos forsan existimare, cum in perfidos illos, qui Christianum nomen ementiti Christum blasphemant, et judaica perfidia crucifigunt, quando ad unitatem redigi nequeant, tam severe animadvertere cures, ambitione potius et bonorum temporalium cupiditate [te agi], quam zelo fidei et catholicae veritatis, vel Dei timore; certo scias, ne ullam quidem apud nos ejus rei fuisse suspicionem. Quod si non defuerint qui ad protegendum eorum sceleru multa susurrarint, nihil tamen sinistri de tua vel —consortis tui illustris devotione persuaderi nobis potuit.

[9] Ferdinand de Talavera, first archbishop of Granada, was called to account by the Inquisition in 1504, for having endeavoured as confessor to the Queen, to oppose the establishment of the new Inquisition, and was only rescued by the intervention of the Pope. Llorente i. p. 341.

[10] At first the Curia endeavoured to open an advantageous traffic for itself by means of the new institution. It sold absolutions for the crime of apostacy: but the Inquisition and the sovereins offered so firm a resistance, that at length 23. Aug. 1497, Alexander VI. was obliged to annul all such papal absolutions by limiting them to the forum conscientiae, Llorente i. p. 239 ss. The Curia likewise at first sold privileges, by which certain accused persons were exempted from the jurisdiction of the Inquisition: but Alexander VI. decreed 15. May 1502, that in future, all cases of exemption from the Inquisition which

Jews who refused to be converted to Christianity were banisht from their country, by Torquemada's advice; from 1502, when a similar fate befel the Moors of Granada, notwithstanding all the assurances made to them in the peace of 1492: the monster of the Inquisition never ceased from the work of blood.[11] Fear and distrust penetrated the nearest and most sacred relationships: cruelty, revenge, malice, and hypocrisy, sank deeper and deeper into the character of the people which groaned beneath this fearful yoke.[12]

occurred should be tried by the grand Inquisitor in person. Llorente i. p. 247 ss.

[11] According to Llorente iv. p. 252 down to 1498, in which year Torquemada resigned his office, 8800 were burnt alive, 6500 in effigy, but 90,004 punisht with different kinds of penance. Under the second general-inquisitor, the Dominican Diego Deza, from 1499—1506, 1664 persons were burnt alive, 832 in effigy, 32,456 punisht: under the third general-inquisitor, the Cardinal and Archbishop of Toledo, Francis Ximenes de Cisneros, from 1507-1517, 2536 were burnt alive, 1368 in effigy, 47,263 reconciled.

[12] The genuine opinion in Spain with regard to these cruelties appears from the account of the introduction of the Inquisition in the Hist. de rebus Hispaniae, by the Spanish Jesuit, Jo. Mariana (publisht at Toledo 1592) lib. xxiv. c. 17.: Meliori Hispaniae fato, quod eatenus factum non erat, quaestionibus habendis adversus religionis desertores atque haereticos, aliisque in veram pietatem criminibus vindicandis certi judices designati in Castella sunt, discreti ab Episcopis (quorum eae partes ab antiquo erant), Romani Pontificis auctoritate, et favore Principum armati, Inquisitorum ab officio nomine. Morem in aliis provinciis frequentem Italia, Gallia, Germania, ipsaque Aragonia, hoc demum tempore Castella est imitata: neque in studio impios conatus vindicandi se ab ulla gente vinci passa est. Auctor consilii Hispaniae Cardinalis (i.e. Petrus Gonzalez a Mendoza, Archiepiscopus Hispalensis). Licentia superiorum temporum multa in ea provincia erant depravata, Mauris Judaeisque cum piis promiscue versantibus nullo non commercii genere. Prava consuetudine usuque non paucos e piorum numero infici necesse fuit: plures sacra christiana, quae susceperant patria superstitione abdicata, fide inconstanti, nullo vetante deserebant: labes Hispali maxime est grassata: in ea urbe primum quaestionibus arcano habitis de sontibus gravissimis poenis vindicatum est. Nam majori commisso delicto, igne post diuturnum carcerem et tormento necabantur; leviori de causa ignominia inurebatur familiae perpetua; non pauci bonis publicatis aeternis tenebris vinculisque mandati. Rubra crux obliquis radiis ac decussatim in crocea veste, quam S. Benedicti *(San-Benito)* vocant, plerisque data insignis, a caeterisque discreta, ut essent documento, et magnitudine supplicii terrerent alios. Quod usu salutare extitit, grave initio provincialibus visum est. Illa maxime: parentum scelera filiorum poenis lui; occulto accusatore reos

A fresh impulse was given to the inquisition of Germany, in another manner, but with no less deadly result. The secret meetings of heretics had long been ascribed to a league with the devil. But sorcery, as being fraught with danger to every one, was even more hateful to the people than heresy.[13] Accordingly, in 1484, Innocent VIII. announced to the German nation, that they were endangered, in an especial manner, by wizards and witches:[14] and commissioned the two inquisitors, Henry Krämer

fieri; neque cum indice compositos damnari; contra quam olim factum erat, peccata in religionem vindicari morte. Illud gravissimum, adimi per inquisitiones loquendi libere, audiendique commercium, dispersis per urbes et oppida et agros observatoribus, quod extremum in servitute credebant. Ita discrepantibus judiciis, nonnulli mortis poenam removebant, caeterum suppliciorum acerbitates omnes complectebantur: in hoc numero Fernandus Pulgarius arguto atque eleganti ingenio, cujus extat de Ferdinandi Regis rebus gestis historia: alii, quorum melior sententia fuit, qui foedare religionem, et sanctissimas caeremonias mutare conati essent, eos frui vita et communi spiritu non putabant oportere, bonis et ignominia multandos videri, nulla filiorum cura. Praeclare id legibus comparatum, ut caritas liberorum cautiores parentes reddat. Occulto judicio tergiversationes vitari: neque nisi de convictis aperte, aut confessis poenas sumi. In multis saepe antiquos Ecclesiae mores, prout res et tempora exigunt, mutari: et majorem licentiam majori severitate coërcendam videri. Successus opinionem superavit.—Ab hoc initio res in hanc auctoritatem crevit atque potestatem, qua nulla pravis hominibus toto orbe christiano formidabilior est, reipublicae universae majori commodo; praesens remedium adversus impendentia mala, quibus aliae provinciae exagitantur, caelo datum: nam humano consilio adversus tanta pericula satis caveri non potuit.

[13] Compare E. D. Hauber's bibliotheca, acta et scripta magica, gründliche Nachrichten und Urtheile von solchen Büchern und Handlungen, welche die Macht des Teufels in leibl. Dingen betreffen. 36. Stück. Lemgo 1739—1745. 8. G. E. Horst's Dämonomagie, od. Geschichte des Glaubens an Zauberei u. dämonische Wunder, mit besonderer Berücksichtigung des Hexenprocesses seit den Zeiten Innocentius VIII. 2 Th. Frankf. a M. 1818. Dess. Zauberbibliothek. 6 Theile. Mainz 1821—1826. 8.

[14] In the Bull Summis desiderantes affectibus dd. Non. Dec. 1484, incomplete in the Lib. septimus Decretall. Lib. v. tit. 12. c. 4., complete in Hauber's bibl. mag. St. 1. S. 1 ff. Horst's Dämonomagie. Th. 2. S. 17 ff.: Nuper ad nostrum—pervenit auditum, quod in nonnullis partibus Alemanniae superioris, necnon in Moguntinensi, Coloniensi, Trevirensi, Salzburgensi et Bremensi provinciis—complures utriusque sexus personae, propriae salutis immemores, et a fide catholica deviantes, cum daemonibus, incubis et succubis, abuti, ac suis incantationibus, carminibus et conjurationibus—mulierum partus, animalium foetus, terrae fruges, vinearum uvas, et arborum fructus, necnon homines, mulieres, pecora, pecudes, et alia diversorum generum animalia, vineas quoque,

and James Sprenger, to persecute them with peculiar rigour. In order to convince unbelievers, and bring the new office into working order, they issued the Hexenhammer (Malleus maleficarum. Colon. 1489. 4.)[15] Only with much danger and without

pomaria, prata, pascua, blada, frumenta, et alia terrae legumina perire, suffocari et extingui facere et procurare, ipsosque homines,—et animalia diris tam intrinsecis quam extrinsecis doloribus et tormentis afficere et excruciare, ac eosdem homines, ne gignere, et mulieres, ne concipere, virosque, ne uxoribus, et mulieres, ne viris actus conjugales reddere valeant, impedire: fidem praeterea ipsam, quam in sacri susceptione baptismi susceperunt, ore sacrilego abnegare, aliaque quam plurima nefanda,—instigante humani generis inimico, committere et perpetrare non verentur.—Quodque licet dilecti filii, Henricus Institoris in praedictis partibus Alemanniae superioris,—necnon Jacobus Sprenger per certas partes lineae Rheni, Ordinis Praedicatorum, et theologiae professores, haereticae pravitatis inquisitores per literas Apostolicas deputati fuerunt: tamen nonnulli Clerici et laici illarum partium, quaerentes plura sapere quam oporteat, pro eo quod in literis deputationis hujusmodi provinciae,—ac excessus hujusmodi nominatim et specifice expressa non fuerunt,—praefatis inquisitoribus in provinciis—praedictis hujusmodi inquisitionis officium exequi non licere,—pertinaciter asserere non erubescunt.—Nos igitur,—ne contingat, provincias—et loca praedicta—debito inquisitionis officio carere, eisdem inquisitoribus in illis officium inquisitionis hujusmodi exequi licere—tenore praesentium statuimus. Proque potiori cautela literas et deputationem praedictas ad provincias—et crimina hujusmodi extendentes, praefatis inquisitoribus, quod ipsi—in provinciis—praedictis contra quascunque personas—hujusmodi inquisitionis officium exequi, ipsasque personas, quas in praemissis culpabiles repererint, juxta earum demerita corrigere, incarcerare, punire, et mulctare; necnon in singulis provinciarum hujusmodi parochialibus Ecclesiis verbum Dei fideli populo, quoties expedierit ac eis visum fuerit, proponere et praedicare, omniaque alia et singula in praemissis et circa ea necessaria et opportuna facere, et similiter exequi libere et licite valeant, plenam ac liberam eadem auctoritate de nova concedimus facultatem. Et nihilominus ven. fratri nostro Episcopo Argentinensi per Apostolica scripta mandamus, quatenus—non permittat, eos quoscunque super hoc—molestari, seu alias quomodolibet impediri; molestatores et impedientes et contradictores quoslibet, et rebelles, cujuscunque dignitatis, status, gradus, praeeminentiae, nobilitatis, et excellentiae aut conditionis fuerint, et quocunque exemtionis privilegio sint muniti, per excommunicationis, suspensionis et interdicti, ac alias etiam formidabiliores, de quibus sibi videbitur, sententias, censuras et poenas, omni appellatione postposita, compescendo: et etiam legitimis super his per eum servandis processibus sententias ipsas, quoties opus fuerit, aggravare et reaggravare auctoritate nostra procuret, invocato ad hoc, si opus fuerit, auxilio brachii saecularis.

[15] On the editions of this work see Hauber St. i. S. 39 ff. ii. S. 90 ff. v. S. 311 ff. It consists of three parts. P. I. treats super tria, quae ad maleficialem effectum concurrunt, ut sunt Daemon, maleficus et divina permissio: P. II. super remedia praeservativa and super

success a few clearer-thinking men declaimed against this delusion :[16] the numerous fires of death soon overcame them. Many

remedia maleficia amoventia; P. III. super remedia ultima contra personas maleficarum.

[16] In Evreux so early as 1453 Wilhelmus Edelinus, doctor of Divinity, prior of St Germain en Laye, was sentenced to imprisonment for life, on account of a league with the devil, see Chroniques d'Enguerran de Monstrelet (à Paris 1572) vol. iii. fol. 63. The principal charge brought against him is known from the work of another cotemporary writer, a Dominican, Nicolai Jaquerii († in Ghent 1471) flagellum haereticorum fascinariorum (ed. Francof. 1581. 8.) cap. 5. The schedula in which the ill-fated man had to record the crime fastened upon him, continebat inter caetera, quod, quando ipse fuit introductus ad dictam sectam, Diabolus asserebat, quod ipse Magister Guilhelmus bene posset, si vellet, augmentare ejusdem Daemonis dominium, praecipiendo eidem Magistro Guilhelmo praedicare, quod hujusmodi secta non erat nisi illusio, et quod hoc praedicaret ad contentandum populum patriae, ubi tunc morabatur ipse Magister Guilhelmus. Comp. Hauber St. 15. S. 152 ff. Malleus malefic. P. I. Qu. 1. answers in the affirmative the question: utrum asserere maleficos esse sit a Deo catholicum, quod ejus oppositum pertinaciter defendere omnino sit haereticum. Hence it appears that there were many at that time who publice praedicant, maleficas non esse, aut quod nullo modo valeant hominibus nocere. Then follows P. I. Qu. 18. *modus praedicandi contra quinque argumenta Laicorum, quibus probare videntur sparsim, quod Deus non permittat tantam potestatem Diabolo et maleficis circa hujusmodi maleficia inferenda.* These reasons are: *Primum sumitur ex parte Dei:* Deus punire potest hominem propter peccata et punit gladio, fame et mortalitate, item diversis aliis infirmitatibus variis et innumeris, quibus humana conditio subjacet: unde quia opus ei non est adjungere alias punitiones, ideo non permittit. II. *ex parte Diaboli:* Si vera essent quae praedicantur, quod videlicet (Daemones) vim generativam impedire possunt, ut videlicet mulier non concipiat; vel, si concipiat, quod aborsum faciat; vel si non aborsum, quod etiam post partum natos interficiunt: utique sic perimere possent totum mundum. Et iterum posset dici, quod opera Diaboli essent fortiora operibus Dei, scilicet sacramento matrimonii, quod est opus Dei. III. *ex parte hominis:* Videmus, si maleficium debet esse aliquid in mundo, tunc aliqui homines plus aliis maleficiantur. De quo si quaeritur, utique dicitur hoc esse propter punitionem peccatorum: sed hoc est falsum; ergo et illud, quod maleficia sint in mundo. Falsitas autem probatur ex eo, quia tunc majores peccatores amplius punirentur: hoc autem est falsum, cum minus puniantur, quam alii interdum justi. Quod etiam cernitur in pueris innocentibus, qui asseruntur maleficiari. *Quarto potest addi et aliud argumentum ex parte Dei, hoc:* Quod quis impedire posset, et non impedit, sed fieri permittit, utique judicatur ex sua voluntate processisse. Sed Deus cum sit summe bonus, non potest velle malum: ergo non potest permittere, ut fiat malum, quod ipse impedire potest. *Item ex parte morbi:* Defectus et infirmitates, qui dicuntur malefi-

persons entirely innocent were sacrificed, but together with them the secret heretics also were persecuted with greater success as wizards:[17] for even the secular authorities themselves began to vie with the inquisitors in the persecution.[18]

ciales, similes etiam sunt defectibus et infirmitatibus naturalibus, i.e. qui ex defectu naturae procedunt. Quod enim aliquis claudicat, excoecatur vel rationem perdit, vel etiam moritur, ex defectu naturae contingere possunt: unde non possunt secure maleficis adscribi. *Ultimo ex parte judicum et praedicatorum*, qui, cum talia adversus maleficas praedicant et practicant, utique propter ingens odium a maleficis contra eos conceptum nunquam essent securi. They who preacht against the belief in witches, rested principally upon Decret. Gratiani Causa xxvi. Qu. 5. c. 12. ex Conc. Anquirensi, in which the midnight journeys of witches through the air, and the possibility of their changing themselves into other shapes, were pronounced heathenish superstitions, and the clergy were required to preach against them. On this account Malleus malef. P. ii. cap. 3. labours to prove, that these opponents only in cortice canonis laborarent, and that there certainly were magic arts of the kind mentioned. After producing several instances it proceeds: Tantummodo haec sufficiant adversus illos, qui hujusmodi corporales transvectiones aut omnino negant, aut quod solummodo imaginarie et fantastice fiant, affirmare conantur. Qui utique in suo errore si relinquerentur, parum esset, imo nec advertendum, dummodo in fidei contumeliam ipsorum error non vergeret. Attento autem quod illo errore non contenti etiam alios inserere, et publicare in maleficarum augmentationem et fidei detrimentum non verentur, dum asserunt, quod omnia maleficia, quae eis juste tanquam instrumentis Daemonum vere et realiter imputantur, eis tantummodo imaginarie et illusorie, tanquam innoxiis, esse imputanda, sicuti et ipsa transvectio fantastica, unde et pluries impune in magnam creatoris contumeliam et gravissimum jam ipsorum augmentum remanserunt etc. Compare P. ii. cap. 8. Two dialogues of this period are worthy of note, in which the reasons and counter-reasons in respect of belief in witches are drawn out. Ulricus Molitoris, Decretorum Doctor, and assessor of the Episcopal Court at Constance, wrote at the suggestion of the Archduke Sigismund of Austria: De lamiis et pythonicis mulieribus. Colon. 1489. The reasons against belief in witchcraft are here drawn out with overwhelming force, but great caution, and the decisive denial only put in the mouth of the Archduke, compare Hauber St. 2 S. 103 ff. In the dialogue of the Franciscan Thomas Murner: De pythonico contractu. Freyburgii 1499, it is scarcely possible to discover the real opinion of the author, see Hauber St. 2. S. 116 ff. Both dialogues are added to the edition of the Malleus Maleficarum. publisht at Frankfort. in 1580. 8.

[17] The example of Arras A.D. 1459 shews how persons suspected of heresy were soon accused of witchcraft; a great number of persons there, who were considered to be Waldenses, were accused of being in league with the devil and burnt accordingly, see Enguerrand de Monstrelet Chroniques. vol. iii. fol. 84. The great jurist Franc. Balduinus himself a native of Arras, writes on this subject Comm. in Institutt

lib. iv. Tit. 18. p. 774: Quo gravius et ab hominis ingenio magis alienum est hoc malum (the crime of witchcraft), eo major adhibenda est cautio, ne quis ejus praetextu ab adversariis temere obruatur. Facile enim hic quidvis confingere potest ingeniosa simultas, ut et multitudinem statim commoveat, et attonitos judices irritet adversus eum, quem cum Daemonibus rem habere mentietur. Ante annos sexaginta sensit infelix nostra patria magno suo malo hujusce generis calumnias. Magna erat Valdensium mentio, quos adversarii jactabant nescio quid commercii habere cum immundis spiritibus. Hujus criminis praetextu optimi quique statim opprimebantur. Sed tandem Senatus Parisiensis causa cognita vidit meras esse sycophantias, infelices reos liberavit, improbos sycophantas cum iniquis judicibus damnavit. Extatque adhuc ejus memorabile hac de re Arestum, editum xx. die mensis Maji Anno 1491. Compare Hauber St. 2. S. 64 ff. The Malleus Maleficarum labours to prove, that witchcraft is the greatest heresy (p. 1. Qu. 14.)

[18] The Malleus Maleficarum p. iii. argues in the introduction that because crimen maleficarum non est mere ecclesiasticum, imo potius civile propter damna, quae inferuntur temporalia, therefore the judex saecularis cognoscere et judicare potest usque ad sententiam diffinitivam ad poenitentiam, quam ab Ordinariis recipiet: secus super sanguinem, quam per se ferre potest. Accordingly P. iii. is intended for the instruction of secular judges.

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FIFTH CHAPTER.

HISTORY OF THE ADVERSARIES OF THE ROMAN CHURCH.

§ 149.

ANCIENT SUPERSTITIOUS SECTS.

The Manicheans now only maintained themselves in Bosnia. They were here predominant, until Stephen Thomas, King of Bosnia, went over to the Roman Church in 1442,[1] and began to persecute them. However by so doing he only precipitated the ruin of his kingdom, which fell a prey to the Turks in 1463.[2]

[1] See Epist. Benedicti Ovetarii Vicentini ad Petrum Donatum Episc. Patavinum dd. Rom. Kal. Oct. 1442 in Martene ampl. coll. i. p. 1592.

[2] There is a letter of praise from the Pope to the King on account of this persecution in Raynald. 1445. no. 23. Two Waivodes, Stephen, the King's father-in-law, and John, who had been outwardly converted to the Roman Church, returned to heresy and shielded the Manicheans. Against these men Nicholas V. instructed a legate in Raynald. 1449. no. 9. The Manicheans even invited the aid of the Turks against their King, Rayn. 1450. no. 13. His son and successor Stephen Thomassovitch agreed to pay tribute to the Turks, and began to persecute the Manicheans afresh, and to confiscate their property, Rayn. 1460. no. 91. cf. Pii ii. commentarii rerum memorab. a J. Gobelino compositi lib. v. p. 125: Rex Bossinae—ut piaculum traditae Turcis Synderoniae purgaret, ac suae religionis fidem faceret, sive, quod multi crediderunt, avaritiae obtentu Manichaeos, qui erant in regno suo quam plurimi, nisi baptismum Christi acciperent, e regno migrare coëgit substantia relicta: duo circiter millia baptizati sunt, quadraginta aut paulo plures pertinaciter errantes ad Stephanum Bosnae ducem (Stephen Cosaccia, Duke of the Herzegovina) perfidiae socium confugere. Tres principes haereseos in aula Regis potentes Episcopus Nonensis vinctos ad Pontificem duxit, quos Pius per monasteria relegatos edoceri Christianum dogma curavit. Joannes Cardinalis sancti Sixti ad se vocatos instruxit, persuasitque tandem abjuratis erroribus Ecclesiae Romanae, quae nec falleret, nec falleretur, documenta suscipere: reconciliatos ad

The superstitious Flagellants on the other hand survived secretly in Thuringia and Anhalt.[3]

§ 150.

EFFORTS FOR REFORM.

JOHN HUSS AND JEROME OF PRAGUE.

Sources: Historia et monumenta Jo. Hus atque Hieronymi Pragensis. Tomi. ii. Norimbergae 1715. fol.

Hostile to Huss: Aeneae Sylvii de Bohemorum origine ac gestis historia (Romae 1475 fol. and at other times e.g., Wolferbyti 1620. 8.) cap. 35. 36. Jo. Cochlaei hist. Hussitarum libb. xii. apud S. Victorem prope Moguntiam. 1549. fol.

Friendly to him: Hussitenkrieg: comprising the life, doctrine, and death of M. John Huss, also how he was avenged by the Hussites, &c., diligently collected from trusty historians, antient monuments and manuscripts, by M. Zacharias Theobaldus. Nürnberg. 1621. 4.

Works: Wilh. Seyfridi diss. de Jo. Hussi Martyris vita, fatis ac scriptis. Jenae 1729. cum annotationibus J. Chr. Mylii. Hilperhusae 1743. 4. Lebensbeschreibungen von Huss u. Hieron. v. Prag in W. Gilpin's Biographien der bekanntesten Reformatoren vor Luther, a. d. Engl. Frankf. u. Leipz. 1769. 8. Hussens Leben von. Aug. Zitte, 2 Theile, Prag 1789. 90. von. J. F. W. Tischer. Leipz. 1798. Leben des Hieronymus v. Prag von Tischer. Leipz. 1802.—Compare the works on the Council of Constance at the head of § 131.

John Huss of Hussinecz, master of the liberal arts, and teacher of Theology at Prague, from 1402 preacher in the Bethlehem Chapel,[1] and confessor to Queen Sophia, trod

Regem remisit (cf. Raynald. 1461. no. 136.): duo in fide permansere, tertius more canis ad vomitum rediens ex itinere dilapsus ad Stephanum confugit. In the year 1463 King Stephen was taken prisoner and slain, and Bosnia was annexed by the Turks (Gobellinus lib. xi. p. 311.)

[3] Their opinions may be seen part iii. § 123 note 8. Flagellants were discovered and punisht in Sangerhausen A.D. 1414 and 1454, in Nordhausen 1446, in Anhalt 1481, see Förstemann die christl. Geisslergesellchaften. Halle 1828. S. 163 ff.

[1] This chapel was founded in 1391 by John of Mühlheim and the merchant Kreuz, (Pelzel's Lebensgesch. des Königs Wenceslaus. Th. 1. Prag 1788 S. 243): Their intention is thus exprest in the deed of foundation (Ibid. Urkundenbuch S. 102 ff.). Ego Johannes de Milhem provida consideratione pensans, et animae meae salutem, multorumque

zealously in the footsteps of Conrad Stiekna, John Milicz, and Matthew of Janow, in the cause of morality and inward piety. By means of Wycliff's works, which at that time had spread even so far as Prague, Huss was won over to the side of Augustine in theology, and to realism in philosophy:[2] true, he did not adopt all Wycliff's peculiar doctrinal opinions,[3] but he

Christifidelium spiritualem refectionem desiderans, quomodo in civitate Pragensi, licet multa sint loca ad divinos cultus ordinata, nihilominus tamen eadem per plurimos alios sacros actus occupantur pluries, sic quod nullus locus ad privilegiatum praedicationis verbi Dei officium sit ibidem specialiter deputatus, sed praedicatores ipsi, specialiter vulgaris Boemici eloquii, plerumque per domos et latebras cogùntur, quod non congruit, divagari, quemadmodum saepius notabiliter est compertum: hac igitur consideratione permotus, et ad dictae praedicationis sanctae incrementa procuranda attentius animatus—Capellam in honore ss. Innocentum in area providi viri Crucis, civis majoris civitatis Pragensis, quam idem Crux—ad id pie donavit,—quam Bethlehem, quod interpretatur domus panis, censui appellandam hac consideratione, ut ibidem populus communis et Christifideles pane praedicationis sanctae refici debeant,—decrevi et disposui erigendam.

[2] Aeneae Sylvii hist. Bohem. c. 35: Rexerunt scholam Pragensem usque in ea tempora Teutones. Id molestissimum Bohemis fuit, hominibus natura ferocibus atque indomitis. Ex quibus vir quidam genere nobilis, ex domo quam Putridi piscis vocant, apud Oxoniam Angliae civitatem literis studens, cum Johannis Wyclevi libros offendisset, quibus de realibus universalibus titulus inscribitur, magnopere illis oblectatus, exemplaria secum attulit (about the year 1402). Inter quae de civili, de jure divino, de Ecclesia, de diversis quaestionibus, contra Clerum pleraque volumina, veluti pretiosum thesaurum, patriae suae intulit. Imbutus jam ipse Wiclevitarum veneno et ad nocendum paratus, tum quod erat familiae suae cognomen, putridum piscem i.e. foetidum virus in cives suos evomuit. Commodavit autem scripta, quae attulerat, his potissime, qui Teutonicorum odio tenebantur. Inter quos Johannes eminuit, obscuro loco natus, ex villa Ilus, qui anserem significat, cognomen mutuatus. Hic cum esset ingenio peracri, et lingua diserta, multumque dialecticis oblectaretur, et peregrinas opiniones amaret, avide admodum Wyclevitarum doctrinam arripuit, eaque Teutonicos vexare magistros coepit, sperans eo confusos Teutones scholas relicturos.

[3] Thus he teaches, even in his tract. de corpore et sanguine Domini, which he wrote in prison at Constance (Hist. et Monum. i. p. 47), the orthodox doctrine of transubstantiation, and asserts expressly, cap. 2, that he had always maintained this doctrine. Compare also his confession of faith below, note 12. In his Responsio ad scripta Mag. Stephani Paletz, he says (Hist. et Monum. i. p. 330): Ego enim fateor, quod sententias *veras*, quas M. Joan. Wicleff—posuit, teneo, non quia ipse dicit, sed quia divina scriptura, vel ratio infallibilis dicit. Si autem aliquem errorem posuerit, nec ipsum, nec quemcunque alium intendo in errore, quantumlibet modice, imitari.

derived from him a deeper insight into the errors of the Church, and strengthened by his example his zeal for truth and morality. Accordingly, he recommended and disseminated his works,[4] and contracted a close friendship with the most zealous of his admirers, Jerome Faulfisch, commonly called Hieronymus Pragensis. But by so doing he incurred the enmity of the numerous German teachers at the University of Prague, who were in a body nominalists, and opponents of Wycliff. When Huss had already won his reputation as an impressive preacher of morality to the people, he began as a speaker in the synods to inveigh against the corruption of the clergy.[5] The accidental circumstance, that the

[4] Aeneas Sylvius l. c., on Huss's energy as a preacher in the Bethlehem Chapel, says: Qui cum se libenter audiri animadverteret multa de libris Johannis Wyclevi in medium attulit, asserens in eis omnem veritatem contineri, adjiciensque crebro inter praedicandum, se postquam ex hac luce migraret, in ea loca proficisci cupere, ad quae Wyclevi anima pervenisset, quem virum bonum, sanctum, caeloque dignum non dubitaret. In 1408, Stephanus, Cartusiae Dolanensis Prior, wrote his Medulla tritici s. Antiwikleffus in Pezii thes. anecdotorum t. iv. p. ii. p. 149 ss., against the Wycliffite errors which were spreading abroad, but without mentioning Huss, comp. p. 157: Audivi crebrius, et quadam apostatica lectione cujusdam dialogi et trialogi (see Part iii. § 125. note 21) didici et obstupui, qualiter quidam insani Magistri et homines pestiferi Wikleffitici ordinis et schismatis, canina rabie concitati, cursu praecipiti, profanis et sacrilegis sententiis, et arte diabolica confectis articulis, s. matris Ecclesiae, magisterio S. Spiritus bene et optime dispositum, ritum et ordinem dedecorant et commaculant; et ausu temerario fabulationes nequissimas sic impudenter in medium proferunt, ut non solum post discursum peregrinarum nobis terrarum et districtuum, etiam in terris nostris Bohemiae et Moraviae, aulas Principum, collegia et cathedras sacerdotum, scholas studentium, promiscui sexus popularem tumultum fidelium, antra deserti claustralium, sed etiam segregatas in partem et pacem silentii Cartusiensium cellulas tuba illorum ululans et pestifera, muros et bonos mores transgrediens, cum terrore valido repleverit vehementer. That doubts with regard to transubstantiation were spread by Wycliff's writings, is evident from the charge of Sbynko, Archbishop of Prague, A.D. 1406 (l. c. p. 158), in which he directs the clergy to preach the doctrine of transubstantiation, with the threat: qui aliter—dogmatizare auderet,—haereticus esset, et talis per nos taliter puniretur, quod et aliis merito poterit cedere in exemplum. Stephanus accordingly advocates this doctrine at length in his Medulla tritici p. i.

[5] Compare the Conciones Synodicae in the Hist. et Monum. ii. p. 34, e.g. p. 37: Sed dicite, o Clerici, si non durius dominamur cum Christianis, quam Reges gentium dominentur eorum? Ecce occurrit Laicus, aliquid molestiae, vel apparentis quandoque injuriae nobis faciens; statim abutendo privilegio clericali ex impatientia et arrogantia, sae-

miserable King Wenceslaus, who from enmity to Pope Boniface

pius verbo, et frequenter facto dicimus: *citabo, vexabo, compescam ribaldum, deducam super eum acutum gladium spiritualis potestatis*, et si pauper incautus sententia excommunicationis percussus fuerit, gaudemus et gloriamur. Et tantum eos, non ex caritate et amore justitiae, sed ira et zelo vindictae dirae dominando opprimimus, quod etiam malum proverbium contra nos confinxerunt dicentes: *si offenderis Clericum, interfice eum; alias nunquam habebis pacem cum illo.*—Sed dicite ulterius vos Clerici, ubi practicatis,—quod *qui major sit in vobis, sit sicut minor, et qui praecessor, sicut ministrator* (Luc. xxii. 26.)? Numquid quia amatis primas cathedras in synagogis, primos recubitus in coenis, salutationes in foro, et Patres, Magistri, aut Domini ab hominibus appellari? Numquid quia plus amatis post se clientem cruentatum cum gladio, quam Clericum humilem cum libro? Numquid quia quasi nihil de veris divitiis spiritualibus Ecclesiae curatis, sed totis curis et consiliis bonis temporalibus inhiatis? Numquid quia beneficia et officia ecclesiastica quaeritis, ut non serviatis in eis fideliter, sed ut per illa dominemini vi, et vivatis gentiliter?—Vel utrum in hoc, quia gloriamini—in frequentia clientelae, in equorum pluralitate, in aedificiis superfluis, in multa supellectile, in congregatione pecuniae, in pauperum exactione, in contemptu pauperum et humilium, in veneratione divitum et superborum, in veridicorum despectione, in adulatorum amatione, et breviter in qualibet gloria et altitudine saeculari? Heu in hac magna injuria et offensa Christi Dei et suae regulae sol, Praelatus major, conversus est in tenebras, et luna, minor, in sanguinem. Et secundum b. Bernhardum, et alium Doctorem Gilbertum factum est in Clero abominabile monstrum super terram. Gradus summus, animus infimus; sedes prima, vita ima; lingua magniloqua, manus otiosa; sermo multus, fructus nullus; vultus gravis, actus levis; ingens auctoritas, nutans stabilitas; speculator coecus, praeco mutus, pugil mancus, praecursor lentus, medicus morbi ignarus. Et quia simile generat sibi simile, hinc est quod in quatuor temporibus multi scientiis nulli, et in moribus valde distorti ad sacros majores ordines promoventur, et fit tanta dehonestatio Cleri, quod sacerdotes vicarii a suis Plebanis longe ultra concubinas in servitutem et despectum rediguntur, fit in se dedecus Clero, ut etiam in temporalibus bonis per sacerdotes furta et latrocinia multa, et mala consilia cumulentur, sicut vos ipsi testimonium potestis perhibere. p. 38: Nunc igitur vos, sacerdotes, attendite, si non sunt inter vos consecrata vasa Deo abominabilia supra modum. Sunt namque multi ex vobis, Praelati, Canonici, Plebani, et alii Presbyteri, qui mulierculis coutuntur, velut idola colunt, ardent in desiderio et amore illarum: vexantur lascivia, et libidine turpi vinculantur multi, multi Plebani concubinarii fornicantur cum talibus corporaliter, quod in multis locis animalia gradientia super terram aperte demonstrant. O sacerdos, vas immundum, noviter ante cum scorto foedatum, et adhuc adulterina voluntate illi conjunctum, audes sic in te capere sacramentum omni decore et suavitate repletum? Quomodo non times, quod ira Dei super te descendente statim confringaris cum Oza, qui ad tactum temerarium arcae domini statim percussus et mortuus est (2 Sam. v. 6. 7.). Quis potest aestimare, quantum consecrata vasa concubinaria

IX,. was enraged against the clergy in general, lookt with favor

Clericatum hujus dioecesis dehonestant? Unde Dominus noster Archiepiscopus debet, quantum potest, rationabiliter etiam usque ad mortem laborare, et se exponere, ut sua illa vasa Deo consecrata a turpitudine concubinaria purgarentur, et cum ipse habeat ignem carceris et purgationis, et ministros sufficientes, debet ipse talia sua immunda vasa, quae per se purgari nolunt, igne illo carceris mandare purificari efficaciter et sufficienter. Sunt ulterius multi de vobis, qui crapula et ebrietate ultra Laicos turpiter maculantur, vadunt cum baculis ad tabernam, sicut Laici ad limina Sanctorum, et cum inde redeunt, male possunt ambulare, minus loqui, et minime tunc scire possunt, quid eorum dignitas sacerdotalis requirat. Ditiores eorum de eleemosyna frequentant ad invicem invitatos ad convivia, ubi cibus et potus in quantitate plures et majores, in substantia magis pretiosi, et in qualitate delicatiores, quam apud cives et nobiles apponuntur. Ubi Christus cum sua passione est proscriptus, sed carne spumante in libidine de mulierculis et factis venereis verbis impudicis colloquia consummantur etc. Sermo synodalis ann. 1405. p. 42 against the fornicatio Cleri, also against the excuse, quod non sit peccatum mortale simplex fornicatio (see Conc. Paris. ann. 1429. c. 2. above § 139. note 10.); afterwards p. 43 against the avaritia Cleri. E.g. Quod detestabilissimum est, religiosi possessionati, qui a vulgo vocantur divites sive pingues Domini, Monachi, ex avaro fundamento fraternitatis fabricant literas, quibus magnificant sua opera contra illud Salvatoris (Luc. xvii. 10.): *cum feceritis omnia, quae praecepta sunt vobis, dicite, servi inutiles sumus.* Illas autem literas solum tribuunt divitibus, facientes eos participes suorum operum, ut inclinati eorum conventibus, ventres et buccas rubentes reficerent, implerent marsupia, et praedia augmentarent. pag. 45: usuras exercent, negotiatores sunt, confessiones produnt, taxillis ludunt. Ecclesias ut otientur conveniunt, exinde rixas procurantes populi turbativas, filios spiritualiter suffocant, carnaliter generant,—spiritualem aedificationem, quae salvat animas, nihil curant. Sed ut augmentent censum, aut divitias, ex quibus eorum posteri luxuriantur et superbiunt uberius, optime se facere existimant, et pro eis subditos avare inducunt, ut etiam filiis praetermissis, parentibus et consanguineis pauperibus, pro ipsis abundantibus ordinent testamenta.—Et quid de Altaristis, Capellanis, et monstruosis Monachis, qui cum multa jam dicta exerceant, et choreas intrant publicas ducti patre Diabolo etc.—Sermo de exequiis mortuorum ann. 1411 p. 81: Videat ergo defunctorum beneficiarius, quid est sibi utilius, quid est Ecclesiae commodius, aut quid Deo honorificentius, et faciat illud pro mortuis, tanquam eis salubrius. Unde opus, quod maxime purgaret militantem Ecclesiam a crimine, ac stabiliret ipsam in mandatis Domini, et accenderet in amore Dei: illud foret opus maxime juvans dormientem Ecclesiam, quia militans purgata a peccato, stabilita in mandato, et in amore Dei accensa, ut sic, maxime succurreret Ecclesiae dormienti. Ex quo videtur, quod Evangelizatio sancta, sic, ut dicitur, disponens militantem Ecclesiam multum praestat suffragium Ecclesiae dormienti. Istud autem Satan considerans, maxime nititur Evangelizationem extinguere, et sophisticans tam sacerdotes, quam simplices, ducit utrosque in Charibdim: Clericos in avaritiam per venditionem

upon his censures,[6] profited him but little: the number of his enemies was thus increast; and extended even into forein countries, when he, in connexion with Jerome of Prague, at the head of the Bohemian nation, had effected an enlargement of its privileges, in the University of Prague, and thereby occasioned the departure of the Germans from this University (1409).[7] Huss now stood at the head of the theologians of Prague, and as a preacher exercised an uncommon influence over the people. In order to work his overthrow, Sbynko, Archbishop of Prague, procured from Alexander V. full powers to forbid preaching in private chapels, and to consign Wycliff's works to the flames (1410).[8]

triginta Missarum de Requiem, et laicos in praesumptuosam onfidentiam, et emptionem simoniacam earundem. Jam enim in illiscommittitur taxa, sicut in vaccis, dum emuntur. Sic enim scit astutus hostis animaram fascinare homines, ut via praetermissa ad vitam securissima, incumbant super dubia. Quis enim ignorat, quin via securissima ad vitam est, vivere, ut Christus et Apostoli docuerunt? Et quis scit, quem triginta Missae a purgatorio liberarunt?

[6] An old Bohemian Chronicle (Contin. Benessii ab Horzowitz in Pelzel's Lebensgesch. des Königs Wenzel. Th. 2. S. 553 f.) relates that so long as Huss censured the sins of the laity, he was praised on all sides: "man sagte, der Geist Gottes spricht aus ihm: So bald er aber den Papst, die hohe und niedere Geistlichkeit angriff, ihren Stolz, Habsucht, Simonie, und andere Laster rügte, und dass sie keine Güter besitzen sollten, predigte; so stand die ganze Priesterschaft wider ihn auf, und sprach: er hat den Teufel im Leibe, und ist ein Ketzer." But when Archbishop Sbynko complained of this to King Wenceslaus, he answered: "So lange der Magister Huss wider uns Laien predigte, habt ihr euch darüber gefreuet; jetzt ist die Reihe an euch gekommen, so möget ihr es auch zufrieden sehn."

[7] See Pelzel, the work quoted above S. 543 ff. 547 ff. The royal ordinances of 18. Jan. 1409, by which ad instar ordinationem, qua gaudet natio gallica in Universitate studii Parisiensis, tres voces were assigned to the Bohemian nation, instead of one as hitherto while the German nation had three, may be seen in Pelzel Th. 2. Urkundenbuch S. 125. As the city of Prague lost much of its trade in consequence of the departure of the Germans, the clergy could more easily rouse the inhabitants against Huss, see Hussii sermo synodalis ann. 1410 (Hist. et monum. ii. p. 72): tacti veritate insistunt graviter, ut opprimant os praedicantium, insidias quaerunt, et non invenientes mendacium in ore praedicantium, veritatem accusant mendaciis, nunc dicentes, quia Magistri per adhaesionem errorum expulerunt nationes exteras, nunc mentientes, quia de corpore Christi male sapiunt, nunc false imponentes, quia Papam nihil esse dicunt.

[8] Alexanders V. Bull of 20. Dec. 1409. ap. Raynald. h. a. no. 89. On the Archbishop's conduct Penzel ibid. S. 565 ff.

As Huss continued nevertheless to preach in the Bethlehem Chapel,[9] he was accused at Rome. However the King and Queen, the nobility and the University, took up his cause, and obtained a reconsideration of the excommunication which immediately insued:[10] Huss, in the meantime, endeavoured to defend himself by several works as Wycliff had done.[11] At length the universal resistance induced the archbishop Sbynko also to revoke his accusation of heresy.[12]

[9] See Huss's appeal from the proceedings of the Archbishop to the Pope John XXII., Historia et Monum. i. p. 112 ss. The University also determined 15. Jan. 1410, quod Universitas nullo modo consentit Archiepiscopo Pragensi Sbinconi cum suis Praelatis in cumbustionem librorum Magistri Johannis Wiklef. Pelzel Th. 2. Urkundenbuch S. 130.

[10] Narratio et scripta quaedam rev. Viri M. J. Huss, quibus occasiones, initia et progressus certaminum ipsius cum factione Pontificia explicantur in Hist. et Monum. i. p. 109 ss. Pelzel Th. 2. S. 577 ff. 585 ff. 591 ff.

[11] See Jo. Huss. de libris haereticorum legendis (Hist. et Monum i. p. 127), authorities for the statement: libri haereticorum sunt legendi non comburendi, dum in ipsis veritas continetur. Ejusd. actus pro defensione libri Jo. Wicleff de trinitate sancta publice celebratus ann. 1410 Dom. post fest. S. Jacobi (l. c. p. 131) e. g. p. 132: Malum dico combustionem librorum, quae combustio nullum peccatum de cordibus hominum sustulit, sed veritates multas, et sententias pulchras et subtiles in scripto destruxit, et in populo disturbia, invidias, diffamationes, odia multiplicavit et homicidia, et Christianissimum Regem Bohemiae in suspicionem malam regionibus aliis stulte et improvide deputavit. Et super haec omnia concausans pariter contra Trinitatis testimonium verbum praedicationis evangelicae voluit alligare. Ejusd. Replica contra Anglicum Jo. Stokes, Wicleffi calumniatorem, celebrata Dom. post Nativ. Mariae 1411 (p. 135). Defensio quorundam Articulorum Jo. Wicleff ann. 1412 (p. 139). First comes a defence of the article: Illi, qui dimittunt praedicare, sive verbum Dei audire propter excommunicationem hominum, sunt excommunicati, et in die judicii traditores Christi habebuntur. Then of the other (p. 146): Domini temporales possunt ad arbitrium suum auferre bona temporalia ab Ecclesiasticis habitualiter delinquentibus. Of the third p. (156): Decimae sunt purae eleemosynae. Jo. Hussii replica contra occultum adversarium ann. 1411 (p. 168).

[12] How enraged the people of Prague were against the Archbishop, see Stephani Prioris Dolanensis Antihussus (written in 1412) c. 16. in Pezii thes. anecd. T. iv. P. ii. p. 418: Reverendus Pater Dominus Archiepiscopus olim Sbinko, sancto insistens labori pro illorum malorum et principaliter pro illius venenati capitis malorum Wikleff et ejusdem sacrilegarum doctrinarum exterminio, factus fuit ex inobedientia et rebellione illius Magistri Huss velut contemptibilis et pene fabula in populo, ita ut plerique insolentes vulgares ac ironicas de

But afterwards when Huss, with his friend Jerome of Prague, felt himself compelled by the papal-crusade bull issued against

eodem viro Dei confingerent et decantarent cantiones (Sbynyek Knyhy spalyl etc. more fully in Pelzel ii. S. 568: Archbishop Sbynko, a scholar still in his alphabet, has burnt books, without knowing what was written in them) publice per plateas contra justissimam—combustionem librorum hominis istius haereticae pravitatis. Both the contending parties, Huss and the archbishop, came to an agreement in July 1411, that they would submit to a court of arbitration appointed by the King (Pelzel ii. S. 585 ff.); this court came to this decision among others, that the archbishop should report to the Pope, that no errors prevailed in Bohemia. Huss purged himself from all suspicion by a confession of faith which he made on the first of September (see in Pelzel ii. Urkundenbuch S. 144 ff.). In this he makes the following among other statements fidenter, veraciter et constanter assero, quod a veritatis aemulis sinistre sedi Apostolicae sum delatus: false siquidem detulerunt et deferunt, quod docuerim populum, quod in sacramento altaris remanet substantia panis materialis. False, quod quando elevatur hostia, tunc est corpus Christi, et quando ponitur, tunc non est. False, quod sacerdos in peccato mortali non conficit. False, quod Domini a Clero auferant temporalia, quod decimas non solvant. False, quod indulgentiae nihil sunt. False, quod gladio materiali suaserim Clerum percutere. False, quod praedicaverim vel tenuerim aliquos vel aliquem errores vel errorem, vel aliquam haeresim, vel quod seduxerim a via veritatis populum quoquo modo. False, quod causa extiterim, quod quidam Magistri Teutonici expulsi de Praga fuerint, cum ipsi nolentes almae Universitatis studii Pragensis tenere fundationis privilegium, nec serenissimi Principis—Wenceslai—Regis volentes parere mandatis licitis, putantes, quod absque eorum praesentia non valeret Pragensis Universitas subsistere, nullo pellente ad propria vel quo ipsis placuit recesserunt. Fateor autem me a reverendissimi in Christo Patris Domini Sbinkonis sententia ad sedem appellasse Apostolicam, demum a processibus, qui ex informatione sinistra a s. sede Apostolica emanarunt. Sinistre etenim veritatis aemuli, honoris sui et salutis immemores sedi Apostolicae suggesserunt, quod in regno Boemiae in civitate Pragensi et Marchionatu Moraviae errores pullulassent et haereses, et multorum corda infecissent adeo, quod—necessarium foret correctionis remedium adhibere. False denique suggesserunt, quod Capella Bethleem foret locus privatus, cum ipsa sit ab ordinario Episcopo locus in beneficium ecclesiasticum confirmatus, cujus destructio honorem Dei aliquantulum in populo tolleret, animarum profectum minueret, causaret scandalum, et populum contra destructores non modice provocaret. Citatus autem personaliter ad Romanam Curiam, optabam comparere humiliter: sed quia mortis insidiae tam in regno quam extra regnum, praesertim a Teutonicis sunt mihi positae, ideo multorum fretus consilio judicavi, quod foret Deum tentare vitam morti tradere profectu Ecclesiae non urgente. Igitur non parui personaliter, sed advocatos et procuratores constitui, volens sanctae sedi Apostolicae obedire. Quapropter, summe Christi Vicarie, humiliter vestrae Sanctitatis imploro clementiam, quatenus me a comparitione

King Ladislaus in 1412,[13] to protest with greater zeal than before against Indulgence and other ecclesiastical abuses,[14] and

personali—benigniter absolvere dignetur, quia per Serenissimum—Wenceslaum—Regem, necnon per Reverendissimos Patres—Wenceslaum Patriarcham Antiochenum, Dominum Conradum Olomucensem Episcopum, Illustrem Principem Dom. Rudolfum Ducem Saxoniae s. Imperii Electorem etc.—cum praefato reverendissimo in Christo Patre Domino Sbinkone sum totaliter concordatus: nam offerebam me ad respondendum omnibus et singulis objiciendis, etiam referens me ad totum auditorium, quod, si quid contra me deduceretur, vellem etiam ignis incendio nisi cederem emendari etc. The archbishop Sbynko wrote a letter to the Pope, which the King approved, in which he declared (Hist. et Monum. i. p. 111): Errores haereticos in Regno Bohemiae, in civitate Pragensi, et Marchionatu Moraviae nescio, nec aliquis super hac re convictus est, pro qua foret aut fuisset ecclesiastice puniendus. Ego etiam et Magister Joannes Huss, necnon caeteri Universitatis Studii Pragensis Doctores et Magistri super singulis dissensionibus atque rixis inter nos utrumque subortis—sumus plenarie concordati. Quapropter, beatissime Pater, famam praedicti Regni laudabilem ex pastorali officio conservare desiderans, ad Vestrae Sanctitatis clementiam confugio, supplicando, quatenus super Christianissimo regno S. V. piis dignetur moveri visceribus, excommunicationem et censuras exinde ortas cessare et annullare. But this letter was never sent, for Sbynko was already dead on the 28th Sept. 1411.

[13] See § 130 note 20. The Bull of Indulgence, and another by which commissioners were appointed to preach the crusade and the indulgence, may be seen in Hist. et Monum. i. p. 212 ss.

[14] Quaestio Mag. Jo. Huss, disputata ab eo ann. 1412 (Hist. et Monum. i. p. 215) a treatise on the question: Utrum secundum legem Jesu Christi licet et expedit pro honore Dei, et salute populi, ac pro commodo regni bullas Papae de erectione crucis contra Ladislaum Regem Apuliae et suos complices Christifidelibus approbare? He treats three points in the Bulla de erectione crucis, *indulgentiam omnium peccatorum*, *subsidia bellorum*, et *circa utraque ista modum*. With regard to the first, p. 216: est indulgere gratis concedere,—sive remittere vindictam, quam reus deberet pro excessu sustinere.—Sic autem indulgere peccatoribus est Deo proprium.—Sacerdotes Christi habent potestatem vere poenitentes absolvere a poena et a culpa.—Sacerdos potest sacramentaliter ostendere, sibi confitentem taliter absolutum, qui ad tantum conteritur, quod statim decedens sine poena purgatorii ad patriam perveniret, et hoc est sacerdotum absolvere.—p. 217: Unde sapientes Christi sacerdotes non asserunt simpliciter, quod confitens sit a peccatis solutus, sed sub conditione ista: si dolet, et nolit peccare amplius, et confidit de Dei misericordia, et vult imposterum mandata Dei observare.—Nullius Papae vel Episcopi prodest indulgentia homini, nisi de quanto prius se disposuerit apud Deum. With regard to the second: Licet saeculari brachio pugnare, et sibi subsidia ad bellandum praestare, habitis conditionibus caritatis.—Non licet Romano Pontifici, nec expedit sibi, vel cuicunque Episcopo vel Clerico pro dominatione saeculari, vel mundi divitiis pugnare. Compare the example of Christ,

when he had stirred up the people to the highest pitch of anger

Luc. xxii. 51.—p. 218: Quomodo ergo Romanus Pontifex non timet in multorum hominum mortem per crucis erectionem et procurationem stipendii consentire, immo praestare remissionem omnium peccatorum ex eo, quod quis Christianos quam plurimos trucidaret? Revera non cepit exemplum illud a Christo Jesu, qui invasus ab hostibus cum suo grege pusillo, valens omnes uno verbo interimere, dixit patientissime Jo. xviii. 8: *si me quaeritis, sinite hos abire.* P. 219: Litteris Papae de crucis erectione contra Christicolas quidam obediunt ex ignorantia, ut Laici simplices, et omnes illi, qui in nullo putant resistendum jussioni Papae, male accipientes illud Deut. xvii. 10—12. Ubi capiunt, quod omnis sententia Papae est tenenda, quod, inquit Doctor de Lyra' est manifeste falsum, quia sententia, inquit, nullius hominis, cujuscunque auctoritatis, tenenda est, si contineat manifestam falsitatem sive errorem. P. 220: Videamus, si Salvator noster in casu simili ita fecit, et patebit in lege sua contrarium. Nam Luc. ix. 51 ss. dicitur: *Ipse Jesus faciem suam firmavit, ut iret in Hierusalem, et misit nuncios ante conspectum suum, et euntes intraverunt civitatem Samaritanorum, ut praepararent illi, et non receperunt eum, quia facies ejus erat euntis in Hierusalem. Jacobus et Joannes dixerunt: Domine, vis dicimus, ut ignis descendat de caelo, et consumat illos, sicut Helias fecit. Et conversus increpavit eos dicens: nescitis, cujus spiritus estis. Filius enim hominis non venit animas hominum perdere, sed salvare.* Videat ergo Papa, cur personas utriusque sexus in exterminium, non dico Samaritanorum, sed Christianorum concitat sub obtentu remissionis peccatorum omnium: et non datur per eum alia causa, nisi nonsolutio pecuniae vasallatus Ladislai, et nonsusceptio ejus pro patre sanctissimo, ac rebellio et hostilis impugnatio, sicut sui nuncii et bullae protestantur. P. 221 in the Modus donationis indulgentiarum the following points are censured, that all persons were placed under excommunication who should allow Ladislaus and his followers to find Christian burial; that all faithful men were summoned, ut ad Ladislai et sequentium rebellium exterminium se accingant; that the indulgence was also promised in return for support in money and so on. Pag. 228: Res corporalis quantumcunque parvi pretii non debet emi, nisi cum ista prudentia, quod emptor de vendito probabiliter sit securus. Sed Papa non potest assecurare aliquem, quod post mortem vel ante tantam indulgentiam habebit. Ideo probabiliter est tale commercium dimittendum. Papa enim subducta revelatione nescit de aliquo, nec de se ipso, si sit praedestinatus a Domino: quod si praecitus fuerit, non proderunt sibi tales indulgentiae ad beatudinem contra ordinationem Domini aeternaliter ordinantis. Ideo cum Papa non potest generaliter procurare tales indulgentias sibi ipsi, est multis evidens, quod tales indulgentiae sunt suspectae: non enim obstat fidei, quod multi Papae, qui concesserunt verbaliter amplas indulgentias, sunt damnati: quomodo igitur possunt defendere suas indulgentias coram Deo? Pag. 229: Positis indulgentiis papalibus a poena et a culpa, ut praemittitur, videtur, quod potest Papa purgatorium destruere. Probatur. Quia potest Papa quemlibet in agone contritum et confessum a poena et a culpa absolvere, et cui-

libet potest dare illam gratiam post se in futurum, et non obstat aliquid, nisi forte invidia vel negligentia. Det ergo cuilibet in futurum, et dato illo nullus veniet ad purgatorium, quo dato omnes vigiliae, missae defunctorum, oblagia, largae eleemosynae, anniversaria, omnia alia suffragia, ut commemorationes perpetuae, dotationes Capellanorum, extructiones claustrorum et altarium, pro hujusmodi hominibus forent frustra. —Sed istud consequens Clerum non modice conturbaret. Unde vel oportet eos negare habere potestatem hujusmodi ad dandum sic indulgentias, vel incidere in consequens jam indictum. Si autem dicitur, quod licet habet potestatem dare Papa sic indulgentias, non tamen debet, nisi ex causa rationabili, scilicet quando impugnatur, vel indiget pecuniis: revera orandum erit fidelibus, ut impugnetur, et indigeat pecuniis, quia tunc thesaurum Ecclesiae fidelibus aperiet ad salutem. Pag. 232: the words of Jeremiah apply, c. vi. 13, and c. viii. 10: *a minimo usque ad maximum omnes avaritiae student, et a Propheta usque ad sacerdotem cunci faciunt dolum.* Omnes enim datores indulgentiarum, quaestores de voto, et praedicatores erectionis crucis student mirabiliter avaritiae, omnem sollicitudinem Diaboli cautelosam apponentes, nunc praedicando, quod summa venit populis gratia, nunc quod coelum est eis apertum, nunc quod progenitores possunt per illas indulgentias redimere, nunc quod qui negligit tantam gratiam, perdit vitam aeternam, nunc literas absolutionis care vendendo, nunc peregrinationem debitam ex voto pecuniis et alia vota compensando. Besides Huss wrote, Contra Bullam Papae Jo. XXIII. replica l. c. p. 235, in which he shortly reveals ten inconvenientia in it. E.g. Praedicandum est ergo populo, ut promulgatione indulgentiarum non seducantur, quia indulgentiae nihil valent, sicut nec aliud bonum opus ad consequendam beatitudinem, nisi homo relinquat peccatum, dolens de praeterito, et cavens finaliter, diligenter et continue de futuro. Si enim de omnibus peccatis poenitentiam egerit, et mandata Dei custodierit, omnium peccatorum remissionem et poenae aeternae obtinebit.—Item praedicandum est ipsi populo, ut caveat, ne per reliquias spolietur: quia sanctorum reliquiae non sunt pro exquirendis pecuniis exponendae.—Item praedicandum est populo, ne in confessionibus permittat se simoniace spoliare per taxam, vel per injunctionem offerendi, vel missas comparandi, vel alio modo illicito.—Item praedicandum est illud Augustini lib. 2. ad Julianum: non tollit peccata, nisi solus Christus.—Ex isto docendus est populus, ut credat, quod solus Deus habet mundare animam ab interiori macula, et quod nullus homo potest dimittere cuiquam peccata, nisi Deus prius dimiserit.—Et iterum docendus est populus, quod ad remissionem peccatorum requiritur poenitentia interior.—Also Opusculum de sex erroribus (l. c. p. 237), qui Clerum et magnam partem p puli infecerunt. These errors are 1. quod quilibet sacerdos missando creat corpus Christi, et efficitur pater et creator sui creatoris (viz., non Creatur sed in manibus sacerdotum conficitur. Creator is God alone); 2. quod credendum est in b. Virginem, vel in Papam, vel in Sanctos, cum tamen solum in Deum veraciter est credendum (credere homini and in hominem are two different things); 3. quod sacerdotes, cui volunt, possunt remittere peccata, et absolvere a poena et a culpa; 4. quod subditi debent suis superioribus in omnibus praeceptis, licitis sive illicitis, obedire; 5. quod omnis excommunicatio,

against the evil ;[15] then nothing could appease the papal indignation any longer. Wycliff's works were condemned in a Synod at Rome ;[16] Huss was laid under excommunication, and the place where he resided under interdict (1413). Huss now appealed from the Pope to Christ himself,[17] composed in his defence the tractatus de Ecclesia,[18] his principal work, then

sive justa sive injusta, ligat excommunicatum, et nocet sibi, et separat eum a communione Christifidelium, et privat eum Ecclesiae sacramentis ; 6. error simoniacae haeresis, qua Clerus est pro majori parte proh dolor, maculatus.

[15] Theobald's Hussitenkrieg S. 25. Pelzel's Lebensgesch. des Königs Wenzel. Th. 2 S. 608 ff. Jerome demeaned himself with the greatest violence ; he had the Bull fastened to an immodest woman, carried through the town and burnt. Several of Huss's adherents contradicted in church the preachers who announced the indulgence. When three men were executed on this account the disturbance increast still more (compare also on this point Stephani Prioris Dolanensis Antihussus c. 5 in Pez iv. ii. p. 380). The king Wenceslaus also was greatly enraged, and wrote a letter of remonstrance to the Pope (see this letter in Pelzel's Lebensgesch. des Kgs Wenceslaus. Th. 2. Urkundenbuch S. 151) against the shamelessness of the promises and the avarice of the sellers of indulgences.

[16] Mansi xxvii. p. 505.

[17] See the appeal Hist. et Monum. i. p. 22.

[18] Tractatus de Ecclesia (Hist. et Monum. i. p. 243). Cap. 1 : Ecclesia sancta catholica i.e. universalis est omnium praedestinatorum universitas, quae est omnes praedestinati praesentes, praeteriti et futuri. Cap. 2 : tripartitur, scil. in Ecclesiam triumphantem, militantem et dormientem. Ecclesia militans est numerus praedestinatorum, dum hic viat ad patriam.—Ecclesia dormiens est numerus praedestinatorum in purgatorio patiens.—Ecclesia triumphans est beati in patria quiescentes, qui adversus Satanam, militiam Christi tenentes, finaliter triumpharunt. Una autem magna Ecclesia erit ex omnibus illis in die judicii. Cap. 3 : Sicut aliquid est in humano corpore, quod non est pars ipsius corporis, ut sputum, phlegma, stercus, apostema vel urina, et illud non est de corpore, cum non sit pars corporis ; aliud vero est in humano corpore tanquam pars ejus, ut omne membrum ejus : sic aliquid est in corpore Christi mystico, quod est Ecclesia, et tamen non est de Ecclesia, cum non sit pars ejus, quomodo est omnis Christianus praescitus, de ipso corpore tanquam stercus finaliter egerendus. Et sic aliud est esse de Ecclesia, aliud esse in Ecclesia.—Quadruplex est habitudo viatorum ad sanctam matrem Ecclesiam. Quidam enim sunt in Ecclesia nomine et re, ut praedestinati obedientes Christo catholici. Quidam nec re, nec nomine, ut praesciti pagani. Quidam nomine tantum, ut praesciti hypocritae. Et quidam re, licet videantur nomine esse foris, ut praedestinati Christiani, quos Antichristi Satrapae videntur in facie Ecclesiae condemnare.—Dupliciter homines possunt esse de s. matre Ecclesia, vel secundum praedestinationem ad vitam

retired from Prague to Hussinecz and here continued his labours,

aeternam, quomodo omnes finaliter sancti sunt de s. matre Ecclesia, vel secundum praedestinationem solum ad praesentem justitiam, ut omnes, qui aliquando accipiunt gratiam remissionis peccatorum, sed finaliter non perseverant.—Sicut Paulus fuit simul blasphemus secundum praesentem injustitiam, et de s. matre Ecclesia,—atque in gratia secundum praedestinationem vitae aeternae: sic Scarioth fuit simul in gratia secundum praesentem justitiam, et nunquam de s. matre Ecclesia secundum praedestinationem vitae aeternae. Cap. 4: solus Christus est caput universalis Ecclesiae. *Cap. 6: Ecclesia malignantum est corpus Diaboli, cujus ipse est caput. Cap. 7: *quod Romanus Pontifex cum Cardinalibus non sit totum corpus universalis Ecclesiae, sed pars, nec Papa sit caput, sed Christus.* Matth. xvi. 18. is here explained thus: tu *es Petrus*, i.e. confessor Petrae verae, qui est Christus, et *super hanc petram*, quam confessus es, i.e. super me *aedificabo ecclesiam meam.*—Romana Ecclesia est totalis Ecclesia militans, quam Deus plus diligit, quam aliquam ejus partem. Cap. 8: credere, quod homini est ad beatitudinem necessarium, est veritati tanquam a Deo dictae sine haesitatione adhaerere firmiter. Pro qua veritate ratione certitudinis debet homo mortis periculo exponere vitam suam. Et isto modo tenetur quilibet Christianus credere explicite vel implicite omnem veritatem, quam s. Spiritus posuit in Scriptura. Et isto modo non tenetur homo dictis sanctorum praeter Scripturam, nec Bullis papalibus credere, nisi quod dixerint ex Scriptura vel quod fundaretur simpliciter in Scriptura. Sed potest opinative homo credere Bullis, quia tam Papa quam sua Curia potest falli propter ignorantiam veritatis. De illa enim verificatur, quod fallit et fallitur: fallit Papam lucrum, et fallitur propter ignorantiam. Cap. 9: Ex his patet, quomodo Christus est fundamentum Ecclesiae, et quomodo Apostoli sunt fundamenta. Christus antonomastice, quia ab ipso incipit, et in ipso finitur, et per ipsum finitur constitutio Ecclesiae. Prophetae vero et Apostoli sunt fundamenta, quia ipsorum auctoritas portat infirmitatem nostram.—Solum Christus est caput,—Petrus non fuit nec est caput sanctae Ecclesiae catholicae,—fuit capitaneus inter Apostolos, et fuit fundamentum Ecclesiarum, ut in proximo dictum est de Apostolis.—Quare autem Christus Petrum post se capitaneum et pastorem constituit, fuit praeeminentia virtutum ad regendam Ecclesiam.—Tres autem erant virtutes, in quibus Petrus praecellebat, fides, humilitas et caritas.—Si jam dictis virtutum viis incedit vocatus Petri vicarius, credimus, quod sit verus ejus Vicarius, et praecipuus Pontifex Ecclesiae, quam regit. Si vero vadit viis contrariis, tunc est Antichristi nuncius, contrarius Petro, et Domino Jesu Christo. Cap. 10: Cum Christus dicit Petro, *tibi dabo claves regni caelorum* i.e. potestatem ligandi solvendique peccata, in persona Petri dixit toti Ecclesiae militanti, non quod quaelibet persona illius Ecclesiae indifferenter habeat illas claves, sed quod tota illa Ecclesia secundum singulas ejus partes ad hoc habiles habeat illas claves.—Non potest homo solvi a peccato, nec remissionem peccatorum recipere, nisi Deus ipsum solverit, vel ei remissionem dederit.—Unde vesane insaniunt Presbyteri, qui putant vel dicunt, se ad suum votum solvere vel ligare sine absolutione vel ligatione prima Christi Jesu.—Cavere ergo debet

Christi dicipulus a fallacia Antichristi, dum sic arguitur: quodcunque Vicarius Christi ligaverit super terram, erit ligatum et in coelis, sed hunc fidelem Laicum, nolentem sibi dare pro absolutione pecuniam ligat supra terram, ergo ligatur in coelis:—sed hunc incontritum volentem dare pecuniam solvit supra terram, ergo est solutus et in coelo.—Nam quicunque homo rite poenitens solutus fuerit super terram a Christi vicario in terra, etiam solvitur in coelo.—Quilibet sacerdos Christi rite ordinatus habet potestatem sufficientem quaelibet sacramenta sibi pertinentia conferendi, et per consequens vere contritum a peccato absolvendi.—Quomodo autem ista potestas fuit par in Apostolis, habetur Dist. 21. in Can. In novo.—Unde stultum foret credere, quod Apostoli nullum donum spirituale a Christo receperant, nisi quod fuerat a Petro ad ipsos simpliciter derivatum. Nam omnibus dixit Matth. xviii. 18: *quaecunque solveritis super terram etc.*—Cap. 11 Multi Sacerdotes emungunt ex illo Matth. xviii. 18. et ex illo Christi dicto Matth. xxiii. 2, 3—quod debet eis quilibet subditus in omnibus obedire, et sic ipsi sacerdotes quicquid sonat eis ad libitum in Christi Evangelio, sine correspondente caritativo ministerio, pro sua gloria clamorose sibi adscribunt. Sed quod sonat in laborem, in abjectionem mundialem, et in sequelam Jesu Christi, illud aspernantur, tanquam sibi contrarium, vel fingunt se id tenere. et non tenent.—Quia contra Cleri pestiferi crimina sacerdotes Christi praedicarunt, ideo orta est dissensio, ex eo quod Clerus pestem scandali inferens populo, nolens pati praedicationem suae pesti contrariam, contra Evangelium praedicantes et pestem eorum sanare volentes per verbum Domini malitiose volens praedicationem extinguere consurrexit.—Cap. 12. Huss next betakes himself to the refutation of a work issued against him by eight doctors of divinity at Prague, at whose head was Stephanus Paletz. They had appealed to the passage of the Bull Unam sanctam: Subesse Romano Pontifici, omni humanae creaturae est de necessitate salutis. To which he answers Jesus Christus est Romanus Pontifex, sicut est caput universalis ac cujuslibet particularis Ecclesiae. Accordingly not even the Apostles had called themselves Papas sanctissimos, capita universalis Ecclesiae, vel universales Pontifices, therefore also Gregory the Great had pleaded so strongly against the latter expression (see vol. i. 117. note 31). Non sic heu quaerunt moderni Pontifices, qui sine virtutum moribus, in nudo nomine gloriantur, fingentes, quod ratione officii vel dignitatis ecclesiasticae ipsis nomen competit sanctitatis. Sed si hoc haberet rationem, tunc Judas debuisset vocari sanctus Apostolus. Cap. 13. In this and the following chapters he betakes himself to the refutation of six statements of his opponents: I. Papa est caput s. Romanae Ecclesiae. II. Collegium Cardinalium est corpus s. Romanae Ecclesiae. III. Papa est manifestus et verus successor Principis Apostolorum Petri. IV. Cardinales sunt manifesti et veri successores collegii aliorum Apostolorum Christi. V. Pro regimine Ecclesiae per universum mundum oportet semper manere hujusmodi manifestos veros successores in tali officio Principis Apostolorum Petri, et aliorum Apostolorum Christi. VI. Non possunt inveniri vel dari supra terram alii tales successores, quam Papa existens caput et collegium Cardinalium existens corpus Ecclesiae Romanae. He first argues against them all together: Omnis veritas in religione Christi sequenda, et solum ipsa

sometimes by preaching in the open fields,[19] sometimes by writing still in his former style.[20]

Meanwhile the Council of Constance was opened. Huss felt so much the less scruple about presenting himself before the Council in obedience to the summons of the Emperor Sigismund, now that his orthodoxy was attested by all parties in Bohemia,

vel est veritas a sensu corporeo cognita, vel ab intelligentia infallibili inventa, vel per revelationem cognita, vel in divina posita Scriptura. But this is the case with not one of these six points: igitur nullus sex punctorum est veritas in religione Christi sequenda. The arguments against I. and II. amount to this, that Christ alone is the Head of the Catholic Church, that Popes and Cardinals were not always even so much as praedestinati, and members of the Church. Cap. 15. against point V.: Ecclesia potest aeque bene regi a sanctis sacerdotibus, demptis illis duodecim cardinibus, sicut regebatur per trecentos annos et amplius post ascensionem Christi. Against point VI.: Christus est caput sufficientissimum. Si non potest Deus dare alios veros successores (Apostolorum), quam sunt Papa et Cardinales; sequitur quod potentia Caesaris,—instituendo Papam et Cardinales, potentiam Dei limitaret.—Nam Caesar Constantinus post annos trecentos Papam instituit. Romanus enim Pontifex fuit consocius aliis Pontificibus usque ad donationem Caesaris, cujus auctoritate coepit capitaliter dominari.—Oportet considerare sectam Cleri duplicem, scil. Clerum Christi et Clerum Antichristi. Clerus Christi quietatur in suo capite Christo ac suis legibus. Clerus vero Antichristi vel totaliter vel praeponderanter innititur legibus humanis et legibus Antichristi, et tamen palliatur esse Clerus Christi atque Ecclesiae, ut populus simulatius seducatur.—Clerus Antichristi instat attentius, pro traditionibus humanis, et pro privilegiis, quae fastum vel lucrum saeculi sapiunt, defendendis, vultque gloriose, voluptuose et Christo dispariter vivere, postergans penitus imitationem in moribus Domini Jesu Christi. Sed Clerus Christi laborat assidue pro legibus Christi et ejus privilegiis, quibus bonum spirituale acquiritur ostendendum, fugitque fastum et voluptatem saeculi, quaerit conformiter Christo vivere, attendens diligentissime sequelam Domini Jesu Christi. Cap. 17.: Nec dubium, quin Papae et Cardinalibus est obediendum, dum docuerint veritatem juxta legem Dei:—si autem Rabbi, *i.e.* Magistri vel magni, ut dicit Lyra, seu Papae vel Cardinales, praeceperint vel docuerint aliquid praeter veritatem, etiam cum tota Curia Romana, non est fideli parendum, dum cognoverit veritatem. Cap. 18. is a justification of his opposition to the Pope. Cap. 19—21: when prelates are to be obeyed. Cap. 22 and 23 are on the injustice and illegality of the censures pronounced against Huss.

[19] Pelzel's Lebensgesch. des Königs Wenceslaus. Th. 2. S. 618 f.

[20] See the letters which he wrote during this period, Hist. et Monum. i. p. 117. ss. That the work De sacerdotum et monachorum abhorrenda abominatione, and certain others belong not to Huss and this date, but to Matthias of Janow, see Part iii. § 124. note 8.

even by the papal inquisitor there :[21] so provided with a letter of safe conduct from the Emperor[22] he made his entrance into Constance on the third of November 1414.[23] However the prejudice already existing against him in the Council as a realist, and the author of the expulsion of the Germans from Prague, was still farther increast by the tidings which arrived at the same time with him, that James of Misa, a parish priest at Prague, was again claiming the cup in the Lord's supper for the laity. It was more generally thought that this innovation was to be ascribed to the Hussite heresy, as Huss exprest himself in favour of it.[24] But the more zealously the Council workt for a

[21] Huss in several placards and publisht letters (see Hist. et Monum. i. p. 2.) challenged any one in Prague, and throughout Bohemia, to convict him of a single heresy if he could. The Papal inquisitor Nicolaus Episc. Nazarethanus assured him in writing, that he was accused by no man, and declared before a notary and witnesses (l. c. p. 3) : Ego multis et pluribus vicibus Magistro Joanni Hus conversatus sum, secum comedendo et bibendo, et sermonibus suis saepe interfui, ac collationes plures de diversis sacrae Scripturae materiis faciendo, nunquam aliquem in ipso inveni errorem vel haeresim, sed in omnibus verbis et operibus suis ipsum semper verum et catholicum hominem reperi.

[22] This may be seen in Hist. et Monum. i. p. 2. The Emperor declares : honorabilem Magistrum Johannem Hus —in nostram et sacri Imperii protectionem recepimus et tutelam, and charges all persons in authority, ipsum—omni prorsus impedimento remoto transire, stare, morari et redire libere permittatis, sibique et suis, cum opus fuerit, de securo et salvo velitis et debeatis providere conductu, ad honorem et reverentiam nostrae Majestatis.

[23] v. d. Hardt Conc. Const. iv. p. 11.

[24] Huss being consulted on the point from Prague, before his imprisonment, examined the question by Holy Scripture and the fathers of the Church. See Hist. et Monum. i. p. 52 ss. His conclusion was : videtur quod licet et expedit Laicis fidelibus sumere sanguinem Christi sub specie vini. Nam licet corpus et sanguis Christi sit sub utraque forma sacramentali : tamen Christus non sine ratione, nec gratis instituit utrumque modum sacramentalem suis fidelibus, sed ad magnum profectum. Nam modus manducandi sacramentalis sub forma panis est specialis modus figurandi et excitandi efficaciter ad manducationem spiritualem. Et modus sacramentalis bibendi sub forma vini est specialis modus figurandi et excitandi mentem ex institutione Christi ad gustandum suaviter effusionem Christi sanguinis, quem effudit.—Ex quo patet, quod sicut sacerdos digne sumens sub utraque specie non sine causa sumit : sic et devotus Laicus potest licite sumere, cum eadem sit ratio quoad sumptionem corporis et sanguinis utrobique. Here as elsewhere afterwards he exprest himself on this question with much greater moderation than James of Misa had done. His friends in

reformation in the constitution of the Church, it appeared to be so much the deeper penetrated with the necessity of maintaining with the greatest strictness the existing state of things, in all points which any way trencht upon doctrine, lest the reforming principle should be changed into a principle of destruction. On the 28th Nov. 1414 Huss was thrown into prison and accused of heresy. Although his cause was taken up with much zeal in Bohemia,[25] still he was treated with increasing severity. With-

Bohemia sent a letter to him in his prison at Gottleben by the hands of the knight John von Chlum on the 31st May 1415 (v. d. Hardt Conc. Const. iv. p. 291): Rogamus intime, quod motivam et finalem intentionem vestram de communione calicis, si videbitur, praesenti chartae inferatis, amicis tempore suo monstrandam. Quia fratrum adhuc aliqualis est scissio, et propter illud multi turbantur, ad vos et arbitrium vestrum juxta scripta quaedam se referentes. Huss answered them: De sacramento calicis habetis scriptum, quod scripsi in Constantia, in quo sunt motivae. Et nescio aliud dicere, nisi quod Evangelium et epistola Pauli sonant directe, et tentum fuit in primitiva Ecclesia. Si potest fieri, attentetis, ut saltem permittatur per bullam illis dari, qui ex devotione postulaverint, circumstantiis adhibitis. But after that the Council had condemned the Communio sub utraque of lay people on the 15th June 1415 (see § 145 note 6) Huss wrote more decisively to a certain Dominus Haulikon on the 21st June 1415 (Hist. et Monum. i. p. 80): Noli resistere sacramento calicis Domini, quem Christus per se et per suum Apostolum instituit, quia nulla scriptura est in oppositum, sed sola consuetudo, quae, ut aestimo, ex negligentia inolevit. Jam non debemus consuetudinem sequi, sed Christi exemplum et veritatem. Modo Concilium allegans consuetudinem damnavit communionem calicis quoad Laicos, ut errorem, et qui practicaverit, nisi resipiscat, tanquam haereticus puniatur. Ecce malitia Christi institutionem jam ut errorem damnat. Rogo propter Deum, ut non impugnes Magistrum Jacobellum, ne fiat scissio inter fideles, de qua gaudet Diabolus. Etiam, carissime, praepara te ad passionem in manducatione et communione calicis, et sta fortiter in veritate Christi, timore illicito postposito etc.

[25] Two letters from Bohemian Barons to the Emperor of Jan. 1415 may be seen in Hist. et Monum. i. p. 96, v. d. Hardt Conc. Const. iv. p. 32, a third is given by Mai Hist. et Mon. i. p. 97. There are three letters of the Bohemians to the Council Hist. et Mon. i. p. 9 ss v. d. Hardt iv. p. 188, 212, 288. The Bohemians appealed to the safe-conduct, and complained that Bohemia was represented as an entirely heretical country, especially (Hist. et Mon. i. p. 10, v. d. Hardt iv. p. 189) of the falsehoods which were current at Constance, quoniam sacramentum pretiosissimi sanguinis Domini per Bohemiam jam in vasculis non consecratis (in v. d. Hardt. in flasconibus) deportarent, quodque sutores jam confessiones audirent, et sacrosanctum corpus Dominicum aliis ministrarent. But the Episc. Luthomislensis asserted in his reply before the Council, that according to credible information

out any opportunity of defending himself, an unconditional recantation was required from him;[26] and as he refused to accede to this,

which he had received, all this was true in the main (Hist. et Mon. i. p. 10. v. d. Hardt iv. p. 210.

[26] A Bohemian clergyman, named Michael de Caussis, first handed in to the Pope a series of articles of accusation against Huss (see Hist. et Mon. i. p. 7). Afterwards John Gerson drew from the book de Ecclesia, 19 articles, which he pronounced haeretici et ut tales judicialiter condemnandi (l. c. p. 29 s.) Huss made his first appearance before the Synod on the 5th June 1415, but he could not make himself heard in the general outcry (v. d. Hardt iv. 306 ss.). On the seventh of June, he was examined before the Council, in the presence of the Emperor, on several of the articles brought against him by Michael de Caussis (l. c p. 308 ss. Hist. et Mon. i. p. 15 ss.). First, he was to be convicted of having taught, quod post consecrationem et pronunciationem verborum in coena Domini manet panis materialis, although he denied this in the most solemn manner. To another charge, quod pertinaciter articulos erroneos Wicleff docuisset in Bohemia et defendisset, he replied, that he certainly did not hold to be heretical all the articles of Wycliff, which were condemned by the Roman Synod; for instance, not those, quod Sylvester Papa et Constantinus erraverint, Ecclesiae illas donationes conferendo; quod Papa vel Sacerdos existens in peccato mortali neque consecret neque baptizet (which last article he limited as follows, quod indigne consecret et baptizet); quod decimae sunt purae eleemosynae. Then he was askt, habueritne absolutionem a Pontifice Romano, and liceretne ad Christum provocare, and whether he had said, se optare, ut anima sua in eodem loco, ubi anima Wicleff, esset: He denied the first question; his affirmation of the latter two caused much laughter in the Council. A new charge was, that he had advised the people, ut iis, qui adversarentur suae doctrinae, gladio resisteret exemplo Mosis. Huss declared, se monuisse populum, cum praedicaret dictum Apostoli de galea salutis et gladio, ut illo se accingerent omnes, et defenderent evangelicam veritatem; seque diserte dixisse propter calumnias, non gladio materiali, sed eo, qui est verbum Dei. Moreover, it was alledged against him, quod ex doctrina Hus multa scandala exorta sunt. Primum seminavit discordias inter ecclesiasticum et politicum statum, unde persecutio Cleri et Episcoporum, eorumque spoliatio consecuta est. Deinde quod scholam quoque Pragensem per discordias dissolvit. Huss refuted both charges. He was then called to account for the expression, nisi sua sponte Constantiam venire voluisset, neque Bohemiae Rex neque Imperator se cogere ad id potuissent, which Huss explained by the power of the nobles his adherents. Afterwards, on the 8th of June, 39 articles drawn from his works were laid before him, on which he was to explain himself (v. d. Hardt iv. p. 314. Hist. et Mon. i. p. 19 ss.) There were 26 articles from his work de Ecclesia, 7 from his liber contra Stephanum Paletz, 6 from the lib. contra Stanislaum de Snoima. They mostly referred to the doctrine, that none but the predestinate belong to the Church, and so that even a Pope might not be a member of the Church;

on the 6th of July 1415 he suffered death by fire.[27] In order to satisfy the Emperor with regard to the breach of his safe-conduct, the Council issued the shameless decree, that no faith should be kept with a heretic.[28]

others related to the treatment of heretics, the power of the clergy, the virtue of excommunication, and the possibility that the Church might be governed even without a Pope. Many false deductions were fathered upon him, these he set aside by referring to his own words; of his statements, he revoked not one. He was then in vain required to recant by the Council, and by the Emperor (v. d. Hardt. iv. p. 325). He even refused a milder form of recantation proposed to him by the cardinal bishop of Ostia (l. c. p. 329). Unshaken constancy is displayed in his letters written at this time, in which he gives an account of his trials. Hist. et Mon. i. p. 84. ss.

[27] See the manner in which the sentence was past and executed in Hist. et Mon. i. p. 33 ss. v. d. Hardt iv. p. 389 ss. cf. Narratio historica de condemnatione et supplicio Jo. Hus, by a cotemporary, Hist. et Mon. ii. p. 515 ss. Among the heresies with which he was charged, it was not only repeated in spite of all his protests, quod post consecrationem in sacramento altaris remaneat panis materialis, but also a new one was added, quod ille sanctissimae Triadi quartam adjecisset personam (v. d. Hardt iv. p. 392 s.). The private archives of Königsberg contain a cotemporary history of the Council of Constance in MS., in which the trial of John Huss is described with especial accuracy, see Jahrbücher Joh. Lindenblatts von Voigt u. Schubert S. 299. Anm. The pretended prophecy of Huss, hodie anserem uritis, sed ex meis cineribus nascetur cygnus, quem non assare poteritis, seems to have risen in Luther's time. It appears Opp. Lutheri t. v. Altenb. p. 599. viii. p. 864. ix. p. 1562, and seems to have been formed partly from a passage in one of Huss' letters, which he wrote from Constance to the men of Prague: (Hist. et. Mon. i. p. 121): Prius laqueos, citationes et anathemata anseri (Hus is goose in the Bohemian language) paraverunt, et jam nonnullis ex vobis insidiantur. Sed quia anser, animal cicur, avis domestica, suprema volatu suo non pertingens, eorum laqueos [*non*] rupit, nihilominus aliae aves, quae verbo Dei et vita volatu suo alta petunt, eorum insidias conterent; partly from the words of Jerome at his execution, see Narratio de Mag. Hieron. l. c. ii. p. 531: Vobis certum est me inique et maligne condemnare, nulla noxa etiamnum inventa. Ego vero post fata mea vestris conscientiis stimulum infigo et morsum, ac appello ad celsissimum simul et aequissimum judicem Deum omnipotentem, *ut coram eo centum annis revolutis respondeatis mihi.* Cf. Manso an vere de M. Luthero vaticinatus sit Jo. Huss, in his vermischten Abhandlungen und Aufsätzen. Breslau 1821. S. 157 ff.

[28] At first Sigismund wisht to keep his safe-conduct unbroken, and set Huss at liberty (v. d. Hardt iv. p. 26), but afterwards he allowed himself to be persuaded, that it was necessary to the freedom of the Council to proceed against a heretic without hindrance (l. c. p. 32). Ferdinand, king of Aragon, also imprest upon the Emperor that he ought not to rescue a heretic from the punishment of death, because of

Jerome of Prague had indeed left Constance on account of the impending danger, but he was arrested at Hirschau in the Upper Palatinate, and brought back to Constance. Shaken by the severity of his imprisonment, he consented to recant in September 1415; but as the accusations against him were nevertheless continued, he took courage, revoked his recantation, and was burnt to death on the 30th of May 1416.[29]

his safe conduct, quoniam non est frangere fidem in eo, qui Deo fidem frangit (see the letter dd. 18. Apr. 1415 in Schelhorn's Ergötzlichkeiten aus der Kirchenhistorie u. Literatur. Bd. 1. S. 217 ff.). The decree of the Council dd. Sess. gen. xix. d. 23. Sept. 1415, is in v. d. Hardt IV. p. 521): Praesens sancta Synodus ex quovis salvo conductu, per Imperatorem, Reges et alios saeculi Principes haereticis, vel de haeresi diffamatis, putantes eosdem sic a suis erroribus revocare, quocunque vinculo se astrinxerint, concesso, nullum fidei catholicae, vel jurisdictionis ecclesiasticae praejudicium generari, vel impedimentum praestari posse seu debere, declarat, quominus salvo dicto conductu non obstante liceat judici competenti ecclesiastico de hujusmodi personarum erroribus inquirere, et alias contra eas debite procedere, easdemque punire, quantum justitia suadebit, si suos pertinaciter recusaverint revocare errores, etiamsi de salvo conductu confisi ad locum venerint judicii, alias non venturi. Besides this there was the special decree de salvo conductu Hussonis, which v. d. Hardt l. c. is the first to make known: Quia nonnulli nimis intelligentes, aut sinistrae intentionis, vel forsan solentes plus sapere, quam oportet, nedum Regiae Majestati, sed etiam sacro, ut fertur, Concilio linguis maledictis detrahunt, publice et occulte dicentes vel innuentes, quod salvus conductus, per invictissimum Principem Dominum Sigismundum Romanorum et Ungariae etc. Regem quondam Johanni Huss haeresiarchae damnatae memoriae datus, fuit contra justitiam aut honestatem indebite violatus: cùm tamen dictus Johannes Huss fidem orthodoxam pertinaciter impugnans, se ab omni conductu et privilegio reddiderit alienum, nec aliqua sibi fides aut promissio de jure naturali, divino vel humano fuerit in praejudicium catholicae fidei observanda: idcirco dicta sancta Synodus praesentium tenore declarat, dictum invictissimum Principem circa praedictum quondam Johannem Huss non obstante memorato salvo conductu ex juris debito fecisse quod licuit, et quod decuit Regiam Majestatem: statuens et ordinans omnibus et singulis Christifidelibus,—quod nullus deinceps sacro Concilio aut Regiae Majestati de gestis circa praedictum quondam Johannem Huss detrahat, sive quomodolibet obloquatur. Qui vero contrarium fecerit, tanquam fautor haereticae pravitatis et reus criminis laesae Majestatis irremissibiliter puniatur.

[29] See Narratio de Mag. Hieronymo Pragensi pro Christi nomine Constantiae exusto in Hist. et Mon. ii. p. 522 ss. Alia de eodem narratio l. c. p. 528 ss. Poggius Florentinus, in Ep. ad Leonardum Aretinum l. c. p. 532 ss. and in v. d. Hardt iii. p. 64 ss. gives an account of his death as an eyewitness, and bears him witness: Jucunda fronte et alacri vultu ad exitum suum accessit: non ignem expavit, non tor-

§ 151.

HISTORY OF THE HUSSITES TILL THE RATIFICATION OF THE COMPACT OF IGLAU.

James of Misa,[1] commonly called Jacobellus, priest of the Church of St Michael at Prague, at the instigation of Peter of Dresden,[2] towards the end of the year 1414, began again to administer the cup in the Lord's Supper to the laity, as necessary to salvation. In so doing he met with great assent, and from the time that Huss had declared his opinion at Constance, not indeed of the unconditional necessity, but still of the fitness of this reform,[3] he found Huss's numerous adherents so decidedly on his side, that henceforth the claim for the cup in the Lord's Supper was one of the chief peculiarities of the Hussites.[4] In the controversy which soon arose upon this subject, Jacobellus

menti genus, non mortis. Nullus unquam Stoicorum fuit tam constanti animo, tamque forti mortem perpessus, quam iste appetiisse videtur.

[1] Named from Misa, a small town in the Pilsner circle in Bohemia, not as many persons thought formerly, from Misnia, see Pelzel in den Abhandlungen einer Privatgesellschaft in Böhmen. Bd. 6. (Prag. 1784. 8.) S. 299. J. Chr. Martini diss. de Jacobo de Misa. Altdorfii. 1753. 4.

[2] J. Chr. Schreiber diss. de Petro Dresdensi. Lips. 1678. 4.

[3] See § 150. note 24.

[4] The origin of this innovation is related by Aeneas Sylvius hist. Bohem. c. 35.: Nondum error de sacramento altaris irrepserat (at the time when Huss was living at Hussinecz). Sed attulit novam pestem Petrus Dresdensis (id oppidum Misnae supersitum), qui cum aliis Teutonibus paulo ante Bohemiam reliquerat. Cognitus inter suos, quia Valdensi lepra infectus esset, patria pulsus, velut haereticorum asylum Pragam repetiit, puerorumque docendorum curam accepit. Apud Ecclesiam s. Michaelis per id temporis populum praedicando instruebat Jacobellus Misnensis, literarum doctrina, et morum praestantia juxta clarus. Petrus hunc aggressus, mirari se ait, doctum et sanctum virum, qui divina eloquia plebibus exponeret, errorem illum non animadvertisse communionis Eucharistiae, qui jam pridem Ecclesiam pessundasset. In qua sub una tantum specie dominicum corpus populo ministraretur, cum apud Joannem Evangelistam et Apostolum Christo dilectissimum sub duplici specie panis vinique sumi jubeatur, dicente apud eum Salvatore, *nisi manducaveritis carnem filii hominis et biberitis ejus*

sanguinem, non habebitis vitam in vobis. Commotus his Jacobellus, cum perquisitis vetustis sanctorum Doctorum codicibus, Dionysii praesertim et Cypriani, communionem et calicis laudatam invenisset, prohibitus apud sacellum Archangeli Michaelis praedicare, in templo majore s. Martini cathedram sortitus, publice commonere populum coepit, ne deinceps communionem calicis, sine qua salvari nemo posset, quoquo pacto negligerent. Huic omnes haeretici consenserunt, haud modica gestientes laetitia, quod articulum invenissent in evangelica lege fundatum, per quem Romanae sedis vel ignorantia vel nequitia argui posset. Odioso quamvis haec animo Rex intelligeret, desidia tamen corruptus, et inertia torpens, impune debacchari sinebat haereticos. The reasoning here Aeneas evidently drew from the works of Jacobellus, the rest may have reacht him from credible sources. The Calixtine Laurence *Brzezyna* (called erroneously *Byzynius* in Ludewig), Chancellor of the new city of Prague, an eyewitness, relates in his diarium belli Hussitici ab anno 1414 ad 1423 in J. P. de Ludewig Reliquiae Manuscriptorum T. vi. p. 124 (more fully in MS., see *Dobrowsky* in d. Abhandl. der. böhm. Gesellsch. d. Wissenschaften auf d. J. 1788. S. 303 f.): Anno incarnationis dominicae 1414 venerabilis ac divinissima communio Eucharistiae sub utraque specie, panis scilicet et vini, populo communi fideli ministranda, per venerandum ac egregium virum Magistrum Jacobellum de Miza, sacrae theologiae baccalaureum formatum, et alios sibi tunc in hac materia assistentes sacerdotes est inchoata in urbe inclyta et magnifica Pragensi. Primum quidem in Ecclesiis s. Adalberti in nova civitate, s. Martini in muro, et s. Michaelis, ac capella Bethleem nuncupata in civitata antiqua Pragensi. Quae certe communio sanctissima successu temporis, quo pluribus diversis minarum ac incarcerationum terroribus per Romanum ac Boemiae Regem Venceslaum,—et praecipue Conrado Archiepiscopo Pragensi, Praelatisque aliis ac Religiosis, et Magistris universitatis studii Pragensis ac Doctoribus, totis viribus suggerentibus et desudantibus suffocationem, impugnabatur: tanto amplius invalescebat et augmentabatur in populo fideli ac devoto sexus utriusque ad tantum, quod infra duos annos non solum in duabus aut tribus Ecclesiis Presbyteri Magistra Johanni Hus [*adhaerentes*], pro tunc *Wiglefistae* per partem sibi adversam, quae *Machometica* appellabatur, nuncupati, libertatem praedicandi, et sic ut praemittitur, populum communicandi habebant; sed fere omnibus parochialibus in Praga Ecclesiis, imo et Monasteriis certis, Archiepiscopo et Praelatis ipsos excommunicantibus, et interdictum per totum Pragam ponentibus, occupatis populum magnum ad se attraxerunt. Ita quod non solum in Praga, sed etiam regni Boemiae, et Marchionatus Moraviae civitatibus, castris, oppidis et villis populus communis catervatim cum magna devotione ac reverentia ad sacratissimam utriusque speciei communionem frequentabat. Pag. 130: Non solum usum rationis habentes, sed et parvuli seu infantes post baptismum, propter baptismi ipsius confirmationem, temporis successu sacramento divinissimae Eucharistiae sub utraque specie communicabantur, Mag. Jacobello—hanc cum sibi aliquibus adhaerentibus Magistris et sacerdotibus promulgante et practisare inchoante communionem. Propter quam quidem infantium communionem schisma grave inter Magistros et sacerdotes, veritati Dei et Mag. Johanni Hus adhaerentes,

evidently maintained the ascendancy.[5] The Council of Con-

in Praga et in regno Boemiae exortum. Nam quidam ex eis infantium communionem fore erroneam et ad baptismi confirmationem non necessariam asserebant: alii e contrario propter dictum b. Dionysii ac aliorum primitivae Ecclesiae doctorum hanc sententiam et communionem ipsam catholicam et salutiferam adstruebant.—Nihilominus praefata sacri corporis et sanguinis Domini sub utraque specie—communio tam ad adultos quam ad parvulos et infantes, adversariis ipsius ac aemulis eam ratione et modis diversis suffocare et annullare satagentibus, non tamen praevalentibus, de die in diem magis ac magis crescebat et augmentabatur et invalescebat, impugnantibus per temporum successus notabiliter divina virtute coram ipsa ruentibus, et succumbentibus veritati, et damna inexplicabilia rerum et corporum luentibus.

[5] Jacobellus first wrote the Demonstratio per testimonia Scripturae, Patrum atque Doctorum, communicationem calicis in plebe Christiana esse necessariam (in v. d. Hardt Conc. Const. iii. p. 805.) On the other side Mauritius de Praga (Professor of divinity in Prague, then at Constance) responsio ad demonstrationem etc. (l. c. p. 826). Besides Anonymi theologi, in Conc. Const. praesentis, epist. elenchtica ad Jac. de Misa contra communionem plebis sub utraque specie (l. c. p. 338.) Andreae Brodae (Professor of divinity at Prague) dist. acad. contra communicationem plebis sub utraque specie (l. c. p. 392.) Against this work Jacobellus wrote Vindiciae contra Andr. Brodam pro communione plebis sub utraque specie (l. c. p. 416.) Jacobellus here teaches, p. 428: fideles de communitate Christianorum,—dum commodose, tempore et loco opportunis possunt habere, hoc divinissimum sacramentum utriusque speciei debent suscipere ad salutem.—Dum vero—non possunt habere a sacerdotibus,—et aliunde essent boni et justi,—non eo ipso, quod non possunt, nec docentur sumere hoc divinissimum sacramentum utriusque speciei, sunt de damnandis. The point of view from which his opponents in part started is shown by Anonymi theologi tract. contra Jac. de Misa (l. c. p. 658), where we find p. 693: Primitiva Ecclesia est ritus, consuetudo, observatio Ecclesiae fidelium circa fidem tempore Apostolorum, et aliorum LXXII. discipulorum, et sequacium ipsorum usque ad Sylvestrum Papam. Sed Ecclesia moderna dicitur ritus, consuetudo et observatio Ecclesiae circa fidem, incipiens a Silvestro Papa usque ad hodiernum diem: capiendo autem modernum magis propinque, tunc est quod duravit per ducentos. Per centum autem annos dicitur Ecclesia moderna, saltim referendo tale tempus ad observationem fidelium circa fidem. Pro quo sciendum, quod *omnia fiebant simpliciori modo et grossiori in primitiva Ecclesia, quam fiunt in moderna Ecclesia.* Quia baptismus fiebat simplici aqua, nunc autem fit in benedicta. Sic etiam divina officia et multa alia fiebant simpliciori modo: sed in moderna Ecclesia omnia digniori modo fiunt. Sic etiam in primitiva communicatio apud Corinthios fiebat sub duplice specie: in moderna omnia sunt reducta ad meliorem formam, ad unam speciem. Quia multa Apostoli et alii sequaces omiserunt, quae moderna Ecclesia implevit: quia dicitur in Actis Apostolorum: crescente

stance indeed, on the 15th June 1415, sanctioned the Church's usage, and pronounced its opponents heretics.[6] But this decree, the execution of Huss which followed close upon it on the 6th July, and the contempt which the Council showed for Bohemia as infested with heresy, roused the most violent ferment in this country. Jacobellus defended the Communio sub utraque against the decree of the Council,[7] Huss was honored as a martyr,[8] a meeting of Bohemian and Moravian nobles heapt the bitterest reproaches upon the Council in a letter,[9] and joined in

Ecclesia crescit et Spiritus Sancti operatio. Et in Decretalibus c. Cum Marthae (Decr. Greg. iii. 41, 6.) dicitur: Multa servat Ecclesia, quae per Apostolos fuerunt omissa etc.

[6] See § 145. note 6.

[7] Jac. de Misa apologia pro communione plebis sub utraque specie contra Constant. Conc. decretum condemnatorium in v. d. Hardt iii. p. 591.

[8] There was an annual commemoration of Huss and Jerome on the sixth of July. Aeneas Sylv. hist. Bohem. c. 36. Theobald Th. 1. cap. 27. S. 133.

[9] The letter of the Council to the clergy of Prague, which announced the execution of Huss and charged them with the extermination of the heresy, is in v. d. Hardt iv. p. 485 ss. In the letter of the 54 nobles assembled at Prague to the Council, dd. 2. Sept. 1415, l. c. p. 495. Hist et Mon. i. p. 98. is the following passage among others: Nos—pro carissimo proximo nostro,—Johanne Huss,—praedicatore evangelico, quem nuper in Concilio Constantiensi, nescimus quo spiritu ducti, non confessum, nec legitime, ut decebat, convictum, — sed ad sinistras, falsas et importunas duntaxat suorum et regni nostri — capitalium inimicorum et proditorum accusationes,—tanquam haereticum pertinacem condemnastis, et condemnatum dira et turpissima morte affecistis, in nostri regni Bohemiae christianissimi et Marchionatus Moraviae clarissimi, ac omnium, nostrum perpetuam infamiam et notam: quemadmodum serenissimo Principi et Domino, Domino Sigismundo —scripta ad Constantiam transmisimus, quae etiam in congregationibus vestris lecta sunt et publicata,—et ea, ut refertur, in nostrum dedecus et contemptum ignis voragini tradidistis: ita et nunc pro dicto M. Jo. Hus literas nostras patentes praesentibus duximus destinandas, publice corde et ore profitentes et protestantes, quod ipse M. Jo. Hus fuit vir utique bonus, justus et catholicus, a multis annis in regno nostro vita et moribus ac fama laudabiliter conversatus et comprobatus; legem etiam evangelicam—nos et subditos nostros catholice docuit,—omnes errores et haereses constantissime detestando.—Nec praemissa omnia in confusionem nostram, et regni nostri et Marchionatus praefatorum perpetrata vobis suffecerunt: quin potius honorandum M. Hieronymum de Praga—non confessum, nec convictum, sed ad solam suorum et nostrorum proditorum delationem sinistram—comprehensum incarcerastis: trucidastis etiam forte, sicut et M. Johannem Hus crudelissima

a league for six years in protection of purity of doctrine.[10] The

morte interemistis. Praeterea ad nostram—pervenit notitiam,—quomodo quidam detractores—coram vobis—nos—gravissime et nequissime detulerint, asserentes, licet false,—quod in praefatis regno Bohemiae et Marchionatu Moraviae diversi errores pullularint, et corda nostra—infecerint.—Equidem has atroces et perniciosissimas injurias—nobis et praefatis regno et Marchionatui, licet false et mendose, impositas quomodo sustinere possumus? Cum per gratiam Dei — regnum nostrum Bohemiae christianissimum, et clarissimus Marchionatus Moraviae a tempore, quo fidem catholicam—susceperunt, —s. Romanae Ecclesiae semper constanter et indesinenter adhaeserunt. — Ut autem juxta sententiam Apostoli provideamus bona non solum coram Deo sed etiam coram hominibus; — ideo — certam orthodoxamque fidem tenore praesentium V., P. et universis Christifidelibus innotescimus,—profitentes, quod quicunque hominum,—qui—dicit vel asserit, quod in praefatis regno Bohemiae et Marchionatu Moraviae errores et haereses pullulassent, et nos—infecissent,—recte mentitur in caput suum, tanquam nequam, pessimus traditor et proditor praedictorum regni et Marchionatus, et solus utique haereticus perniciosissimus: nihilominus tamen praemissas injurias Domino—nunc committentes, apud futurum Apostolicum,—unicum et indubitatum pastorem, illas amplius et latius prosequemur. — Praemissis enim non obstantibus legem Domini nostri Jesu Christi, ipsiusque devotos, humiles et constantes praedicatores usque ad effusionem sanguinis, omni timore et statutis humanis in contrarium editis postergatis, defendere volumus et tueri.

[10] See the Syngrapha dd. Victorini (5. Sept.) 1415 in the Hist. et Mon. i. p. 98. They bound themselves especially, ut in omnibus nostris ditionibus quisque pro se curaret verbum Dei libere—in templis et monasteriis doceri et audiri; itaque nullum sacerdotem arcendum—esse, qui—petat sibi concedi, ut doceat verbum Dei juxta s. Scripturae veritatem. Quodsi sacerdos alicujus erroris insimulatus fuerit, ut is ad Episcopum suae ditionis citetur: a quo si deprehensus fuerit alienum aliquid a verbo Dei in vulgus spargere, manifeste puniri debet, convictum vero nos prohibebimus, ne intra nostros fines amplius concionetur. Sin quisquam ex Episcopis odio verae et evangelicae doctrinae sacerdotum aliquem nullo in errore deprehensum privata cupiditate inordinate et clam poena aliqua afficere voluerit, decrevimus apud nos, ut nullum postea sacerdotem ad talem Episcopum citari pateremur, sed ut haec res ad celeberrimae Academiae Pragensis Rectorem, Doctores sacrarum literarum et Magistros referatur, et per eosdem de toto negotio secundum sacrae Scripturae veritatem cognitio fiat. Deinde hoc quoque communi sententia decrevimus, ut omnibus sacerdotibus, quicunque sub nostro imperio vivunt, mandaremus, nullas ut a quoquam excommunicationes acciperent, praeterquam ab Episcopis nostrae ditionis. Nam excommunicationes legitimas retinere eisque libenter parere volumus. Si qui vero ex eisdem Episcopis nostrae ditionis voluerint iniquis excommunicationibus, aut vi aliqua injusta nobis aut nostris Ecclesiis molesti esse propter verbum Dei, et sanctum ejus testamentum, aut propter aliud quiddam, de quo non fuerit facta

Council summoned them before its judgment-seat in vain.[11] The execution of Jerome of Prague increast the exasperation of the Bohemians still more; and after that the University of Prague had pronounced in favour of the communion in both kinds,[12] the great bulk of the nation was won over.[13] Nevertheless, the Council thought it necessary to pursue a severe course, and issued instructions in twenty-four articles, how the Bohemian heretics were to be quelled by force.[14] The Pope sent Legates to carry out this plan.[15] The King, Wenceslaus, was indifferent with regard to the controversy of the Church,[16] but at the same time too weak and undecided to be able to maintain the peace of the State betwixt the two parties. Accordingly, when the Hussites were assailed by the zealous Catholics, especially by the clergy, bands of them, under the guidance of two noblemen, Nicholas of Hussinecz and John Ziska, gathered together in self-defence. Among the thousands, who upon Mount Tabor at first only attended the celebration of the Lord's supper,[17] but

cognitio legitima, illis ipsis decrevimus non modo non obtemperare, sed etiam resistere, si ita necessitas postulabit.—Haec omnia ut rata inter nos ac firma sint, nos mutuis inter nos auxiliis operam dabimus. Quod si quis nostrum recusaverit, is et nominis sui et omnium bonorum jacturam patietur.

[11] The letter of 24. Febr. 1416 is in Raynald. h. a. no. 8. Balbini Miscell. hist. regni Bohem. lib. vi. p. 144. 156.

[12] The instrument of the 10th March 1417 is in Cochlaei hist. Hussit. p. 159. Hist. et Mon. ii. p. 539.

[13] See Pelzel's Lebensgesch. des Königs Wenceslaus. Th. 2. S. 656.

[14] See these in Cochlaeus p. 165.

[15] Theobald Th. i. cap. 29, at the beginning, S. 138.

[16] He had a letter written to his brother Sigismund, as is shown by the answer he gave to the Ambassadors of Wenceslaus (in Pelzel Th. 2. Urkundenbuch S. 169 f.), qualiter nesciat in regno suo aliquos erroneos homines. To the adherents of the Chalice on the 25th February 1419, he granted three churches in Prague for their worship, on condition that they created no disturbance. Pelzel Th. 2. S. 680. Urkundenbuch S. 171.

[17] Brzezyna mentions this fact in two passages, Ludewig Reliq. vi. p. 142 and more in detail p. 186. In the last passage we find: Factum est anno Dom. 1419, quod Presbyteri cum eorum vicariis prope castrum Bechinense durius sic (*sub utraque specie*) communicantibus insultabant, eosdem armata manu de Ecclesiis eorum expellentes, tanquam erroneos et haereticos. Qua de re Presbyteri cum sibi juncto populo montem magnum magna planicie exornatum ascendunt, et in ejus summitate tentorium de lineis pannis ad modum capellae expandunt. In quo agentes divina, populum ibidem confluentem, sine ullius commu-

afterwards founded the city of Tabor, the most burning fanaticism glowed with the sense of their power. Under the guidance of Ziska a band of Taborites marcht upon Prague, and avenged the injuries which had there befallen their chalices, in a blood-

nionis impedimento, venerabilis Eucharistiae sacramento devotissime reficiunt. Qua peracta et depositis lineis pannis ad propria redeunt, et monti nomen Tabor imponunt (*Tabor* is Bohemian for tent: but probably there was united with this signification, a reference to the Mountain of the Transfiguration), ad quem venientes Taboritae sunt nuncupati. Haec cum ad aures adjacentium civitatum, oppidorum et villarum devenirent, fratres Presbyteri circumcirca vicini, condicta certae festivitatis die, populum eis junctum cum venerabili corporis Christi sacramento ad Tabor sonoris vocibus deducunt pro veritatis ibidem, ut dicebant, confirmatione, ac fratrum sororumque ibidem existentium confirmatione ac consolatione. Quibus taliter venientibus occurrunt de Tabor cum venerabili altaris sacramento fratres ac sorores pro alacri venientium susceptione. Venientes illi itaque in montem totam diem non in lasciviis, sed in his quae salutem animarum concernunt expendebant. Presbyteri nempe eorum terno functi sunt ibidem officio: doctiores namque ac eloquentiores a summo mane populo per normas diviso, seorsum viris, ac seorsum mulieribus et pueris verbum Dei, et praesertim ea, quae superbiam, avaritiam fastumque Cleri concernebant, sine omni formidine populo alternatim praedicabant, aliis pro tunc continue ad auricularem confessionem considentibus: et tertii peractis divinis populum a diescente usque ad meridiem utraque specie, corporis scilicet et sanguinis Domini Christi, communicabant. Ita quod in die Mariae Magdalenae (the 22d July) XLII. millia cum aliquot et XX., virorum, mulierum et parvulorum taliter communicantium fuerunt a Presbyteris computati. Quibus omnibus taliter, ut praemittitur, expeditis vadunt pro corporis refectione ad loca ibidem in monte multipliciter praeparata, et simul in caritate fraterna convivantes, non ad libidinem aut ebrietatem, non ad levitatem et dissolutionem, sed ad majorem et fortiorem Dei servitutem. Ibique omnes sese fratres et sorores appellantes, ditior cum paupere victualia, quae erant praeparata, dividebant. Ibi nihil, quo inebriari posset, permissum fuerat propinari. Ibi etiam nulla chorea, nullus taxillorum et globorum, aut alterius levitatis ludus, non dico seniorum, sed et parvulorum, habebat indulgentiae locum. Ibi denique nullae contentiones, nulla furta, nullae sonantium fistulae, aut cytharurum melodiae, prout hactenus in Ecclesiarum dedicationibus fieri solebat, potuit reperiri: sed omnium, more Apostolorum, fuit unum cor et una voluntas, nihil aliud tractantes, nisi quae forent de animarum salute ac de Cleri ad pristinum, primitivae scil. Ecclesiae, statum reductione. Peracta itaque, ut dictum est, modica corporis refectione, surgunt cum populo Presbyteri ad agendum Deo gratiarum actiones, cum venerabili Eucharistia Tabor montem processionabiliter circumeunt, virginibus sacramentum praecedentibus, et viris ac mulieribus in suis turmis sequentibus, vociferantes et psallentes in canticis, prout videbatur expedire. Hac processione finita, vale sibi mutuo facientes cum suis Presbyteris—veniunt unde exiverunt.

thirsty manner upon the Council of the New-city (30. July, 1419).[18] When Wenceslaus died soon after (16. Aug.), as the people would not submit to the hated Sigismund, complete anarchy ensued, which was still further increast by the important difference in doctrine betwixt the Hussites of Prague and the Taborites, which now arose.

The Hussites of Prague (Calixtines, Utraquists), did not advance beyond Huss and Jacobellus in their doctrine, which they drew up in four articles 1421.[19] On the other hand, ever

Factum est autem, cum supra dicta in longiores partes vulgarentur, coepit numerus venientium de die in diem notabiliter augmentari. Nam non solum jam de Pyska etc.—, sed de Praga etc.—, necnon de multis locis Moraviae pedestres et equestres in Tabor confluebant.—Quapropter—Rex Wenceslaus cum quibusdam inimicis veritatis coeperunt graviter ferre, timentes ne tanta populi multitudo Regem et Archiepiscopum, prout famabatur, pro defensa legis Dei eligerent, et eorum bona velut adversariorum per potentiam, cui resistere non valerent, invaderent ac depopularent (compare p. 143: Quamobrem Rex Boemiae Venceslaus multum est turbatus, se de regali solio dejici timens et expavescens, Nicolaumque de Hus in locum sui substituti suspicando). Quidam ea de causa ex nobilibus districtius subditis suis sub poena colli et bonorum perditione praecipiunt, ne per amplius ad montem Tabor audeant concurrere. Sed hujusmodi mandatum rustici cum suis mulieribus molicum aut nihil advertentes, potius dimissis omnibus, quae possederant, ad Tabor montem in certis festivitatibus venire nullatenus negligebant, allecti et attracti, prout ferrum attrahit magnes.

[18] Brzezyna in Ludewig vi. p. 143. Aeneae Sylvii hist. Bohem. c. 37. init. Pelzel Th. 2. S. 684 f.

[19] Brzezyna p. 175 ss. Magistri civium, consules et scabini totaque communitas civitatis Pragensis declared in this document, composed in Latin, Bohemian, and German: Notum sit omnibus Christifidelibus, quod fideles in regno Bohemiae instant, et Domino juvante instare proponunt sive per mortem, sive per vitam, quantum est eis possibile, pro articulis infra scriptis: *Primo*, quod verbum Dei per regnum Bohemiae libere et sine impedimento ordinate a sacerdotibus Domini praedicetur. —II. quod Sacramentum divinissimae Eucharistiae sub utraque specie, panis scil. et vini, omnibus Christifidelibus nullo peccato mortali indispositis libere ministretur juxta sententiam et institutionem Salvatoris. —III. quod dominium saeculare super divitiis et bonis temporalibus, quod contra praeceptum Christi Clerus occupat in praejudicium sui officii et damnum brachii saecularis, ab ipso auferatur et tollatur, et ipse Clerus ad regulam evangelicam et vitam apostolicam, qua Christus vixit cum suis Apostolis, reducatur.—IV. quod omnia peccata mortalia, et speciatim publica, aliaeque deordinationes legi Dei contrariae in quolibet statu rite et rationabiliter per eos, ad quos spectat, prohibeantur et destruantur. Quae qui agunt, digni sunt morte, non solum qui ea faciunt, sed qui consentiunt facientibus, ut sunt in populo forni-

since the variance with the Church, Bohemia had become the gathering place of the Beghards, elsewhere persecuted, here called Pikards. Thus so early as 1418 there was a small community of persons holding Waldensian opinions at Prague:[20] but these soon united themselves with the Taborites, as being the most zealous adversaries of the ruling Church,[21] and spread among them their principles with the greatest success. The Taborites accordingly rejected with literal scrupulousness all ecclesiastical doctrines, institutions, and usages, which were not founded on Scripture: they avoided all secular pleasures, even all secular knowledge.[22] Their religious fanaticism, threatened

cationes, comessationes etc.—In Clero autem sunt simoniacae haereses et exactiones pecuniarum a baptismo etc.—moresque impii et injusti, ut sunt impudici concubinatus,—irae, rixae, contentiones, frivolae citationes, et hominum simplicium pro lubitu vexationes et spoliationes etc. —Quod si aliquis ultra hanc piam nostram et sanctam intentionem aliqua nobis adscribat impudica et enormia, tanquam falsus et iniquus testis a Christifidelibus habeatur etc.

[20] See Dobrowsky in d. Abhandlungen der böhm. Gesellschaft d. Wissenschaften f. 1788. S. 309 f. and the fragment of Brzezyna quoted there from MS.: Origo autem et radix hujus maledictae haeresis pervenit ad Boemiae regnum a quibusdam Piccardis, qui anno 1418 Pragam cum uxoribus (et liberis venerunt). However they must have come thither so early as the year 1417, for the university of the place declares itself against them on the 25th of Jan. 1417 (i. e. 1418) in Pelzel Th. 2. Urkundenbuch S. 163: Sane, quod nimis dolenter referimus, ad audientiam nostri crebris relatibus et clamoribus iteratis est deductum, quomodo nonnulli diversarum communitatum ex erronea et diabolica doctrina in destructionem fidei ac religionis Christianae temere tenent et adstruere conantur, non esse purgatorium, et consequenter quod non sit orandum vel eleemosynandum pro defunctis. Quodque non sint tenendae in Dei Ecclesia imagines, immo asseverant, quamvis false, quod habere Christi et Sanctorum imagines legi Domini repugnaret. Insuper quod benedictiones salis et aquae fontis baptisterii—cum aliis Ecclesiae benedictionibus—errorem saperent.—Et hinc illas cum aliis laudabilibus Ecclesiarum ceremoniis funditus evellere et destruere nituntur.—Supplicamus, ut si ad vos dogmatisatores quicunque praedictorum errorum cum suis falsis sententiis perveñerint,—tamdiu illis liberam denegetis audientiam, quamdiu coram nobis suam docerent sententiam fore justam.

[21] Thom. Ebendorffer de Haselbach D. theol. at the University of Vienna († 1460) Chron. Austriacum in Pezii Scriptt. rerum austr. ii. p. 846: Ibi quoque sumta occasione Waldenses, qui usque latuerunt, suas cervices erexerunt, primum latenter suos inducentes errores, postea vero armata manu defensare et alios ad eosdem nisi sunt compellere.

[22] After the passage quoted in note 17, the Calixtine Brzezyna thus proceeds, p. 190: Cum haec talia, ut praemittitur, agerentur, et plurimi

as it was with perils from without, was still exposed in a manner

tam nobilium quam vulgarium sexus utriusque, dimissis vanitatibus, legi Dei operam darent: Diabolus saluti generis humani inimicus per aliquos falsos fratres Presbyteros mundo legis Dei tritico varias errorum et haeresium superseminavit zizanias.—Nam cum eo tempore non esset Rex et Princeps in Israel, ad quem subditi haberent respectum, faciebat unusquisque quod sibi rectum videbatur. Et plurimi Taboritarum Presbyteri, magnam habentes populi confluentiam et adhaerentiam, dimissis ss. doctorum Ambrosii, Hieronymi, Augustini, Gregorii et caeterorum ab Ecclesia approbatorum sententiis, suis de propriis ingeniis elaboratis glossis antiquum et novum interpretati sunt Testamentum, multa falsa et erronea veris immiscentes, per quae facilius corda simplicium poterant ad eorum sententias inclinari. Fundamentum autem omnium malorum sequentium fuit erroneus Scripturarum intellectus. Dicebant namque eorum directores et doctores, quod non oportet doctorum, qui fuerunt puri homines, uti scholarum sententiis, cum Christus Deus et homo sufficienter in novo Testamento expressit omnia, quae cuilibet homini viventi sunt necessaria ad salutem, et quomodo vetus novum, et vice versa novum vetus exponit Testamentum. They publisht their doctrines in fourteen articles 1420: I. Nulla scripta aut dicta quorumcunque doctorum a fidelibus sunt tenenda,—nisi quae in canone Bibliae explicite continentur, quia omnes libri talium sunt astutiae Antichristi et abjiciendi, destruendi aut comburendi. II. Omnis homo in eo, quod studet in artibus liberalibus, aut gradus in eisdem accipit, est vanus et gentilis, et peccat contra Evangelium D. N. J. C. III. Nulla decreta ss. Patrum aut seniorum instituta, nullus aliquis ritus, aut traditio humanitus inventa sunt tenenda: sed omnia talia sunt abolenda et destruenda, velut Antichristi traditiones, cum Christus et ejus Apostoli ea fieri nullibi in novo Testamento expresserunt. IV. Ex praedictis concludebant sequentia, quod nullum chrisma, aut sacrum oleum, aut aqua baptismalis sunt consecranda vel sanctificanda. Similiter calix nullus, corporale, ornatus et de aliis rebus in Ecclesia fieri consuetis sunt exorcissanda, benedicenda aut sanctificanda. Similiter nullae horae canonicae sunt dicendae. Nec ritus Missae in ornatu et signis ac ordine dudum ab Ecclesia constituto, nec cantus ecclesiastici sunt tenendi, sed potius tanquam humanae traditiones et legis Dei impeditiva abjicienda et destruenda. V. Infantes non debent cum exorcismis et solitis in baptismate compatribus in aqua ad hoc benedicta et consecrata baptisari. Sed possunt in quacunque unda recenti, et ubi libuerit, baptisari. VI. Omnes libri missales aut cantuales, similiter et viatici et libri hymnorum, et omnis ornatus seu vestes missales, aut alia spiritualia pro peragendis divinis indumenta, monstrantiae et calices, aut cinguli argentei vel aurei, et omnis vestis polymita, et conspersa, aut quovis modo depicta: haec omnia sunt destruenda vel comburenda, magisque licet rusticis in dictis sacris vestibus incedere, et cappas et manicas ex eis facere, quam Presbyteris in eis peragere divina. VII. Confessiones auriculares non sunt curandae aut observandae, nec ad eas peccatores etiam criminales obligantur, sed soli Deo sufficit mente tenus confiteri. VIII. Jejunia quadragesimalia, quatuor temporum, in vigiliis, caeteraque humanitus aut con-

suetudine introducta non sunt a fidelibus observanda, sed pro velle sui beneplaciti unusquisque his diebus comedat, quicquid habet, aut quod sibi apparabit. IX. Dominico die excepto nulla alia festivitas est ex aliquo debito celebranda a fidelibus. X. Omnis Presbyter cum platta et in ornatu vel superpellicio divina peragens, aut Missam ritu consueto celebrans, est sicut illa meretrix, de qua scribitur in Apocalypsi, a fidelibus contemnenda. Sed Missa est ad instar Christi et Apostolorum cum barbis et sine platta in communi veste et sine altari, in quocunque loco contigerit, celebranda. Et sacramentum Eucharistiae alta voce propter adstantes est conficiendum, et ipsum non est elevandum, nec in crastinum est conservandum. XI. Sacerdotes evangelici domos eis ratione eleemosynae pro perpetuo a Laicis concessas aut deputatas non possunt licite inhabitare, nec possunt habere bona temporalia, jure civili ab eisdem subtracto penitus et ablato, nec a taliter habentibus accipienda sunt sacramenta, quamvis jus sic habendi eis esse illicitum notorie recognoscant. XII. Post mórtem corporalem animarum fideliuin non est credendus locus purgationis aut tenendus, stultumque et inane est pro fidelibus defunctis exorare, aut alia pietatis opera exercere. XIII. Invocationes aut postulationes nostrae, tam mentales, quam vocales, ad sanctos, qui sunt in caelesti patria, pro aliquibus suffragiis sapiunt haeresin aut idololatriam. XIV. Nulla imago nec aliqua similitudo eorum, quae sunt in coelo et terra, sub poena idololatriae est habenda, sed quaelibet talis est tanquam idolum destruenda et comburenda. Quia scriptum est Exodi xx: non facies tibi sculptile, nec omnem similitudinem. In the larger explanations Brzezyna adds, that they supported their rejection of all usages not contained in the Bible upon Apoc. xxii. 18: *si quis apposuerit ad haec, apponet Deus super illum plagas scriptas in libro isto:* and upon the words of Christ against the Scribes and Pharisees Matth. xv. 6: *irritum fecistis mandatum Dei propter traditiones vestras.* After the men of Prague had publisht their four articles (see note 19), the Taboritarum et omnis advenarum communitas on the 5th Aug. 1421, sent them twelve articles as the groundwork of a more extended union with the men of Prague, Brzezyna p. 185: II. quod articuli, ad quos Capitanei, consules et communitas consenserunt (those given above), quia jam dudum sunt per praedicatores proclamati, teneantur et observentur sub poenis promulgatis. III. quod manifesti peccatores — non tolerentur absque poena. IV. quod potationes tabernales—non fiant. V. quod vestes superbas non portent. VI. quod in artificiis et foro provideatur, ne fiant illusiones, spolia, usurae, juramenta, inutilitates et vanitates, doli etc. VII. quod jura paganica et teutonica, quae non concordant cum lege Dei, tollantur, et jure divino ut regatur, judicetur, et totum disponatur. VIII. quod sacerdotes ex parte servent se secundum ordinem divinum et imitationem propheticam et apostolicam. IX. ut magistri subjiciantur regulariter juri divino, sicut et alii fideles Christiani, et suas proscriptiones ut ad voluntatem Dei regulent et in praetorio reponant, ut examinentur juxta legem Dei. X. ut omnes census sacerdotum ad bonum commune convertant, et usurarios destruant. XI. ut adversarios veritatis Dei ex se ejiciant, et profugos et bannitos ne suscipiant. XII. ut Monasteria haeretica destruant et corrumpant, Ecclesias non necessarias, et altaria, imagines patenter et occulte

easily accounted for, to manifold apocalyptic superstitions.[23] On the other hand among the Taborites, or Pikards, as their enemies usually called them, few only at this time were won over to the doctrine that bread and wine in the Lord's supper were mere signs, and these were stigmatized by the rest with the heretical name of Pikards, and banisht from Tabor. Several of them also, wandering from place to place, fell into the error of the free spirit, and were called Adamites, but these were soon exterminated by Ziska

servatas, ornatus superbos, et calices aureos et argenteos, et omnem antichristianam plantationem idololatricam, et simoniacam pravitatem, quae ex Deo, patre coelesti, non est.

[23] Brzezyna p. 145 A.D. 1420: Item hisce temporibus sacerdotes quidam Taborienses novum Christi adventum praedicabant populo. In quo adventu omnes mali et veritatis aemuli perire debeant et exterminari, et boni duntaxat in quinque conservari civitatibus.—Harum haec sunt nomina Pilzna, quae per ipsos civitas solis est appellata, Zatecz, Luna, Slana et Laatowia.—Quorum sententiis frivolis, tanquam veridicis, multi simplicium zelum habentes secundum Apostolum, sed non secundum scientiam, acquiescentes, bona sua pro levi etiam pretio vendendo, ad ipsos de diversis regni Bohemiae et Marchionatus Moraviae districtibus cum uxoribus et pueris confluebant, et pecunias ad pedes ipsorum sacerdotum projiciebant. Their doctrines are given in detail p. 203 ss. Primo, quod in praesentis saeculi consummatione adveniet Christus occulte, sicut fur, novo adventu ad regnum suum reparandum pro quo oramus: *adveniat regnum tuum:* et in hoc adventu non erit tempus gratiae, sed ultionis et retributionis in igne et gladio. Ita quod omnes legis Christi adversarii debent perire septem plagis novissimis, ad quarum executionem sunt fideles provocandi.—Item in hoc tempore ultionis quilibet fidelis, etiam Presbyter, quantumcunque spiritualis, est maledictus, qui gladium suum corporalem prohibet a sanguine adversariorum legis Christi, sed debet manus suas lavare in eorum sanguine et sanctificare. Item isto tempore ultionis, quicunque audiverit praedicari vocem Christi, qua dixit: *tunc qui in Judaea sunt, fugiant ad montes;* et qui non exiverit de civitatibus—ad montes corporales, ubi modo Taborienses vel eorum fratres congregantur, ille peccat mortaliter contra praeceptum Christi, et in peccato suo peribit, quia nunc nemo salvari potest a plagis Domini, nisi veniant ad montana. Item hoc tempore ultionis omnes civitates—debent desolari, destrui et comburi, quia jam nec Dominus Deus nec aliquis in eas ingreditur. Item quod fratres Taborienses isto tempore ultionis sunt angeli missi ad educendum fideles de omnibus civitatibus—ad montes, sicut Loth de Sodomis.—Sunt exercitus a Deo per totum mundum missus ad tollendum omnia scandala de regno Christi, quod est Ecclesia militans, et ad ejiciendum malos de medio justorum, et ad faciendum vindictam,—et nationes adversariorum legis Christi et eorum civitates—evertendas.—Item in fine istius consummationis saeculi Christus descendens de coelo manifeste veniet,—ut regnum in hoc mundo assumat, et faciet grande

(1421.)[24] However their name was transferred by the hatred of their adversaries to the Taborites in general.

Immediately after the death of Wenceslaus, the Taborites began to burn down churches and monasteries, and to maltreat priests and monks.[25] Sigismund could entertain no hopes of winning them: but by certain concessions he might easily have induced the Calixtines to acknowledge him as king. But as he threatened all Hussites, by causing a crusade to be preacht at once by a Papal Legate against the heretical Bohemians;[26] they all united against him; not only did they defend themselves with

convivium et coenam agni, veluti nuptias sponsae suae Ecclesiae hic in montibus corporalibus.—Item in adventu Christi isto secundo ante diem judicii cessabunt Reges, Principes, ac omnes Ecclesiarum Praelati;—in hoc regno reparato nullum erit peccatum;—parient mulieres infantulos suos sine dolore et peccato originali (Isaiae xvi.);—parvuli in hoc regno nati—nunquam morientur, quia mors ultra non erit (Apoc. xxi.) —Et dicebant hoc fieri cito infra paucos annos, in quibus aliqui ex nobis remanentes vivi videbunt sanctos Dei resurgentes, et inter eos Mag. Johannem Hus, quia abbreviabit Dominus hoc tempus ultionis, accelerando consummationem saeculi propter suos electos. Item isti electi, qui sic vivi relinquentur, ad statum innocentiae ipsius Adae in Paradiso, et ut Enoch et Elias, reducentur. Et erunt absque omni fame et siti, et omni alia poena tam spirituali, quam corporali. Qui etiam sancto connubio et immaculato thoro generabunt carnaliter hic in terris et in montibus filios et nepotes absque omni dolore et perturbatione, et absque omni peccato originali, nec tunc opus erit baptismate fluminis, quia in Spiritu Sancto baptizabuntur, nec ibi erit sanctae Eucharistiae sacramentum, quia novo modo angelico pascentur, non in memoriam passionis Christi, sed ejus justitiae. Brzezyna then points out in detail the passages of Scripture, on which they grounded these opinions, chiefly drawn from the Prophets and the Apocalypse.

[24] Jos. Dobrowsky, Gesch. der böhm. Pikarden und Adamiten, in den Abhandlungen der böhm. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften auf d. J. 1788. S. 300 ff. especially Brzezyna's account from M.S. there given S. 317. f. Aeneas Sylvius hist. Bohem. c. 41. feigns a founder of the Pikards, Pichardus quidam ex Gallia Belgica, transmisso Rheno, per Germaniam in Bohemiam penetravit, and assumes the name Pikards to be quite synonymous with Adamites. Brzezyna records the errors of the Adamites according to an account sent by Ziska to the men of Prague, ex MS. in Dobrowsky S. 325. ff.

[25] The work of destruction began at Prague the day after Wenceslaus' death, Brzezyna in Ludewig vi. p. 145 ss.

[26] The crusading Bull issued by Martin V. on 1. March 1420 is in Cochlaei hist. Hussit. lib. v. p. 183 and in Schelhorn's Ergötzlichkeiten aus der Kirchenhistorie Bd. 1. S. 607 ff. There were several others in the years 1428 and 1429, see in Brown Appendix ad fasciculum rerum expetendarum et fugiendarum p. 611 ss.

success against three armies of crusaders, but they even invaded the adjacent German territory.[27] On theseoccasions the Taborites distinguisht themselves by warlike courage, at first under Ziska's command,[28] after his death in 1424, divided into two bodies, one of which had the great Procopius for its leader, the other, under the name of the Orphans, elected a council of war, in which the younger Procopius occupied the first place.

After the unsuccessful issue of the third crusade (1431), the enemies of the Hussites acknowledged, that nothing could be effected against them by force; and the Council of Basle, persuaded by Julius Cesarini, the same legate who had accompanied the crusade, immediately undertook negotiations with the Hussites.[29] With the Hussite ambassadors indeed, who after some

[27] Compare especially Brzezyna l. c. Eberh. Windeck's (councillor to the Emperor Sigismund) Leben K. Sigismunds cap. 72. in Mencken Scriptt. Rer. Germ. i. p. 1127 ss. Aeneae Sylvii hist. Bohem. c. 42 ss. Cochlaei hist. Hussit. lib. v. p. 178 ss. Theobald's Hussitenkrieg Th. i. cap. 33 ff. S. 148 ff.—Histoire de la guerre des Hussites et du concile de Basle par Jaq. Lenfant. T. ii. Amst. 1731. 4. Supplément a l'hist. de la guerre des Hussites de Mr. Lenfant par Isaac de Beausobre. Lausanne 1735. 4. Jac. Lenfant's Gesch. des Hussitenkriegs, mit wichtigen das Original berichtigenden Noten von M. Ch. Hirsch. Presburg 1783. 4 Theile 8. Geschichte des Hussitenkriegs, Zittau u. Leipzig 1795. 8.

[28] Merkwürdige Lebensgeschichte des Johann v. Trocznow oder sogenannten Zizka, Heerführer der Böhmen, Prag 1792. 8. Zizka's militärische Briefe u Verordnungen, von K. Ungar, in d. Neueren Abhandlungen d. k. böhmischen Gesellsch. d. Wissenschaften. Bd. 1. (Wien u. Prag 1791. 4.) S. 371 ff. Diplomatisch-historische Aufsätze über Joh. Zizka v. Trocnow von Max. Millauer. Prag 1824. (this also forms a part of the Abhandl. d. königl. böhm. Gesellsch. d. Wissensch. Neuer Folge Bd. i. Prag 1827. 8.).

[29] Before this time the Hussites had been proscribed by this Council, but after a previous invitation to submit themselves to it; see the account of the negotiation of Sigismund with the Hussites at Presburg in 1429 in J. G. Schelhorn's Beiträgen zur Erläuterung der Geschichte, bes. der schwäb. Gelehrten- u. Kirchen-Geschichte, Stück 3. (Memmingen 1774. 8.) S. 77. The Hussites now sought to prove the justice of their cause by publisht letters to nobles and nations, see one letter of the year 1430 in Brownii Appendix ad fascic. rerum expetendarum et fugiendarum p. 632, another of July 1431 in Mansi xxix. p. 641, and translated into German in Theobald's Hussitenkrieg cap. 73. S. 272 ff. in which last they complain especially of this requisition of the Council. The letter of invitation from the Council to the Bohemians dd. 15. Oct. 1431 (in Raynald h. a. no 24. entire in Mansi xxix. p. 233 ss.) engages on the other hand: Hic quidquid per-

delays appeared at Basle in Jan. 1433, an unsuccessful disputation was held at the Council.[30] However, an embassage from the Council which was sent after them, concluded a compact with the Calixtines at Prague on the 30th Nov. 1433, by which the four articles of Prague, though subject to certain very important limitations, were conceded to them.[31] The Taborites, who were

tinet ad fidei veritatem,—omni cum diligentia et libertate tractabitur. Licebit libere omnibus exponere etc. A second letter of invitation of March 1432 (Mansi xxix. p. 415 and xxx. p. 99), guarantees the Bohemian envoys a safe conduct, and indeed in terms humiliating enough to the Council, promptis et non fictis dabimus animis. At the same time the Council drew up a Salvusconductus (Mansi xxix. p. 417), but sent envoys to Agra, to treat there with the Bohemians (Theobald Th. 1. cap. 79), and afterwards at their request gave another Salvusconductus (in Mansi xxix. p. 27), in which not only is every security granted to the Bohemians, but also: in loco vel in locis hospitiorum suorum divina officia sine impedimento nostrorum peragere permittimus. Moreover: in generali Concilio—articulos quatuor (see note 19)—oretenus aut in scriptis libere poterunt offerre, aut propalare, Scripturis sacris, beatorumque doctorum verbis, sententiis et rationibus eos declarare, adstruere, persuadere, et, si opus fuerit, etiam ad objecta Concilii generalis respondere, aut cum aliquo vel aliquibus de Concilio super eisdem disputare, aut caritative—conferre, opprobrio, convicio aut contumelia procul motis.

[30] The speeches of the Bohemian divines, amongst whom John Rokyczana was the most eminent, may be seen in Martene ampliss. coll. viii. p. 262 ss., and in Mansi xxx. p. 269 ss. The replies of the Catholic divines may be seen in H. Canisii lectt. ant. ed. Basnage iv. p. 467 ss. and Mansi xxix. p. 699 ss.

[31] The minutes of the previous negotiations are in Martene ampl. coll. viii. p. 596 ss., and quoted thence in Mansi xxx. p. 590. 634. 668. The compact itself which was concluded between the Legates of the Council, and the plenipotentiary of the generalis Congregatio Regni Bohemiae et Marchionatus Moraviae, is in Cochlaei hist. Hussitarum lib. vii. p. 271, and in Leibnitii Mantissa cod. jur. gent. ii. p. 138. In this peace and unity and abolition of Church censures were first provided for, then it was establisht, quod nemo deinceps dictum Regnum et Marchionatum propter praeterita infamare praesumat. Then with regard to the four articles (see note 19). The first article of the Bohemians here runs: *quod communio divinissimae Eucharistiae utilis et salubris sub utraque specie, scil. panis et vini, universis Christifidelibus in Regno Bohemiae, et Marchionatu Moraviae, et locis eis in hac parte adhaerentium constitutis per sacerdotes libere ministretur.* This article was conceded by the Legates, with the restriction: Articulus ille in sacro Concilio discutietur, quoad materiam de praecepto ad plenum, et videbitur, quid circa illum articulum pro veritate catholica sit tenendum, et agendum pro utilitate et salute populi Christiani. At any rate

in the highest degree dissatisfied with this arrangement, were entirely defeated by the Calixtines at Böhmischbrod on the 30th May 1434,[32] and so weakened that they were compelled to keep

the priests in Bohemia and Moravia were to admit to communion in both kinds eas personas, quae in annis discretionis constitutae reverenter et devote postulaverint.—Hoc semper observato, quod sacerdotes sic communicantibus semper dicant, quod ipsi debeant firmiter credere, quod—sub qualibet specie est integer et totus Christus. Ac Legati sacri Concilii—mandabunt universis et singulis,—ut dictis Bohemis et Moravis, utentibus dicta communione sub duplici specie, nemo audeat improperare, aut eorum famae aut honori detrahere. Et hoc idem faciet sacrum Concilium. The second article of the Bohemians runs: *Omnia peccata mortalia, et praesertim publica, per eos quorum interest rationabiliter et secundum legem Dei cohibeantur, corrigantur et eliminentur.* The words per eos quorum interest were too general for the legates, and so they gave the article this shape: Omnia peccata mortalia, praesertim publica, quantum rationabiliter fieri potest, secundum legem Dei et sanctorum Patrum instituta, sunt cohibenda, corripienda et eliminanda. Potestas autem puniendi criminosos non ad privatas personas, sed ad eos tantummodo pertinet, qui jurisdictionem habent in eos fori, distinctione juris et justitiae ordine observatis. In the third article of the Bohemians: *Quod verbum Dei a sacerdotibus Domini et Levitis idoneis libere ac fideliter praedicetur*, the word libere gave offence, and so it was altered to this effect: Quod verbum Dei a sacerdotibus Domini et Levitis ad hoc idoneis, et per superiores (ad quos pertinet) approbatis et missis, libere, non tamen passim, sed ordinate et fideliter praedicetur, salva auctoritate Pontificis, qui est praeordinator in cunctis, juxta sanctorum Patrum instituta. The fourth article of the Bohemians: *Non licet Clero tempore legis gratiae super bonis temporalibus saeculariter dominari*, was conceded with the limitations, 1. quod Clerici non religiosi licite possunt habere et possidere quaecunque bona temporalia, and 2, quod Ecclesia potest licite habere et possidere bona temporalia,—et in eis habere privatum et civile dominium, in which a condition is implied, quod ecclesiastici viri bona Ecclesiae debent fideliter administrare, ipsaque bona Ecclesiae ab aliis non debent detineri vel occupari. The Congregatio generalis, as well as private individuals, were to have power to make proposals in the Council, for the abolition of any abuses which arose in reference to the last three articles. The *Intentio sacri Concilii super IV. articulis, quam ipsi Bohemi anno Dom.* 1433 *d.* 7. *Dec. observare manuum stipulatione promiserunt* in Mansi xxx. p. 692, is a ratification of these Compactata on the side of the council, which for the most part repeats these determinations word for word, and only in the article on the Lord's supper contains a lengthened defence of the communion sub una specie.

[32] There are letters containing cotemporary accounts of this victory in Mansi xxix. p. 638 ss. p. 647 s. comp. Aeneas Sylvius hist. Bohem. c. 51. Theobald Th. 1. cap. 82 S. 307.

themselves quiet. The Calixtines, who were now predominant, after the compact had been solemnly ratified at Iglau, acknowledged Sigismund as their king, on the guarantee of certain conditions (1436).[33]

[33] The Bohemians were fully aware that the Compactata required still further guarantees; accordingly, at a meeting in Brunn 1435, they demanded of the Emperor (see Responsio Concilii Bas. facta Ambasiatoribus Imp. in Mansi xxix. p. 413), quod sua Serenitas personaliter cum eis in perceptione communionis sub utraque specie conveniret, ac Cappellanos haberet, qui sic populo ministrarent; et quod nullus esset in consilio ejusdem et negotiis dicti regni, qui sic non communicaret; et quod religiosi monachi et moniales sine consensu Archiepiscopi et Domini communis loci non admittantur; et quod ipsi habeant sibi eligere Archiepiscopum; requisitions with which the Council was naturally much dissatisfied. However Sigismund promised the Bohemians in a patent dd. Albae Regali 6. Jan. 1436 (in Leibnitii Mantissa ii. p. 141): 1. Beneficia non conferantur per extraneos in Regno Bohemiae ac Marchionatu. 2. Personae etiam saeculares et spirituales extra Regnum vel Marchionatum nec citabuntur, nec judicabuntur. 3. Communicantes sub una speciè in saepe tactis Regno et Marchionatu, ne confusa sequatur permixtio, contra proprias illorum voluntates et libertates non sustinebunt, sed duntaxat in locis, in quibus communio duplicis speciei temporibus retroactis non servabatur, sustinebuntur. 4. Et ut materia occasioque litium auferatur, loca omnia et singula Ecclesiarum—signabuntur, in quibus—communio duplicis speciei in praxi servabatur, ut in futurum perpetuo in eisdem servaretur. 5. Sed et hoc volumus ut per Dominos Bohemos,—Pragam et civitates alias una cum Clero, Archiepiscopus Pragensis una cum aliis Episcopis titularibus eligantur, qui alias dicuntur Suffraganei. Qui quidem electi per nostram dispositionem debitam—confirmabuntur, et in Episcopos consecrabuntur absque quavis pro confirmatione, Pallii exhibitione, aut etiam Notariis persolutione. 6. Scholares Dioecesis Pragensis utrique, tam sub una quam sub utraque communicantes specie, habilitate et idoneitate ipsorum praesupposita, ad sacros ordines promoveantur et ordinentur. He promises to observe this engagement in verbo Caesareo, and at the same time to use all means with the Pope and Council, ut praefati articuli suum effectum realiter sortiantur. Aeneas Sylvius hist. Bohem. c. 52, speaks of still further concessions made by the Emperor: Caeterum inter Bohemos et Imperatorem aliae pactiones (besides the Compactata of Prague) intervenere, quibus Ecclesiarum praedia occupatoribus jure pignorum relicta sunt, donec certa pecunia reluerentur. Religiosis utriusque sexus, quibus adempta Monasteria essent, exulibus quoque spes reditus interdicta; Rokyzanae Pragensis Ecclesiae praesulatus promissus, de disponendo Ecclesiarum Bohemicarum regimine summa Pontifici facultas ablata. An anonymous cotemporary writer in Cochlaeus lib. viii. p. 300 also mentions the concession here spoken of with regard to the spoliation of Church property, from which also it appears, that the Emperor had written other letters

§ 152.

HISTORY OF THE HUSSITES DOWN TO THE END OF THIS PERIOD.

The two conflicting parties had concluded this compact in the hope of thus preparing the way for the sole supremacy of their own doctrine and usages: accordingly no real peace could be establisht thereby. Whilst the Calixtines were vainly endeavouring at the Council to carry through fresh demands,[1]

about these concessions. The Council and its legates took no notice of them. The legates, at the request of the Bohemians added several deeds of explanation to the Compactata, in order to remove all ambiguity from them, see Leibnitii Mantissa ii. p. 146, 148, and at length dd. Iglaviae d. 5. Jul. 1436 an Executoria super Compactatis (Cochlaeus p. 289. Leibnit. ii. p. 150). At the same time and place the Bohemian envoys accepted the Compactata, and solemnly gave in their obedience to the Council, see the triumphant account of the legate to the Council on the same day in Mansi xxix. p. 612. Sigismund went to Prague in August. With reference to the concession of the cup to the laity the Council of Basle, Sess. xxx. d. x. Cal. Jan. 1437 composed a decree (in Mansi xxix. p. 158) to the effect, quod fideles Laici sive Clerici communicantes, et non conficientes, non adstringuntur ex praecepto Domini ad suscipiendum sub utraque specie—sacrum Eucharistiae Sacramentum. Sed Ecclesia—ordinare habet, quomodo ipsis non conficientibus ministretur, prout pro reverentia ipsius Sacramenti et salute fidelium viderit expedire.—Laudabilis quoque consuetudo communicandi laicum populum sub una specie—pro lege habenda est, nec licitum est eam reprobare, aut sine auctoritate Ecclesiae ipsam immutare.

[1] Cochlaei hist. Hussitarum lib. viii. p. 310. The Bohemian envoys desired I. quatenus pro tollendis litibus, jurgiis et dissensionibus in populo nostro ex diversitate communionis indubitanter—sequentibus—dignemini—Regno nostro—dare—uniformem—sub utraque specie sacrae Eucharistiae communionem. In support of this they appealed to the passage at the end of the Compactata: et omnia alia fient, quae pro observatione dictae pacis et unitatis necessaria fuerint et opportuna. II. quatenus—providere dignaretur sacrum Concilium Bohemis de bono et legitimo pastore Archiepiscopo et aliis Episcopis. The Council pronounced this demand equitable, but distinctly refused the proposal that Rokyczana should be made Archbishop: de quo non est rationabile, ut ad illam dignitatem promoveatur, cum ad impediendum, perturbandum et disrumpendum pacem et unitatem post firmata Compactata fuerit multipliciter machinatus etc. Likewise the III. demand of liber-

Sigismund forgot his concessions, restored the ancient Church institutions as far as possible, and obliged the chief of the Calixtines, John Rokyczana, whom he had already confirmed as Archbishop of Prague,[2] to take measures for his own safety.[3]

tas communicandi parvulos sacra Eucharistia, was refused, and also IV. the prayer of the Bohemians, permitti suis, ad minus Evangelia, Epistolas et Symbolum in vulgari lingua in Missis et Ecclesiis coram populo ad excitandam devotionem libertari, legi et decantari, because this was contra Compactata, and against the promise of the Bohemians, se conformare ritibus Ecclesiae. V. on the other hand the petition for a reformatio et suae Universitatis Pragensis et totius Ecclesiae in capite et in membris was answered with promises of support.

[2] The deed of confirmation dd. Iglau 23. Jul. 1436 is in Theobald Th. 1. cap. 85. S. 319. J. D. Koeler de Joanne Rokyczana, famoso Calixtinorum in Bohemia Pontifice diss. Altorfii 1718. 4.

[3] Aeneae Sylv. hist. Bohem. c. 52.: Philibertus Episcopus Constantiensis, natione Gallicus, et collegae sui ex Basilea missi ecclesiasticos introducere ritus, sacerdotes instituere, ex Missarum solemnibus vulgaria verba, cantilenasque detrahere, sanctorum imagines reducere, aquam benedictam in aedibus sacris reponere, baptismatis fontes sacrare, altaria ornare, spurcitias omnes abolere. Paruere complurimi, quibus mens sanior fuit. Rochezanae complices resistere, obloqui, blasphemare, plebem modis omnibus avertere. Ipse quoque inventor malorum ex parochia s. Mariae ante Lactam Curiam, quam propria temeritate invaserat, amoveri minime potuit: neque laniare sermonibus suis inter praedicandum Romanam Ecclesiam praetermisit, legatisque saepe necem per insidias machinatus est. Sigismundus autem quum Ecclesias pollutas intrare nollet, templum s. Jacobi, quod Fratrum Minorum fuerat, et in quo machinae bellicae tum servabantur, restitui sibi poposcit: annuit civitas, et aliqui monachi introducti sunt, qui verbum Dei praedicarent.—Redierunt et alii, Mendicantes, tum Coelestini, Slavi, servi s. Mariae, Teutones, Hierosolymitani, et nonnullorum Monasteriorum Abbates.—Restituti sunt et cathedralis Ecclesiae Canonici, ac Vicarii et Mansionarii, ornamenta altaribus reddita, divinum officium instauratum.—Cumque nulli essent Ecclesiae reditus,—jussit Imperator, ex fisco regio per singula Canonicorum capita hebdomatim aureum nummum distribui, minoribus Clericis dimidium dari.—In alia quoque templa donaria collata. Nova jam facies urbis, novus populus, verus rediisse religionis cultus apparebat. Quibus ex rebus liquet, Imperatorem, quae foedera cum haereticis percussit, necessitate magis admisisse, quam voluntate; voluisse illum paternam haereditatem quoquo modo intrare, sensimque regni possessione accepta more majorum, subter veram Christi religionem provinciam reducere.—Rochezanam hortari Romanae Ecclesiae se subjiceret; sic posse pontificatum sibi committi; superbienti, et aliena de fide sapienti ascensum desperandum esse, qui vel consecratus Episcopus ejici deberet. Ille mente superba, et opinione sua inflatus, dietim pejor, dietim venenosior effici, Monachorum reditum aegerrime ferre, quorum sermones non minus

Thus upon Sigismund's death (Dec. 1437) the parties were again in a violent ferment. The Emperor Albert was elected by the Catholics, and resisted by the Calixtines. After his death, in October 1439, they agreed at length to allow the kingdom to be ruled by two Governors, one Catholic and one Calixtine, until his son Ladislaus was of age (1441). After George Podiebrad had become in 1444 the Calixtine, and in 1450 the sole Governor, the Calixtines obtained a decided ascendancy. Nevertheless their efforts to restore the peace of the Church remained without success, since they strove to extend the Compactata, which on the Catholic side were no longer held valid.[4] The

quam suos acceptum iri verebatur. Ob quam rem occurrente inter praedicandum sermone de monachis, *venerunt*, inquit, *novi dietim ad nos Daemones, quos monachos vocant. His studium est ejicere nos de veritate: at si viri fuerimus, prius sanguinem effuderimus.* Id Sigismundus ubi accepit, *imo nos*, inquit, *Rochezanae sanguinem non inviti ante aras libabimus.* Non latuit Rochezanam Sigismundi sermo: qui ex amicis commonitus clam aufugit.

[4] The men of Prague drew up new articles on the 11th June 1441 (Cochlaeus lib. ix. p. 335): I. ut Compactata cum Ecclesia sancta ab omnibus efficaciter teneantur; III. ut nullus audeat praedicare, quod tantum sumitur sub una specie, quantum sub utraque, cum hoc sit contra communicantes sub utraque specie; IV. ut nullus audeat porrigere sub una specie publice vel occulte. Thereupon a great Synod was assembled at Kuttenberg on the 4th Oct. 1441. Odedience was promised to Rokyczana as Archbishop designate, and a confession drawn up in 22 articles, see Theobald Th. 2. cap. 11. S. 86. In these, seven sacraments and the doctrine of transubstantiation were recognized: On the other hand Art. xvi. runs; that the Lord's Supper should not be received in one kind, and that it is not contrary to the Christian faith, at the desire of the parents to administer it to little children also: And Art. xxi.: Because Priests are men, marriage is not forbidden them in the Divine Scripture, but according to the teaching of St Paul they may marry: Still it were better if they lived according to St Paul's wish in entire chastity. In the year 1444 the Cardinal-legate Carvajal was at Prague, with whom Rokyczana had a vehement dispute with regard to the Lord's Supper. (Theobald Th. 2. cap. 15. S. 142). Meanwhile the Bohemians exerted themselves with Eugene IV. and Nicholas V., to obtain the confirmation of Rokyczana as Archbishop, and even sent an embassy to Rome for this purpose in 1447 (Theobald cap. 16. S. 150), and in 1448 Carvajal made his appearance again in Prague (Theobald cap. 17. S. 156). The Bohemians desired of him in a letter, in which they recounted the history of their previous negotiations, (in Cochlaeus lib. x. p. 349 ss.), ut quae pro honore et utilitate hujus regni inclyti et nostris juxta Compactatorum tenorem facienda sunt, finem debitum effectualiter sortiantur; Magistrum quoque Joannem de Rokyczana—dignetur Paternitas

Calixtines had already in view an union with the Greek Church,[5] but the fall of Constantinople brought the negotiations to a close. After the short reign of the young and zealous Catholic Ladislaus (1453-1457),[6] George of Podiebrad was elected King. In order to preserve peace without and quiet within, he had him-

vestra Rev. in Archiepiscopum Pragensem ad nostrum et totius regni singulare solatium consecrare. Carvajal answered this petition evasively, and demanded in turn restitution of the Church property which had been despoiled (l. c. 353). In the year 1451, Aeneas Sylvius was in Bohemia as ambassador for the Emperor, and had a conversation with George Podiebrad, which he records Epist. ad Jo. de Carjaval Card. (Aeneae Sylv. epist. 130.). George complained that the Compactates were not observed on the Catholic side: si qui ex nostris apud vos moriuntur, cum asinis sepulturam accipiunt. Aeneas answered: Cur violari foedus conquerimini, quod priores rupistis? Neque enim sufficit vobis sub duplici specie communicare, nisi et sub una sola communicantes damnetis.—Vobis indulta est sub utraque specie communicatio, jussi tamen sacerdotes vestri sunt,—commonere—omnes,—sub qualibet totum—esse Christum: nihil faciunt. Prohibiti sunt infantibus atque dementibus eucharistiam porrigere: porrigunt tamen. Neminem communicare sub duplici specie debent [*compellere*]: compellunt, sepulturam negantes, ni communicent.—Debent universalis Ecclesiae ritum tenere: postponunt, divinis officiis vulgaris carminis commiscentes.—Cum ergo abutamini privilegio,—praevaricantes mandata Concilii, haud jure Legatum (the Cardinal Carvajal) accusatis, compactata firmare nolentem: quia privilegium amisistis male utentes. Aeneas specifies three points of dispute: Mihi tribus ex rebus concordia pendere videtur, ex Compactatis, ex bonis ecclesiasticis quae occupantur, ex Archiepiscopi constitutione, quae nec parva sunt, nec leviter componenda. Nam Compactata, postquam violata sunt, rursus innovare magnum est: qui bona Ecclesiarum occupant, invite restituent: in Archiepiscopo vos ipsi vim facitis, qui Rochezanam petitis neque alium vultis, quem, nisi me fallat opinio, nunquam sedes Apostolica ad id fastigii promovebit. Soon afterwards, still in the year 1451, the celebrated Franciscan, Jo. de Capistrano, was commissioned by Nicholas V. to preach against the Bohemians, and furnisht with full power (Cochlaeus l. x. p. 368), omnes personas, quae sub utraque specie communicarunt, ac alias erroribus, haeresi et superstitione involuti a ritu et unitate s. Rom. Ecclesiae recesserunt, if they were converted, to absolve and reconstitute them, etc.

[5] See the friendly letter from the Church of Constantinople to the Bohemians in the year 1451 drawn forth by these attempts under D. Chytraei oratio de statu Ecclesiarum in Graecia, Asia, Bohemia etc. Francof. 1583. 8. in Flacii Cat. test. verit. ed. Francof. 1666. p. 728. and in Freheri Scriptt. Bohem. p. 235.

[6] Who indeed before receiving homage had to repeat all the promises made by Sigismund (§ 151. note 33) (Theobald Th. 2. cap. 20. S. 190), but still he did not conceal his aversion to the Utraquists (Theobald S. 193 ff. Cochlaeus lib. xi. p. 391 ss.)

self crowned by Catholic Bishops, and promised obedience to the Church and Pope.[7] However a strict observance of the Compactata, such as George intended when he took this oath, in the violent party-strife was not possible. The Calixtines were held by the Catholics to be heretics, whom the king had sworn in this oath to exterminate. The Calixtines, on the other hand, never gave up their wish to drive the opposite party from Bohemia.[8]

[7] Cochlaeus lib. xi. p. 411. Theobald Th. 3. cap. 5. S. 25. The coronation oath in Latin is in Steph. Kaprinai Hungaria diplomatica temp. Matthiae Regis P. ii. (Vindobon. 1771. 4.) p. 163, and in cotemporary German translations Ibid. p. 529 and in Eschenloer's Gesch. d. Stadt Breslau. Bd. 1. S. 59: Ego—promitto,—atque juro,—quod abhinc, et in antea, et deinceps fidelis et obediens ero sacrosanctae Romanae et Catholicae Ecclesiae, ac sanctissimo Domino nostro—Calisto—P. III., ejusque successoribus canonice intrantibus, et iis obedientiam et conformitatem more aliorum catholicorum—Regum in unitate orthodoxae fidei, quam ipsa s. Romana—Ecclesia—tenet, fideliter observabo, ipsamque catholicam—fidem protegere—volo toto posse, populumque mihi subjectum secundum prudentiam a Deo datam ab omnibus erroribus, sectis et haeresibus, et ab aliis articulis s. Romanae Ecclesiae et fidei catholicae contrariis revocare, et ad verae—fidei observationem, ac obedientiam, conformitatem, et unionem *ac ritum* cultumque s. Romanae Ecclesiae reducere et restituere volo. The words *ac ritum* are not exprest in the German translations, and so may well be an interpolation of later times.

[8] Breslau was most stubborn in opposition to the new king: these transactions are described at length by Peter Eschenloer, recorder of the city of Breslau at the time, in his Gesch. der Stadt Breslau v. 1440—1479 herausgeg. von Kunisch. 2 Bde. Breslau 1827 and 28. 8. In a somewhat passionate letter which the men of Breslau transmitted in 1459 to the papal legate who was striving for a reconciliation, is the following passage, Eschenloer, Bd. 1. S. 131: "Seine Heiligkeit sehe wohl zu, dass sie nit betrogen werde, als one allen Zweifel geschehn wird, durch des Königs Gelübd und Aide. Seine Heiligk. hat ufgenomen seine Aide, dass er die Ketzerei wolde lassen und tilgen: wie aber dagegen er hat geschworen seinen Sectern, dass er sie wolle beschirmen, ire Secte halten und meren, musz er nit einem Teile meineidig werden?—Wenn der schnöde Erzketzer Rokyczan also frei itzunder ist, und grössere Macht hat, denn je vormals. Er bezwinget itzo das Volk zu beider Gestalt sich zu berichten, die das nit tun wollen, werden gepeiniget, gefangen u. s. w. S. 132: Und die sich unter einer Gestalt lassen berichten, sind von inen als Ketzer verworfen und verschmehet, und so dieselben sterben, werden sie begraben, da man die Uebeltäter pfleget zu richten, und uf dem Felde." The Legates answer is extraordinarily mild, S. 139: "diser König hat nicht geschworen, die Ketzerei zu furdern, sondern mit einfältigen Worten hat er gesprochen, dass er sie in irer Gewonheit wolle lassen; und das ist nicht alleine nicht Sünde, sondern auch weislich getan.—Ir wisset wol, ob in

Pius II. at first held in check by other views,[9] in 1462 declared the Compactates invalid:[10] George strove in vain, by means of a

Behem vil Ketzer sein, ob sie mechtig sein, ob sie durch Fride und one Blutvergiessen zu vertreiben sein. Und so ir die Warheit sagen wolt, ir werdet in euer Weisheit selber raten, dass man sie nicht mit Ernst, sondern mit Sanftmütikeit nicht sol überhaupt, sondern langsam mälig in bequemer Weise bekeren. Und ob der König in solcher Geduld und Enthaltung etliche aus inen libet, nicht durch Ketzerei willen, sondern dass er sein Freund oder Diner ist, ob er darum sei ein Ketzer zu heissen oder Libhaber der Ketzer? Diss sol von euch ferne sein, wan mit offenbaren Sündern asse und trunke Jesus, nicht dass er die Sünder libete, sondern die Personen und die Selen. S. 142: Auch dass in Behem vil Ketzer sind, darumbe sollet ir euch von inen nicht teilen, sondern sie leiden und dulden, als da saget S. Augustinus, sprechende: Du guter Mensch leide der Bösen, weil Christus Judam duldet, etc." One may see how a crafty Roman, according to circumstances, could profess Christian principles towards heretics.

[9] Pius II. wisht for George's assistance in the Turkish war, and accordingly even invited him to the convention at Mantua, Cochlaeus lib. xii. p. 416.

[10] See Relatio hist. Anonymi synchroni complectens res aliquas Hungaricas, potissimum vero Bohemicas ab anno 1458 ad ann. 1469, in Steph. Kaprinai Hungaria diplomatica temporibus Matthiae Regis. P. ii. (Vindob. 1771. 4.) p. 577 ss. In 1462 George sent ambassadors to Rome, to promise obedience to the Pope in form, and to receive his ratification of the Compactates. But Pius II. answered them as follows (l. c. p. 580 ss.): Quae vos Compactata vocatis, Oratores insignes, Apostolica Sedes neque novit unquam neque accepit.—Non consuevit haec sancta Sedes—in his, quae articulos fidei concernunt, pacta facere; sed catholicam fidem—omnibus libere praedicare.—De his, quae vos Compactata vocatis, nullae Basileenses (esto, quod Basileae aliquando, et tunc praesertim, generale Concilium fuisset) litterae unquam apparuerunt, sed nec hodie apparent: soli Compactatorum amatores copiam quandam, seu ut ipsi dicunt transsumtum quoddam cujusdam, qui se Constantiensem Episcopum nominat, ostendere possunt, quod quantam in tam gravi re fidem faciat, quantum illi credendum sit, etiam nobis tacentibus quilibet intelligit. But even had he been willing to allow the validity of the Compactates, they had not been observed by the Bohemians themselves. Animadvertite, communionem sub utraque specie his Bohemis demum concedi, qui in aliis omnibus sese Romanae Ecclesiae conformaverint.—At—notum est, Bohemos hactenus in nullo Sedem Apostolicam recognovisse, quinimo ab illius obedientia semper declinasse, illius mandata sprevisse, novos ritus, novas haereses introduxisse.—Sed et illud notorium est, neque vos negabitis, imo in hoc sacro Consistorio publice asseruistis, in Bohemia ab omnibus, qui Compactata colunt, hoc palam praedicari, communionem sub utraque specie de necessitate salutis esse, qua de re vos ea tanquam talia a nobis et Apostolica Sede confirmari petistis: cum tamen in Compactatis dicatur, articulum de necessitate salutis in Concilio discutiendum esse: qui et

protection of the Catholics strictly in accordance with the Compactata, to keep them upon his side.[11] Paul II. at length proceeded to excommunicate and dethrone him (Dec. 1465);[12] and then issued repeated summons for a crusade against him.[13] Nevertheless George's publisht defence[14] made more impression

ibidem discussus est, decretum quoque est, de necessitate salutis non esse sub duplici specie communicari (see § 151. note 33). The Bohemian priests did not teach according to the directions of the Compactates, sub qualibet specie totum Christum contineri, but on the contrary, communionem utriusque speciei de necessitate salutis esse. Then, it was determined in the Compactates Concilium concessurum communionem utriusque speciei, si Bohemi in desiderio sic communicandi perseveraverint, et hoc corum ambasiatores indicaverint Concilio: but this had not been done. Ruunt itaque ex omni parte Compactata vestra, quae neque vos servastis unquam, neque, etiamsi servata fuissent, communicandi sub utraque specie Bohemis licentiam praestant, praesertim his, pro quibus nunc illud petitis, qui tunc, tempore Compactatorum, aut nati non fuerunt, aut saltem talem usum communicandi minime habere potuerunt. cf. Pii II. commentarii a Jo. Gobelino compositi lib. vii. p. 188. The German translation of the Pope's answer in Eschenloer Bd. 1. S. 181, made from the copy which the Pope sent to Breslau is quite different in style. King George immediately called together his Parliament, and complained of the Pope's proceeding, (Cochlaeus lib. xii. p. 427): Miramur quod Papa facit. Fortassis iterum hoc regnum, quod vix per Compactata unitum est, et ad tranquillum statum pervenit, disjungere vult. In order to refute the charge that he had not kept his coronation oath, he had it read aloud: juravimus haereticam pravitatem velle abjicere, et omnes haereses de Regno nostro delere.—Sed quod Papa velit communionem et nostra Compactata haeresim facere, numquam fuit de intentione nostra.

[11] Even Cochlaeus lib. xii. p. 411 bears him witness: quod stirpi deerat, industria supplevit, qua sibi Rex tantam comparavit auctoritatem et gratiam, ut, si una defuisset labes Hussiticae sectae—inter optimos Reges haud immerito commemorari posset. Quis enim fuit eo vel in consiliis circumspectior, vel in armis expeditior, vel in judiciis aequior, vel in regia potestate moderatior? Quamvis enim Hussitarum sectae adhaereret, Catholicos tamen Imperio suo subjectos a sacris et ritibus Ecclesiae non arcuit, neque in sectam suam coëgit. Comp. p. 438 s.

[12] The Bull dd. 1465 vi. Idus Dec. which is wanting in Raynald, may be seen in German in Eschenloer Bd. 1. S. 296. That the first excommunication followed in the December of 1465, not 1466, see Mansi ad Rayn. 1466 no. 27, see also the King's Patent in Eschenloer Bd. i. S. 321.—There is a repetition of this sentence in the Bull of 23. Dec. 1466, in Eschenloer Bd. i. S. 350 dd. vii. Kal. Apr. 1467 (on Maundy Thursday) in Rayn. ad h. a. no. 1.

[13] Raynald ann. 1467 no. 8. 1468 no. 4. Theobald Th. 3. Cap. 16. S. 94.

[14] George's letter of grievances to all Kings and Princes on 28. July 1466, is in Eschenloer Bd. 1. S. 316. His appeal to a general council

than the Pope's censures; even the German universities declaimed against the proposed crusade,[15] and accordingly it made very insignificant progress. However, Matthias, King of Hungary, consented to receive the kingdom of Bohemia as a gift from the Pope, and took possession of Silesia, Moravia, and Lusatia. In Bohemia proper George maintained his right; and after his death (1471) the Polish prince Wladislaus was chosen to be his successor. Matthias, as well as the Pope, strove in vain to supplant him,[16] and in 1490 he even succeeded Matthias in Hun-

drawn up by Gregory of Heimburg (see § 133 note 29), dd. 14. Apr. 1467 is in Eschenloer Bd. 2. S. 12 ff. There also appeared in print a Christian apology against the Pope's unchristian conduct, in the Bohemian, German, and Latin languages. Theobald Th. 3. cap. 16. s. 93.

[15] Eschenloer Bd. 2. S. 16: "Da nun also dise Appellatio (see note 14) überall in dem Königreiche, und auch in vile deutsche Lande von Girsige (Georg) ausgesant ward, warde sie mehr verglimpfet, dan gestrafet. Es hatte die bäbstliche Arbeit kein Lob, keinen Dank, noch Annemikeit:—sondern alles, was Girsik anhube oder fursatzte, warde von aller Welt gelobet und billich gesaget." S. 17: "Die Fürsten von Meissen, von Brandenburg mit iren Bischofen, und besonders die Erzbischofe Germaniä bekommerten sich in dieser Sache, und lobeten nicht diss bäbstliche Fürnemen. In iren Landen und Stäten ward Fluchen und Schelten wider den Babst,—dass der Babst die Behmen, die gerne in Friden wolten sitzen,—aber zu Streit wolden erwecken, —da doch ire streitbarliche Hände vormals, da auch alle Christenheit wider sie gewest were, stetiglich hetten uberwundon, Land und Leute verderbet. Dise Herrschaften lissen darauf in den hohen Schulen zu Leipsig und Erfort durch die Lerer fragen, ob ziemlich were, wider die Behmen zu streiten, die doch gerne Fride hetten, ob man mit Ketzern möchte Fride haben, ob man sie solde morden, und zum Glauben bezwingen. Da was in diser Zeit ein sonderlicher grosser Lerer in dem Orden der Cartheuser zu Frankfurt a. d. Oder, von allen Leuten in der Lere und Heilikeit gross geachtet, diser schribe hierauf vil: auch in den genannten Schulen durch die Meister vil Handlungen darinnen warde gehalden und geschriben: und alles beschlisslich, dass die bäbstliche Heilikeit mit dem behmischen Volke, so als sie in Friden begerten zu sitzen, nicht so hartiglichen umbgehen solde, sondern sanftmütig und in väterlicher Meinunge und Unterweisunge, mit Tage legen, als Girsik begeret hette, mit Legaten senden." Then it was recited how these learned men had proved from Scripture, that no man should be compelled to accept the Christian faith, and that heretics who wisht for peace were not to be murdered but only avoided.

[16] Sixtus IV. pronounced the oath taken to Wladislaus invalid, and that Matthias was rightful King of Bohemia, Raynald. 1472 no. 32. In the year 1478 a treaty of peace was effected (see this in Eschenloer Bd. 2. S. 388 ff.), according to which Wladislaus retained Bohemia, but Matthias Moravia, Silesia, and Lusatia.

gary. Although Wladislaus was himself a Catholic, and at first in his weakness yielded to Catholic insinuations; nevertheless the Calixtines were still so powerful, that the Compactates remained in full force.[17] Wladislaus died in 1516.

Under Sigismund the Taborites, though weakened, enjoyed unbroken freedom.[18] Rokyczana made vain attempts to unite them with the Calixtines.[19] Aeneas Sylvius found them in 1451

[17] Beeinträchtigungen der Utraquisten seit 1480, Theobald Th. 3. cap. 25. S. 137. The Compactates were once more restored by the Kuttenberg treaty of 1485, Theobald Th. 3. cap. 27. S. 149.

[18] Cochlaeus lib. viii. p. 280: Quamvis exciso eorum exercitu—in armis non ita confiderent, ut prius, Taboritae: aliis tamen rationibus pertinaciam suam tueri quaerebant. Habebant sane oppidum Tabor in excelsa rupe munitissimum, habebant multas Communitates sibi adhaerentes, habebant sacerdotes argutos et in sacris literis exercitatos etc. Aeneae Sylv. hist. Bohem. c. 52.: Taboritae, qui superioribus cladibus superfuerant in oppido conservati, ea lege in gratiam recepti, ut quinquennio toto suis moribus viverent, religionis cultum mutare non cogerentur, jura civitatis haberent. Afterwards, indeed, Sigismund declared, quinquennium haud expectaturum se, correpturum propediem sceleratae civitatis insaniam: however death prevented him.

[19] There was a colloquy of the two parties at Kuttenberg 4. July 1443, in which Rokyczana, as chief of the Calixtines, and Nicholas Biscupecz, as chief of the Taborites, conferred with each other, Theobald Th. 2. cap. 14. S. 123. Here the Taborites gave in a confession in 15 articles, in which they insisted on the supreme authority of Holy Writ, on the use of it in the mother tongue. They pronounced the doctrine of justification by faith alone to be the most important, the recognition of which should be the condition of membership of the church; they acknowledged two sacraments, Baptism and the Lord's Supper, and rejected images and purgatory. Art. XII.: "Das Sacrament des Altars ist ein schlecht unverwandelt Brot, wie auch Wein, so ein Zeichen des Leibs und Bluts Christi, der im Himmel, ist, welches ihm der Glaube zueignet, ohne welchen Glauben keiner rem sacramenti, d. i. die geistliche und himlische Ding, den Leib und das Blut Christi, empfangen kann." Accordingly the sacrifice of the Mass and the adoration of the Host were rejected. In the colloquy there was a discussion upon Transubstantiation, and the communion of young children, both of which the Taborites denied. A second conference at Prague in 1444 remained as unsuccessful as the former (Theobald Th. 2 cap. 15. S. 131). Compare the letter of Nic. Biscupecz to one of the elders of the Taborite community at Muglitz in Moravia, Theobald ibid. The memorials of this controversy still extant are Jo. Rokyczanae tract. de VII. Sacramentis at the end of Cochlaei hist. Hussitarum p. 442. ss. and the Taborite's Jo. Lukawitz confessio Taboritarum contra Rokenzanam et Papistas Pragenses in Balth. Lydii Waldensia Roterod. 1616. 8. p. 1 ss.

still quite unchanged in their peculiarities:[20] but when George

[20] Aeneae Ep. Senensis epist. ad Jo. de. Carvajal Card. (Aeneae Sylv. epist. 130.): Ex illis aliqui nudi erant solis tecti camisiis, alii pelliceas tunicas induerant. Alii sella carebant, alii freno, alii calcaribus. Alteri crus occreatum fuit, alteri nudum: huic oculus defuit, illi manus.—Incedendi nullus ordo, loquendi nulla modestia, barbaro et rusticano ritu nos exceperunt. Obtulerunt tamen xenia, pisces, vinum, cerevisiam. Sic oppidum ingressi, locum vidimus. Quem nisi haereticorum arcem aut asylum vocem, nescio quo appellem nomine. Nam quaecunque deteguntur inter Christianos impietatis ac blasphemiarum monstra, huc confugiunt, tutamentumque habent, ubi tot sunt haereses quot capita, et libertas est quae velis credere. In the following picture of the doctrines and customs of the Taborites, the statements printed in Italics are false, (compare note 19): Romanam Ecclesiam nolunt habere primatum, aut proprii Clerum habere quicquam. Imagines Christi Sanctorumque delent. Ignem purgatorium inficiantur. Nihil Sanctorum preces jam cum Christo regnantium prodesse mortalibus asseverant. Festum diem praeter Dominicam et Pascalem non agunt, jejunia spernunt, horas canonicas abjiciunt. Eucharistiam sub specie panis et vini *et parvulis et dementibus praebent.* Conficientes nihil praeter orationem dominicam et verba consecrationis dicunt, neque vestimenta mutant, neque ornatus assumunt aliquos: quidam vero eousque desipiunt, ut non verum Christi corpus in sacramento altaris, sed repraesentationem quandam esse contendant, errantis Berengarii, non conversi, sequaces. Ex sacramentis Ecclesiae baptismum, eucharistiam, *matrimonium ordinemque* recipiunt: de poenitentia parum sentiunt, de confirmatione et extrema unctione nihil. Monachorum religionibus infestissimi sunt, inventionesque diabolicas asserunt esse. Baptisma simplicis undae volunt. Nullam aquam benedicunt. Cimiteria non habent consecrata: cadavera mortuorum in campis, et ut digna sunt cum bestiis sepeliuntur: vanumque censent orare pro mortuis. Ecclesiarum consecrationes derident, et in omnibus locis passim conficiunt sacramentum. Nulla major his cura est quam sermonis audiendi. Si quis negligens est, domique torpet, aut negotio ludove vacat, dum sermo est, virgis caeditur, et intrare ut verbum Dei audiat compellitur. Est illis domus quaedam lignea similis horreo ruris: hanc templum appellant. Hic populo praedicant, hic legem per omnes dies exponunt, hic altare unicum habent, neque consecratum, neque consecrandum, ex quo sacramentum plebibus exhibent. Sacerdotes neque coronas ferunt, neque barbas tondent: his Taboritae frumento, cerevisia, lardo leguminibus, lignis et omni suppellectili necessaria publice domum complent, et addunt in singula capita singulis mensibus sexagenam (a penny), ex qua pisces, carnes recentes, et si velint vinum emant.—Fratres se invicem appellabant, et quod uni defuit, alter subministravit: nunc sibi quisque vivit, et alius quidem esurit, alius autem ebrius est.——Reversi ad ingenium avaritiae jam omnes student, et quia rapere ut olim nequeunt,—lucris inhiant mercaturae, sordidosque sequuntur quaestus. Sunt in civitates ad quatuor millia virorum, qui possent educere gladium: sed artifices facti lana ac tela ex magna parte victum quaerentes inutiles bello creduntur. In the same year Aeneas was again

Podiebrad conquered Tabor in 1453,[21] the Taborites vanish from history as a party. Nevertheless during the strife of parties in the Church, their abstract religious-doctrine, appealing to and seizing upon the inner man, had found acceptance even among the Calixtines: thus about the year 1450 a new party made its appearance first in Prague,[22] originally under the protection of Rokyczana himself:[23] which had adopted the religious prin-

at Tabor, and there held a conference with several clergy, among others with a certain Nicholas, quem dicunt Episcopum, with whom lived scholares et cives plurimi latinum edocti sermonem. Nam perfidum genus illud hominum hoc solum boni habet, quia litteras amat.

[21] Theobald Th. 2. cap. 19. S. 180.

[22] Jo. Lasitii (a Polish nobleman about 1580, who went over to the brothers) de origine et rebus gestis fratrum Bohemorum lib. viii. Of this work lib. viii. is printed, qui est de moribus et institutis eorum. Adduntur tamen reliquorum vii. librorum argumenta et particularia quaedam excerpta. ed. Jo. Amos Comenius 1649. 8. there is a new edition with the omission of the Argumenta. Amst. 1660. 8. The work is still extant entire in MSS., Baumgarten had one in his possession, see Nachrichten von merkw. Büchern Bd. 6. S. 139. Joach. Camerarii historica narratio de fratrum orthodoxorum Ecclesiis in Bohemia, Moravia, et Polonia (written about 1570), nunc primum ed. Ludovicus Camerarius, Heidelberg. (1605). 8. Systema historico-chronologicum Ecclesiarum Slavonicarum per provincias varias—distinctarum libb. iv. opera Adriani Regenvolscii (i.e. Andreae Wengerscii). Traj. ad Rhen. 1652 and 1679. 4. Jo. Amos Comenii (Bishop of the brothers in Poland † 1671 at Amsterdam) hist. fratrum Bohemorum, eorum ordo et disciplina ecclesiastica. Amstelod. 1660. 8. cum praef. Jo. F. Buddei. Halae 1702. 4. D. Joh. Gottlob Carpzovs, Superint. zu Lübeck, Religionsuntersuchung der böhm. u. mährischen Brüder, von Anbeginn ihrer Gemeinen bis auf gegenwärtige Zeiten. Leipzig 1742. 8. G. W. K. Lochner's Entstehung und erste Schicksale der Brüdergemeinde in Böhmen und Mähren, und Leben des Georg Israel, ersten Aeltesten der Brüdergemeinde in Grosspolen. Nürnberg 1832 8.

[23] They even received their first impulse from him, as he was at that time preaching vehemently against the Papacy: and his sister's son Gregory was the most eminent among the first brothers (Comenius ed. Budd. p. 14), see Prima epist. Fratrum ad Jo. Rokyzanum in Camerarius p. 61: Gratissimae nobis, valdeque jucundae tuae fuerunt conciones. Primum enim sedulo nos hortabaris ad vitandum et fugiendum horribiles errores Antichristi, his jam postremis temporibus retecti.—Praeterea testabaris, diabolum omnium Sacramentorum abusum introduxisse, miserum vulgus falsam salutis spem in iis reposuisse. Monstrabas denique, quomodo pii et veri Christiani sacramenta—percipere debeant.—Et breviter tristissimum esse dicebas et miserum religionis statum, praesertim eo anno, cum Rex adolescens rerum potiretur (Ladislaus 1453). Nos vero his auditis magno afficiebamur dolore.—

ciples of the Taborites, but not their superstition and fanaticism: this party was soon greatly increast, chiefly by the accession of many of the Taborites;[24] it also spread far and wide in Moravia;[25] and at length in 1457, under the names of brothers of the law of Christ, Brothers, Brothers-union, separated entirely from the Church.[26] When, upon George's accession

Insuper cum videremus multa et varia dogmata spargi,—perturbat erant animi nostri,—ita ut nesciremus, utrum his vel illis assentiri deberemus.—Commendabas nobis Petrum Chelezitium, quicum nos tandem collocuti sumus, ipsiusque scripta legimus, ac plurima demum tum inter sacerdotes, tum inter populum, male et extra ordinem fieri, facile perspeximus; ita ut etiam de te spem minime bonam conceperimus, cum videremus, te sequi ea, quae tua ipsius conscientia vitanda et fugienda esse judicarat. Cumque de his tecum colloqueremur, tu haec ad nos, *Scio*, inquisti, *vos vera sentire: sed si mihi suscipienda est causa vestri, eadem perferam convitia, in idem incurram dedecus, parique ignominia afficiar necesse est.*—Coacti sumus edere confessionem fidei nostrae: ubi exposuimus, quid sentiremus de sacramento coenae Domini (nam de hoc potissimum capite sententiam nostram sciscitabaris).—Nihil erat, cujus nos argueres, praeter quod ritus quosdam seu ceremonias ecclesiasticas permutaverimus.

[24] Esrom Rüdiger, son-in-law of John Camerarius, Professor at Wittemberg, who went over to the Bohemian brothers, and was teacher at the Gymnasium of Evanzig in Moravia, says in his Narratiuncula de fratrum orthodoxorum in Bohemia et Moravia Ecclesiolis, written A.D. 1579, in Camerarius p. 159: Hoc tantum monebimus, Taboritarum seu Taborensium nequaquam pudere nostros debere (quod aliquibus tamen accidisse jam olim, et nunc etiam accidere videtur), quos in majoribus suis habeant atque recenseant.—Horum stirps sunt nostrae Ecclesiae, quicquid dicant aut comminiscantur aliqui.—Et qui postea Fratres, et tum Taboritae nominati sunt,—in iis sine dubio Taboritarum superstitum fuit aliquid, et multum quidem: qui tamen Fratres non doctrinae, sed studii certi professione a Taboritis se discriminare voluerunt. Territi enim clade et pene internecione Taboritarum, et nomen hoc aversati sunt, et armis pro se et suis propugnare amplius noluerunt (quod tamen etiam tum non potuisse videntur), neque cum adversariis Pontificiis et Calixtinis disputando aut scribendo conflictari ipsis libuit, sed tantum veritatem ad suos docere et sectari, et expectare atque ferre extrema etiam omnia.

[25] The beginning of their community in this country was at Cremza or Cromerzig. Many of them were driven by persecution to escape to Bohemia, see Lochner S. 25.

[26] Prima Epist. Fratrum ad Rokyzanam in Camerarius p. 64: Ne existimes, quod propter ceremonias aliquas, vel ritus ab hominibus institutos sejunxerimus nos a vobis, sed propter malam et corruptam doctrinam. Si enim potuissemus veram illam fidem in J. Chr. dominum nostrum apud vos conservare, nunquam profecto secessionem hanc fecissemus. Sed cum videremus, tum vos ministros, tum populum his

to the throne, he and Rokyczana endeavoured in every way to obtain the Papal recognition, the one as king the other as archbishop; they thought themselves obliged to display their orthodoxy by intolerance towards the brothers. Rokyczana first persuaded the king to banish them to the distant region of Liticz in Leutomischl in the Riesengebirge (1461): however, as the new community, instead of vanishing in obscurity, continued to spread, a most severe persecution was everywhere commenced against them, which obliged the brothers, so long as George reigned, to hide themselves in deserts and caves (hence their name Jamnicii, burrowers).[27] Nevertheless, at this time, their church constitution was formed, upon the election of the first elders, in a solemn assembly at Lhola 1467.[28] Under the reign of king Wladislaus more peaceful days began for them, although the Calixtines ofttimes sought, by measures of kindness and severity, to draw them over to themselves.[29] A few solitary nobles joined them, under whose protection they were able to build houses of prayer. Their confessions of faith sent in to king

flagitiis et sceleribus contaminari, neque puram a vobis et integram usurpari religionem; coacti sumus salutis nostrae causa a coetu vestro discedere, ne vel tanta scelera et facinora vobiscum perpetrantes, vel saltem in iis conniventes, aeternas tandem poenas una vobiscum sustineremus.—Nos sine intermissione his temporibus turpissime a sacrificulis infamamur, qui negant nos habere veram fidem de sacramento corporis Christi, et hac ratione magnum acerbumque imperitae multitudinis odium in nos concitant. Sed scias tu, et universi, nos ita credere, quemadmodum Christus dixit, Apostoli scripserunt, et primitiva Ecclesia docuit. Quod vero contrarium excogitatum, aut additum, aut ad alium usum, quam Christus voluit, accommodatum est, hoc ex animo aversamur.

[27] Historia persequutionum Ecclesiae bohemicae (with no statement of the place of publication, or the author's name, supposed to be by John Amos Comenius) 1648. 12.

[28] Camerarius p. 92. Hist. persequutionum cap. 20. § 2—6, and agreeing word for word with the latter, Comenius ed. Budd. p. 17. The Hist. persequut. and Comenius add the story, that soon after Michael of Szamberg was sent to the Waldensian Bishop Stephen, who being banisht from France, had settled in Austria, and was soon after burnt to death at Vienna, in order to receive Episcopal consecration. With regard to the pretended apostolical succession of these bishops, see the true state of the case, part ii. § 90. note 29. However, it is strange that Camerarius makes no mention of this circumstance, although he speaks of Stephen, p. 116.

[29] Lochner S. 38.

Wladislaus in 1504, and afterwards, are evidence of their doctrine.[30].

§ 153.

ISOLATED EFFORTS FOR REFORM.

The knowledge of the decay of the Church was everywhere spread abroad and encouraged by the Councils of Constance and Basle, although it was distinguisht by very different grades in

[30] In three letters to this Monarch in the years 1504, 1507, and 1508, in the Fasciculus rerum expetend. et fugiendarum ed. Edw. Brown p. 162 ss. and in Balth Lydii. Waldensia (T. i. Roterod. 1616. II. Dordraci 1617. 8.) T. ii. p. 1. ss. Here they bring forward their agreement with the Catholic doctrine, rather than their departure from it: they express themselves most plainly with regard to the latter point in the third letter, Excusatio contra binas literas D. Augustini datas ad Regem. With reference to the Lord's Supper, they repeatedly stated their doctrine to this effect: quando Presbyter rite ordinatus verba testimonii Christi expresserit, continuo panis est corpus Christi verum, naturale, ex castissima virgine sumptum, similiter vinum sanguis est naturalis corporis ejus. Nevertheless they controvert (Excusatio in the Fascic. p. 182 ss.) transubstantiation and the adoration of the Eucharist. They maintain that the body of Christ est in Sacramento per aliam existentiam quam in dextris Dei. p. 184. cum suo substantiali assumpto corpore, quocum sedet nunc ad dexteram Dei, non potest multiplicari:—et non potest corporaliter sumi a fidelibus animabus, sed solum spiritaliter.—Quamvis Christus non est hic cum corpore naturali:—est tamen spiritualiter, potenter, benedicte, in veritate. In like manner, p 171 and 177, they declare themselves against the worship of saints, and p. 177, against purgatory. The true purgatory is in this world, in quo se purgant ad immortalia corpora. With regard to the discontinuation of several customs they say p. 180: Ideo multas constitutiones et consuetudines, ordinationes et inventiones non continemus, quia in errorem sunt et eversionem fidei et aequitatis,—et quoniam hae constitutiones sunt causae idololatriae, et spei erroneae, et vanae superstitionis, et occultationem mortalis peccati. Malis autem sacerdotibus sunt causa ad eorum indignitatem et ad seductionem a justitia, et ad avaritiam et sacrarum rerum quaestum: populo autem sunt ad latrocinia onusque, ut plura impendant in vestes, aedificia et splendorem,—quod in pauperes et egenos expendere debent. Ideo non observamus in multis rebus, quia multa impedimenta faciunt verbo justitiae, orationi, rebus sanctis circa legis Dei sensum, propter quae lex Dei venit in contemptum: et ita humanas constitutiones, ordinationesque tam diligenter custodiunt, sicut mandatum Dei vel et diligentius.

individuals. The incapacity and moral corruption of the clergy were most generally felt and complained of. Rome was always ready to renew the laws of discipline so often repeated before: but so soon as the reform of the Curia itself was demanded, or any alterations of institutions advantageous to its avarice, she offered a stubborn and persecuting resistance. Roused by the overgrowth of the evil, individual men of loftier spirits rose, like the prophets of the Old Testament, full of warning and zeal: they met also with the same fate as these did. The Carmelite Thomas Conecte came forward in Flanders as a preacher of morality with great success:[1] he was burnt to death at Rome in 1432.[2] Andrew the Dominican, Archbishop of Carniola,[3] and Cardinal, was painfully undeceived when imperial ambassador at Rome, with regard to the papal holiness, in which he had formerly believed: insulted and persecuted by Sixtus IV., to whom with true simplicity he thought himself bound to administer an evangelical rebuke, he desired to gather together at Basle a new Council against the corruption which cried aloud to heaven (1482): he died in prison at Basle (1484).[4] Jerome Savona-

[1] See the representation in Enguerrand de Monstrelet (Prévôt in Cambray † 1453) liv. ii. chap. 53. (nouv. édit. par J. A. Bachon. T. v. p. 197).

[2] The account in Enguerrand de Monstrelet liv. ii. chap. 127. T. vi. p. 62 is unsatisfactory: it is only clear that his severe sermons against the clergy workt his ruin. According to Bertrand d'Argentré histoire de Bretaigne (Paris 1618. fol.) p. 788, he had said, qu'il se faisoit des abominations à Rome, que l'Eglise avoit bien besoin de reformation, et qu'il ne falloit pas craindre les communications du Pape faisant le service de Dieu. Il accordoit aux religieux de manger de la chair, et disoit que à l'exemple de la nation Grecque le mariage ne devoit pas estre defendu aux Prestres, ny à ceux des siens, qui ne pouvoient se contenir. Baptista Mantuanus de vita beata in fine declares this member of his own order, whom he calls Thomas Gallus to be a martyr: dum bene beateque viveret, a quibusdam invidis apud summum Pontificem capitis accersitur, et post carcerem, post tormenta, post cruciatus tandem, quum nihil damnabile reperissent gravius investigantes, quod jure non potuerunt, injuria perficere fortiter accinguntur, et comburendum scelerato rogo commiserunt.—Hujus flammas non Scaevolae rogo, sed Laurentii posse comparari non dubito: dicant qui velint, obstrepant, clamitent et insaniant: ille summo vivit Olympo.

[3] Archiepiscopus Craynensis, still probably Archbishop of Laubach in Carniola.

[4] The principal sources are Petri Numagen de Treveris, whom Andrew employed as his notary, gesta archiepiscopi Craynensis in J.

rola, Dominican monk at Florence, a man still more like those

H. Hottinger's hist. eccl. N. T. Saec. xv. p. 347 ss., a collection of documents with notes by Peter, in which he tries to justify his share in the proceeding. Compare Christian Wurstisen's (Recorder at Basle † 1588) Baseler Chronik Buch vi. cap. 14. Joh. Müller's Schweizergeschichte Th. 5. (Berlin 1826) S. 284 ff.—By a summons in the Cathedral at Basle 13. July 1482, he convoked a general Council (Petrus Numagen p. 360): multis moti gravissimis damnabilibusque scandalis et sceleribus, quae heu oculis vidimus, auribusque nostris audivimus in loco honoris,—curia videlicet Romana, vigere et contrahi, indeque inevitabiles depravationes Christifidelium utriusque status per totum longe lateque orbem insurgere, ut heu jam lamentabile sit videre et audire, naviculam Petri, i.e. totam simul universam Ecclesiam,—jactari nedum—persecutionibus Turcorum et infidelium ad extra, verum etiam intra se quassari, et scindi, dirimique laxatis solutisque clavis unientibus ubique per divisiones, praelia, haereses, peccata, vitia, injustitias, errores et maleficia innumerabilia, ut non improvide timendum sit, eam tandem—a sorbente gurgite damnationis subtrahi.—Attendentes quoque, juxta sacrosanctae Synodi Constantiensis magnae praehabitae providentiam—tot tantisque malis praeter sacrum Concilium nullo modo posse finem pacificum imponi; hoc anno—ad inclytam civitatem Basileensem, quam adhuc indubitatum congregandi Concilii locum cognovimus, ob zelum domus Dei nostri cum mordentibus gravibus fatigationibus et periculis nos recepimus, ibique in cathedrali Ecclesia—Concilium generale—legitime congregandum in nomine, ex parte, et ad laudem tandem—D. N. Jesu Christi,—fidei catholicae reformationem, morum correctionem, scelerum, vitiorum extirpationem, et pacem universalem in populo Christiano procurandam—indiximus. On the 21st July he added an appeal against Pope Sixtus IV. (p. 368): facturus sermonem ad te, o Francisce de Savona, Ordinis fratrum Minorum, qui cathedram sanctam male ascendisti, maleque nomine Sixtus IV. jam annis XI. occupasti, Apostoli Pauli ad Elimam habitis verbis recte potero exordiri (Act. xiii. 10.): *o plene omni dolo et omni fallacia, fili Diaboli, inimice omnis justitiae, non desinis subvertere vias Domini rectas:* dolo namque et fallacia non intrans per ostium, sed per Simoniam quasi fur per fenestram proh dolor ingressus es in regimen Ecclesiae sanctae Romanae. Inde facientem desideria Diaboli filium te esse veritas ipsa declarat, cum dicit: *vos ex patre Diabolo estis, et desideria patris vestri vultis facere.*—Quotiens, o Sixte, intimae compassionis affectu argui injustitias tuas, et non mihi auscultasti! quotiens scelera reprehendi tua, et me despexisiti! quotiens praevaricationes tuas tibi objeci, et me subsannasti! Nonne licuit mihi secundum formam Evangelii dicere tibi secrete: cur benedicis et maledicis pro pecunia? cur beneficia vendis? cur gratias spirituales pecuniae aestimatione taxas?—Et cum sollicitudo tua omnium Ecclesiarum esse debeat, ut quid apud, et quasi coram te peccantes non arguis? Cur toleras Sodomitas, sacrilegos, simoniacos, homicidas, officiis et professionibus suis non satisfacientes,—justitiam vendentes, doctrinam malam docentes, virgines stuprantes, sorores incestantes, sub coelibatu pueros

representative-men of the Old Testament, began to assail the moral as well as the political state of his country, no longer with warning only, but also with prophecy; thus, however, he only fell a more easy victim to Roman hatred (1498).[5] From a narrower

procreantes, moniales violantes,—foeneratores, Ecclesias quas deservire nequeunt locantes sub usura,—aliisque vitiis et maleficiis atque dehonestationibus superfluentes?—Inde fit, quod Clerus despicitur,—suscitataque passim inter curiosos Laicos errorum materiae, vel haeresium opiniones—ubique gloriantur,—quod in omnibus castris Cleri non vel vix sit, qui cum eis ad singulare certamen disputationis—descendere ausit, vel saltem incidentem dubitationem pro Laici satisfactione decidere enucleare, quod taceo haereticum astutum et relatrantem ratione et auctoritate concludere norit. Sicque cum majori scandalo Cleri fit, quod Laici fere plus sapiunt, magis honeste, religiose, justeque se gerunt quam Clerici, qui omnia facta sua quasi pro lege habentes, etiam errores suos per legem Jesu Christi conantur defendere.—Tu vero, Sixte, quando his pastorali sollicitudine obvias? ubi est labor tuus, ubi vigilantia tua, ubi districtio tua?—Cumque hujusmodi, o Sixte, a me pluries tibi cum dolore cordis secrete inter me et te dicta non acceperas, —habui ultra adhibere testes, dixique ea in coetu Cardinalium Ecclesiae, te ad emendationem exhortans. Tu vero, quasi incurabili vulnere, quod omnem medicinam absorbet, sauciatus,—non accepisti admonitionem meam in cor tuum, ut rescipisceres, sed magis magisque irretitus raptabas in animam meam, spiransque minarum et caedis tota die concinnabas dolos, quibus me caperes, tandemque injuste captum et judicatum me libere dimisisti. Igitur ne gravius indies magis magisque Ecclesia per tuas insolentias damnificetur,—jam ultimum superest, ut dicam Ecclesiae. Henricus Institoris took the field against him, as Inquisitor in Upper-Germany. In his letter of refutation this remarkable passage is to be found (l. c. p. 413): Clamat mundus pro Concilio: sed quomodo congregabitur, ubi dispersi sunt lapides sanctuarii ejus, et obscuratum est aurum, mutatus est color optimus? Cujusmodi reformatio? Dic, ubi obedientia Principum, ubi zelus fidei? Et quia ista deficiunt, quaeso, ex Conciliis cujusmodi reformatio proveniet?—*Ecclesiam per Concilium reformare non poterit omnis humana facultas: sed alium modum altissimus procurabit, nobis quidem pro nunc incognitum, licet heu prae foribus existat, ut ad pristinum statum Ecclesia redeat.*

[5] With regard to this man, about whom various opinions have been held in all ages, the principal sources of information are the accounts of two cotemporaries, the unfavourable account is in Jo. Burchardi diarium Curiae Romanae (see at the head of § 134), in Eccard ii. p. 2087 ss. to which the important documents p. 2150 ss. belong, more correctly in the Mémoires de Comines éd. de Lenglet du Fresnoy, T. iv. P. ii p. 72, and after the Carlsruhe MS. in Paulus aufklärenden Beiträgen zur Dogmen-, Kirchen-, und Religionsgeschichte. Bremen 1830. S. 281 ff.; and the Vita H. Savonarolae by his friend Jo. Franc. Picus, Lord of Mirandola († 1533) in Guil. Batesii vitae selectorum aliquot virorum. Lond. 1681. 4. p. 108 ss. A rich collection of these and other docu-

ments is the Vita R. P. Fr. Hier. Savonarolae auct. J. F. Pico Mirandolae Concordiaeque Principe notis accurata: adjecto ceu mantissa revelationum ejusdem F. Hieronymi compendio: additionibus insuper, actis diplomatibus, epistolis, scriptorumque monimentis auctaet illustrata (by the Dominican Jac. Quetif), Paris 1674. 2 Tomi 8. Soon after his entrance into the order, at Bologna in 1475, he began to have an insight into futurity, see Jo. F. Picus in Batesius p. 112: Per id tempus divinarum revelationum particeps factus ingruentes et Italiae et aliis regionibus calamitates ad futurae renovationem Ecclesiae praevidit, quanquam non adeo tunc ea extra dubitationem illi paterent, ut omnis ei ambigendi occasio praeriperetur: quod evenit, si prophetiae lumen citra velamen humanae ratiocinationis effulgeat. Etenim adventitio lumine divino partim collustrabatur,—sed duce ratione in eam inclinabat partem, in quam divina quoque visa inducebant.—Consentaneum quippe videbatur, suam ut Ecclesiam Deus eodem perpendiculo, quo semper usus fuerat, metiretur, et obliquos ejus parietes revocaret ad lineam, monitis primum, deinde flagellis pro scelerum varietate diversis. Pontifices summo astu et dolo, necnon simoniaca perfidia supremum aucupari sacerdotium dicebantur palam, sic ut nec quisquam id fere revocaret in dubium. Mox adeptos solium scortis et cinaedis eos auroque coacervando vacare, fama publica circumferebat, atque ad eorum exemplum qui suberant Cardinales et Episcopi sese instituere. Nullus in eis vel modicus Dei cultus, iis eadem vivendi ratio, nullaque religio. Quin etiam ferebatur, eorum aliquos Deum non colere, et in fidei nostrae contemtum et contumeliam pleraque spargere. Sed et plures eorum, qui religiosae addicti vitae, ab institutis se laxioribus secreverant, et traditas regulas profitebantur, unde et sibi cognomen usurpaverunt, ad hypocrisin dilabebantur. Proinde fervorem illum Christianis debitum non modo in universum tepuisse judicabant hi, qui Deum in spiritu et veritate colunt, sed torpuisse penitus et friguisse. Ad haec Principes tyrannicam vim publice exercebant, et qui vexabantur, nihilominus rapinis, stupris, sacrilegiis, concussionibus, adulationibus inserviebant, ut illud sacrum repeti posset, *non esse* videlicet, *qui faceret bonum usque ad unum.* Tantis itaque de causis propter propheticum etiam spiritum, quo afflabatur, nonnihil de imminente clade pronuntiare coepit, quanquam sacrarum literarum in volucris tegebat arcana, ut impuros homines a perceptione mysteriorum arceret,—simul ne visis adhuc ambiguis deluderetur. Hanc ob causam saepissime Deo preces fundere, et jejuniis corpus macerare, et flagellis atterere, et alios ad id officii cohortari studuit: quo tandem haec divinae clementiae munere extra dubitationem lucideque innotescerent sibi, quae prius ambigue et subobscure monstrabantur. Oranti igitur ipsi et divinas laudes in Ecclesia persolventi, dum—is praesertim versiculus caneretur: *Bonus es tu, et in bonitate tua doce me justificationes tuas:* fugatae a sensu et intellectu omnes tenebrae sunt, et suborta lux, quae dubitationem omnem de futuris quae praeviderat eventis expulit. Mihi enim hoc privatim narravit.—Proinde coepit confidentius praedicere futuras clades, et eis veluti quibusdam adminiculis collabentem et tanquam intermortuum pessimis moribus Christianum orbem instaurandum. Now in 1489 he had removed to Florence, and here he immediately began with warn-

ing and prophetic sermons upon the Apocalypse (p. 114) praedicabat, renovandam sive reformandam Ecclesiam, sed caedendam prius et purgandam flagello gravi, ni poenitentiae partes susciperentur. At first his prophecies were laught at, but soon some of them were fulfilled: adduxerat autem jam in eum nonnihil populi fidem et praedicta nonnullis mors Innocentii VIII. Pontificis, et praevisus ab eo praedictusque Caroli ejus nominis VIII. Gallorum Regis in Italiam adventus, qui jam accelerare ferebatur ad expugnandum Apuliae regnum, et pari voce asseverata Mediceae familiae calamitas et ejus potissimum capitis Laurentii. Is cum eo tempore in republica Florentina princeps esset, sic ut fere omnia ad ejus nutum agerentur, quamquam sub specie civilis instituti, audissetque Hieronymum apertius in tyrannicos usus invehi, eum ut sibi conciliaret multis tentavit: but all in vain. Probably because of the splendor and luxury of the Medici. With regard to his style of preaching see p. 116: dicendi gratia—copiose abundavit:—quippe cum ipsa linguae celeritas, rerum allatarum sublimitas, magnitudoque, et verborum sententiarumque elegantia prodigio par essent. Pronuntiabat voce libera et acuta, non fervido solum sed ardenti vultu, gestuque venustissimo. Ita vero illabebatur in auditorum aures, immo vero in praecordia, ut attentos eos extra se pene raperet. Et cum vox ipsa nec legentis prorsus esset, nec clamantis, nisi cum effulminaret in crimina, in ea tamen sentiebatur utrumque, neutrum discernebatur. The Prediche del Rev. Padre Fra Gieronimo da Ferrara per tutto l'anno in Vinegia 1540. 8., are examples of his style of preaching. There are characteristic extracts from them in Riederer's Nachrichten Bd. 4. S. 335. ff. His influence grew chiefly at the time when his prophecies of the invasion of Italy by Charles VIII., and of the change of the Florentine constitution in 1494 were fulfilled (the historian Comines, who came to Florence with Charles VIII., and visited Savonarola, says in his Mémoires liv. viii. chap. 3: il avoit tousjours presché en grande faveur du Roy, et sa parole avoit gardé les Florentins de tourner contre nous: car jamais prescheur n'eut tant de credit en cité. Il avoit tousjours asseuré la venue du Roy,—disant qu'il estoit envoyé de Dieu, pour chastier les Tyrans d'Italie, et que rien ne pouvoit resister, ne se deffendre contre luy.—Aussi disoit publiquement l'avoir par revelation, et preschoit, que l'estat de l'Eglise seroit reformé à l'espée (*i.e.* par l'épée): but at the same time his confidence increast, Picus p. 115: Eo ipso tempore quo Carolus VIII. Rex. Francorum Florentiae morabatur, divina visa coepit confidentissime patefacere.—Multa de imminente clade, multa de reformatione Ecclesiae praedicere, multa de Pontificum et Regum vita dicere, multa de iis, quae passurus erat ob praedicatam veritatem praenuntiare divino jussu palam exorsus est. Meanwhile he was not satisfied with Charles' behaviour in Italy (he had been informed by means of Comines, see his Mémoires l. c. pour ne s'estre bien aquitté de la reformation de l'Eglise, comme il devoit, et pour avoir souffert, que ses gens pillassent et derobassent ainsi le peuple,—que Dieu avoit donné une sentence contre luy, et en bref auroit un coup de foüet): his expectations of him for the future were vain; moreover this prince was obliged to leave Italy again so early as 1495, and the prophecy that he would return remained unfulfilled, see Mémoirs de Comines liv. viii. chap. 26: il a

toujours presché publiquement, que le Roy retourneroit derechef en Italie, pour accomplir cette commission, que Dieu luy avoit donnée, qui estoit de reformer l'Eglise par l'espée, et chasser les Tyrans d'Italie, et que au cas qu'il ne fit, Dieu le puniroit cruellement. On the other hand numerous enemies now rose up against him. His political influence over the new government gave him the authority of a party-chief: the friends of the Medici, who were now again increasing, were naturally his enemies. Besides Picus p. 118: Inter omnes vero persequutores Hieronymi hi acerrimi inventi sunt, qui moribus pessimis, et potissimum Ecclesiae praesides, quorum vita foedissima universum orbem foetore repleverat, Florentinique illi cives, qui usurariae pravitati obstinate operam navabant, et vitiorum coeno impensius volutabantur. Illorum libidinem avaritiamque, illorum luxus simoniacasque labes insectabatur, publice privatimque monere solitus, a Babylone (Romam intelligens) fugiendum esse, quoniam—malignus daemon—ipsam flagitiorum omnium sentinam cloacamque effecisset. Monachorum, Monacharumque, et pene Religiosorum omnium contumelias ob id in se conflaverat, quod tepiditatem eorum (ita enim appellabat) et abusus quam plurimos coarguebat, suorumque Praedicatorum fratrum calumnias et insidias expertus est, quoniam congregationem fratrum Etruscam ab ea, quae Cisalpinam incolit Galliam, segregaverat Pontificis Maximi auctoritate, atque illam divino jussu constituerat.—Optabat autem, ut eam vivendi normam tenerent sodales, qua a divo Dominico servata est. So early as 1495 he was summoned before the Pope, but he pleaded in excuse sickness and the danger which threatened him from his enemies: the authorities also interested themselves for him, see extracts from their letters in Vie de Scipion de Ricci par de Potter. Bruxelles 1825. T. ii. p. 468 ss. At length in 1497 Alexander VI. issued a Breve to the Dominican Monastery at Florence in Burchardii diar. in Eccard ii., p. 2151: Sane Hieronymum quendam Savonarolam de Ferraria Ordinis Praedicatorum novitate pravi dogmatis delectatum accepimus, et in eam mentis insaniam Italicarum rerum commutatione deductum, ut se missum a Deo et cum Deo loqui sine ulla canonica attestatione fateatur in populo contra canonicas sanctiones.—Christum praeterea Jesum crucifixum et Deum mentiri, si ipse mentiatur, horrendum certe et execrabile adjurationis genus; extra salutis statum eum esse, qui vanis illius assertionibus non credat; alia deinceps illum non minus inepta facere, dicere et scribere, quae si praetereantur impune, nihil est quod non ausura falsorum Religiosorum temeritas sit, et in corpus Ecclesiae, quod verendum est, vitia sub virtutum specie subintrarent.—Credebamus,—jam advenisse diem, quo de ipso meliora concipere deberemus, ac dolorem, quem nunc usque ex effreni arrogantia et sandalosa separatione a Patribus suis Lombardiae perpessi fueramus, quae subdola calliditate, sicut post cognovimus, perversorum quorundam Fratrum impetrata est, sua humili adhaerentia in laetitiam commutaremus: sed quod dolenter referimus, spe nostra frustrati sumus. Nam licet per literas nostras ipsum in virtute sanctae obedientiae monuerimus, ut ad nos veniret, veritatem ab eo et ab ore suo intellecturos; tamen non solum venire et nobis obedire recusavit, verum etiam in dies ipse acerbiorem magis doloris nobis causam subministravit, impudenter fidelium oculis legenda ingerens, quae solo alias

auditu temere profuderat imbibenda. Accordingly the Pope commissions the Vicar-General of the Lombard Dominican congregations to examine the guilt of Savonarola and pass sentence upon him: for the time being he suspends him from preaching, and orders the re-union of the Tuscan with the Lombard congregation. In his answer to the Pope dd. 19. Sept. 1497 (in Eccard ii. p. 2153 more complete in Paulus Beiträgen S. 289) Savonarola defends himself from these charges. Against the accusation me novitate pravi dogmatis delectatum, he appeals to his oft-repeated assertion me et omnia mea sanctae Romanae Ecclesiae submittere.—Si quis autem dicat, quod praedicarem futura, nondum est falsum dogma, quia hoc semper fuit in Ecclesia Domini Dei.—Secundo quia in litteris praedictis dicitur, me in eam mentis insaniam Italicarum rerum commutatione deductum, hoc etiam manifeste falsum est, et ab omnibus scitur, quia praeterierunt quinque anni, quibus haec praedixi, vel plures etiam quam decem anni jam sunt. Further he defends the separation of the Tuscan from the Lombard congregation as not effected by underhand means; he maintains that the Vicar-General of the latter, on account of the enmity betwixt the two congregations, would be a judex summopere suspectus in his own cause; he seeks to show that the Papal command to re-unite the Tuscan with the Lombard creation was obtained by underhand means; and declares at last: ego paratus sum in omnibus emendare me ipsum, ubicunque erro, et publice coram populo universo omnia errata mea revocare. Dignetur Sanctitas Vestra mihi significare, quid ex omnibus, quae scripsi vel dixi, sit revocandum, et ego id libertissime faciam, nam et hac vice et semper, sicut saepius dixi ac etiam scripsi, me ipsum et omnia mea dicta et scripta subjicio correctioni sanctae Romanae Ecclesiae et Sanctitati Vestrae. To this the Pope made a more gracious answer, dd. 16. Oct. 1497 (in Eccard ii. p. 2152), and summoned him before his own judgment seat, but he repeated the prohibition against his preaching before sentence was past. Savonarola obeyed this prohibition only for a time: but when he began to preach again, papal satellites, monks, and his political enemies, roused themselves for a decisive blow. Excommunication followed: Jo. Poggius, Secretarius Camerae Apostolicae wrote Refutatorium errorum Fratris Hier. Savonarolae: Jo. Fr. Picus on the other hand wrote an Apologia pro Hieron. Savonarolae viri prophetae innocentia (in Goldasti Monarchia ii. p. 1635 ss.) As the whole of Florence was threatened with ecclesiastical penalties, Jerome was obliged to discontinue his preaching; on the other hand the brethren of his order preacht for him—other monks against him. At length a Franciscan challenged a Dominican to the ordeal of fire; the points of dispute settled in writing were (Jo. Burchard in Eccardi ii. p. 2088): Conclusiones rationibus ac signis supernaturalibus probantur. Ecclesia Dei indiget renovatione. Flagellabitur, renovabitur. Florentia quoque post flagella renovabitur et prosperabitur. Infideles convertentur ad Christum. Haec autem omnia erunt temporibus nostris. Excommunicatio nuper lata contra Rev. Patrem Hieron. Savonarolam nulla est: non servans eam non peccat. Instead of the trial by fire it ended in a monastic brawl: each party afterwards threw the blame of the failure upon the other. However, soon after the people took the Dominican monastery by storm, and

and a monastic platform the Franciscan John Vitrarius at Tournay censures the corruptions of the Church, but he consented to a recantation (1498).[6] All these men still lookt for redress from new laws and institutions: deeper views had been already taken by the Carthusian James of Erfurt when he protested against the mass of superstitious opinions and customs,[7] and by the Master of the Sorbonne John Laillier, when in 1484 and the

Savonarola, together with several of the brethren of his order, was seized and put to the rack. Two Roman envoys had him rackt again, and at length on the 23d May 1498, together with two brethren of the order, hanged and burnt. According to the assertion of his enemies, on the rack he acknowledged himself to be a deceiver (see Burchard in Eccard ii. p. 2095): his friends bear witness to his constancy (Picus in Batesius p. 130 ss.), and assert that double minutes of the trial, real and falsified, were extant, Jac. Quetif ad Jo. Franc. Pici vitam Savon. ad cap. xvii. and Theoph. Spizelii infelix literatus p. 665. Opinions with regard to Savonarola have always been much divided; through the influence of the Dominicans a favourable opinion with regard to him afterwards prevailed in the Catholic Church; so that even Dan. Papebrochius (Acta SS. Maji T. v. p. 234) was uncertain whether he should have to acknowledge him as beatus. In the Dominican convent at Florence his cell was changed into a chapel (see Vie de Scipion de Ricci par de Potter. T. ii. p. 467). Compare on this subject J. F. Buddei retractatio dissertationis de artibus tyrannicis Hier. Savonarolae in his Parerga historico-theologica p. 321 ss. Among the works of Savonarola, besides his sermons, the following are to be noticed: Triumphus crucis Florent. 1497. 4.; an apology for Christianity, De simplicitate christianae vitae libb. iv. 1496. Expositio orationis dominicae. Grundzüge der Theologie des Hier. Savonarola von. D. F. W. Ph. v. Ammon in Winer's und Engelhardt's Journal der theol. Literatur. Bd. 8. S. 257 ff.

[6] His opinions condemned by the Sorbonne are in d'Argentré Collectio judiciorum de novis erroribus I. ii. p. 340: Il vaudroit mieux couper la gorge à son enfan, que de le mettre en Religion non reformée.—Quiconques oüoit la Messe d'un Prestre tenant une femme en sa maison, peche mortellement.—Minus malum est homicidium, quam peccatum carnis.—Se ton curé, ou aucun Prestre, tiennent femmes en leurs maisons, vous devez aller en leur maison et par force tirer la femme, ou autrement, confusiblement hors de sa maison.—Le Chant de Musique, que on chante à nostre Dame, n'est que de paillardise et provocation de paillardise.—See the opinion against indulgence, above § 147, note 30.—Horae b. Mariae non debent dici Saecularibus.—Sancti non sunt rogandi.—Il y a aucuns, qui dient aucunes Oraison de la Vierge Marie, à fin que à l'heure de la mort ils puissent veoir la Vierge Marie (compare Part ii. § 79. note 9). Tu verras le Diable, non pas la Vierge Marie.—Il vaudroit mieux à une femme marié rompre son mariage, que de rompre son jeûne.

[7] See above § 145, note 1.

following years he recognized the deadly influence of the hierarchical despotism :[8] for religion had lost its real power by being

[8] He had asserted in a public disputation 1484 (d'Argentré I., ii. p. 308) : Petrus non habuit a Christo potestatem supra alios Apostolos, neque primatum. Omnes hierarchisantes aequalem potestatem acceperunt a Christo ita, quod Curati sunt aequales in potestate, regimine et jurisdictione. Summus Pontifex non potest remittere viatoribus totam poenam eis debitam ratione peccatorum suorum virtute indulgentiarum, etiamsi juste et rationabiliter dentur. Abbates, Priores, et alii Praelati Religiosorum non absolvunt suos Religiosos in virtute clavium, sed ex sola consuetudine. Confessio non est de jure divino. Si vultis, quod ego loquar de summo Pontifice, ego vastabo totum. Simplices sacerdotes sunt inutiles. Confessi Religiosis mendicantibus, praesentatis et acceptatis secundum formam Decretalis *Dudum* etc., non sunt absoluti et tenentur eadem peccata confiteri Curato. Summus Pontifex Johannes XXII. non potuit condemnare de Poliaco, nec facere Decretalem *Vas electionis* (Part iii. § 112. note 3). Quod decreta et decretales summorum Pontificum non sunt nisi truphae. Ecclesia Romana non est caput aliarum Ecclesiarum. Unus hierarcha erat major altero in bonis temporalibus, vel forsan in virtutibus, et non in potestate hierarchisandi. There is a new catalogue of the year 1486 extant, of the erroneous doctrines which Laillier had preacht to the people (l. c. p. 308 ss. compare p. 311 ss.) : I. Vous devez garder les Commandemens de Dieu et des Apostres : et au regard du commandement de tous ses Evesques et autres Seigneurs d'Eglise, tout autant que de paille, ils ont destruit l'Eglise par leurs vaverferies. II. Aucuns ont presché de ung Saint, qui est au lieu d'où Lucifer trebuchea (see Johannes Mercator above § 141. note 11). Tels prescheurs gastent tout, et depuis qu'ils ont esté instituez, jamais l'Eglise de Dieu ne prosperera. Ils feront tant, que quand la matiere sera bien discutée, on trouvera que celuy, qu'ils reputent Saint, n'est pas au lieu où étoit Lucifer, mais est au lieu, où actuellement est Lucifer : et ainsi que Pluto, dieu infernal, tient Proserpine entre ses bras, ainsi Lucifer tient cette ame. III. Les Saints riches et pecunieux sont maintenant canonisez, et les pauvres delaissez. Par quoi je ne suis pas tenu de croire tels estre Saints. La raison : si le Pape reçoit certaine somme de ducats, on monte sur vingt echaffaux à Rome pour le canoniser etc.— Depuis le temps de St. Silvestre nul des Confesseurs a esté justement canonisé. IV. Se ung Prestre estoit marié clandestinement, et venoit à moy à confesse, je ne luy enjoindrois point de penitence. V. Les Prestres de l'Eglise Orientale ne pechent point en soy mariant, et croy, que ainsy ne ferions nous en l'Eglise Occidentale, se nous nous marions. VI. En ung conseil depuis quatre cents ans fut interdit aux Prestres soy marier de ung Pape ou d'un Papillon. Je ne sçay s'il le povoit faire. VII. Je donneray deux blancs à celuy, qui me produyra aucun passage de l'escripture, par lequel soyons obligez a jeusner le Caresme. VIII. A b. Sylvestro citra Ecclesia Romana non est amplius Ecclesia Christi, sed Caesaris et pecuniarum. (Laillier remarks upon this in his recantation p. 312 : Et ay dit ces paroles en recitant l'opinion d'un

thus converted into an external law. But in Germany, on the one hand, the national character inclining rather to an inward religion; on the other, the interest awakened by the Hussites[9] workt such an effect, that already many persons of deeper insight recognized the source of the evil in the corruption of doctrine, and began to have recourse to Holy Writ as the purest fountain.[10] Such examples, roused to action by the Hussites,

grand Docteur, comme Wiclef, que croyois, ainsi que ay affermé par serment, estre Catholique, et n'avoir esté reprouvé par l'Eglise.) IX. On n'est point plus tenu de croire aux Legendes des Saincts, que aux Cronicques de France. Besides, the Sorbonne took notice of the maxim: Simplex Sacerdos potest ita bene consecrare Chrisma et sacros Ordines conferre, sicut Papa, vel Episcopus: et omnes sacerdotes sunt aequalis potestatis, tam Ordinis quam jurisdictionis, tantamque auctoritatem habet Thomas apud Indos, quantam Petrus apud Romanos. The Bishop of Paris compelled him to revoke the propositions of 1486 in the same year (l. c. p. 310 ss.) and afterwards absolved him. The theological faculty, which had not been called in to the examination, pronounced the recantation incomplete, and the absolution precipitate, and appealed to the Pope (p. 313 ss.) who then ordered a fresh enquiry (p. 318 ss.).

[9] cf. Epist. Juliani Card. § 132. note 6. Also the zealous opponents of indulgencies, § 147. note 30. That Hussite missionaries were spread far and wide in Germany, is evident from the trial of John of Wesel (note 14). He was accused of holding intercourse with a certain Nicolaus de Bohemia vel Polonia, to whom also he was believed to have dedicated a tractatus super modo obligationis legum humanarum: he confest himself, se cum eodem Nicolao fuisse conversatum de medicinis, et de communione sub utraque specie in Moguntia et Wesalia: addidit, quod istum Nicolaum vicisset ex Evangelio. Nicolaus Rus in particular, a priest and master of divinity at Rostock, about 1510 received his first impulse from wandering Bohemian brothers; he wrote (see Flacii Catal. test. verit. ed. Francof. 1666. p. 840 and Chytraei Saxonia) in the low-dutch language De triplici funiculo, an explanation of the Creed, Ten Commandments, and Lord's prayer, in which he made many statements against the Pope, the following propositions among others: indulgentias esse meram deceptionem piorum, et quaestum: veras indulgentias contingere a solo Deo gratis propter Christum omnibus vere poenitentibus: Papam non eam potestatem habere, quam ei multi tribuant, nec audiendum, nisi recta praecipiat: Sanctorum ossa non esse adoranda, Sanctos non esse invocandos: Spirituales debere dare censum, et subesse Magistratibus. Besides reprehendit traditiones humanas, varios abusus et superstitiones. Imprimis vero gravissime insectatus est Spiritualium turpissimam vitam et officii neglectionem: dicit eos Antichristi ministros esse. He was banisht with his adherents; at first he maintained himself at Wismar, afterwards he returned to Rostock, and at length fled to Livonia.

[10] Thus Jo. Trithemius writes to the theologian at Paris Carolus

made their appearance especially in Franconia: but the great number of editions of German translations of the Bible, indicates a more universal sense of this newly awakened want.[12] Next after the Bible, the works of St Augustin highly honoured, but in fact much neglected in the Church, were the principal support of men of this turn of mind. By these means three men in particular were guided along the way, in which they became the forerunners of the Great Reformation of the sixteenth century. John of Wesel,[13] as Doctor of Divinity at Erfurt, afterwards as preacher at Worms, assailed the errors upon which the Hierarchy was built, and showed the way back again to Holy Scripture as the source of faith: but he was obliged to recant at Mayence in 1479,[14] and to close his life in prison († 1482). On the other

Bovillus A.D. 1505 (see Trithemii opp. hist. ed. Marqu. Freherus. Francof. 1601. fol. P. ii. p. 476): Nunquam mihi placuit quorundam curiositas, qui humana commiscent divinis, et sacram Scripturam, quae et pura et sibi sufficiens est et nobis, gentilium loquacitate commaculant. Contra quos b. Hieronymus in epistola loquitur ad Damasum Papam: *De Scripturis disputantem non decet Aristotelis argumenta conquirere etc.*—Scriptura enim Dei manifesta est, testimonium Dei lucidum est, sapientiam praestans parvulis. Non egent literae divinae plicis, non involucris, non replicis, quia haec non sapientiam praestant parvulis, sed eorum animos in confuso relinquunt, et per omnem vitam mentes hominum aberrare compellunt.

[11] Frederich I. Elector of Brandenburg, so early as 1415 appointed a preacher for the foundation of St Gumbert at Onolzbach with instructions to teach the word of God principally according to Holy Scripture, and to abstain as far as possible from the ceremonies of the Roman Church, see Jäck Materialien zur Geschichte und Statistik Bambergs. Th. 2. (Bamberg 1809) S. 111.—On his journey to Constance, Huss met with a very favourable reception at Nuremberg, see his letter to the Bohemians in Theobald's Hussitenkrieg. Nürnberg 1621. Th. 1. S. 40 f.—The Council of Bamberg afterwards made every man take an oath against the Hussite heresy, see this oath in Jos. Heller's Reformationsgeschichte des ehem. Bisthums Bamberg. Bamberg 1825. S. 11. Several similar occurrences of the fifteenth century may be seen in Heller's work quoted above.

[12] See § 146 note 13.

[13] Properly John Richrath of Oberwesel, compare with regard to him: Joh. Wessel ein Vorgänger Luthers von D. E. Ullmann. Hamburg 1834. S. 109 ff.

[14] The occasion of the proceedings against him, according to Wigandi Wirt (see § 145. note 20) dialogus apologeticus, seems to have been stated to be his intercourse with the Hussites (see note 9). He says (Walchii monum. medii aevi vol. ii. fasc. 2. Praef. p. xvii): tractatus, manu Wesaliensis conscriptus ad Bohemiamque mittendus, quem tuus ille magister, Joannes quippe, quasi fidei regulas isti Nicolao Bohemo-

rum nuntio tradiderat, discipulum captivitati, magistrum vero inquisitioni tradidit. However, the frantic Dominican, many years afterwards, without any particular sources of intelligence, may have drawn this conclusion from the acts extant. But in fact these decide the contrary, for they lay too little stress upon that intercourse. They are: Paradoxa D. Jo. de Wesalia, damnata per Magistros nostros haereticae pravitatis Inquisitores de Ord. Praedic., M. N. Gerhardum Elten de Colonia et M. N. Jacobum Sprenger anno 1479 Moguntiae, and Examen magistrale ac theologicale D. Jo. de Wes. (Minutes of the proceedings against him) in Orthuini Gratii fascic. rerum expetendarum et fugiendarum fol. 163. (ed. Brownii p. 325), and in d'Argentré I., ii. p. 291 ss. His works are the best means of ascertaining his theological views: Disputatio adv. indulgentias in Walchii monumenta medii aevi fasc. i. p. 111 ss. and De auctoritate, officio et potestate pastorum ecclesiasticorum in Walch vol. ii. fasc. ii. p. 115 ss. (Beyond doubt this work belongs to this John of Wesel, for he was examined upon certain propositions from this work: it is the tractatus de potestate ecclesiastica, quoted in the Examen die Lunae III., but not addrest to a Bohemian as Walch thinks l. c. Praef. p. xix.). The first work he begins as follows p. 114: ante omnia protestor, nihil velle—asserere, quod veritati fidei, quae in scripturis sacris continetur, quovis modo sit contrarium. Si vero opinio, vel assertio mea fuerit contraria alicui etiam sanctorum Doctorum, volo salvam esse ejus honorificentiam et sanctitatem, quia ajo cum b. Augustino ad Hieronymum: *alios ita lego, ut quantalibet sanctitate doctrinave polleant, non ideo verum putem, quia ipsi ita senserunt, sed quia etiam per alios auctores, vel canonicas, vel probabiles rationes, quod a vero non aberrent, persuadere potuerunt.* (Thus he insisted, upon his trial, XVII. that he did not believe, quod sacra Scriptura sit eodem spiritu exposita per SS. Patres et doctores, quo creditur primo tradita et revelata: and die Martis he declared plainly quod nihil sit credendum, quod non habeatur in Canone Bibliae). His fundamental maxims with regard to forgiveness of sins and indulgences are as follows: Omni delinquenti contra legem Dei Deus ipse legislator ex justitia indicit poenam, quam non remittit, quantumcunque per misericordiam remittat culpam. (especially p. 135 ss. God's forgiveness of sin is only the remission of the reatus poenae aeternae, but not of the reatus poenae temporalis). Sacerdotes Christi, quibus datae sunt claves regni coelorum, ministri sunt Dei in remittendis culpis. Poenam, quam pro peccato Deus indixit delinquenti, non potest homo remittere illi. Aliquem, quemcunque sacerdotem, etiam summum Pontificem, indulgentias dare, quibus sit homo ab omni poena a Deo indicta solutus, non est in sacro canone scriptum. Ab omni poena, quam homo vel jus positivum infligit pro peccato, potest summus Pontifex absolvere. Ostenditur, quia ipse est *ab Ecclesia constitutus* juris positivi institutor, in quantum ad aedificationem Ecclesiae facit, non ad destructionem. Quod poenae per hominem vel jus positivum indictae pro peccato respondeant Dei indictioni poenae, ita quod illa soluta satisfactum sit Deo, non est certum, nec creditum, nisi cui Deus revelavit. Opinioni doctorum de thesauro Ecclesiae, congregato ex merito Christi et operibus supererogationis Sanctorum, commisso summo Pontifici ad distribuendum, quamquam sit valde pia, salu-

bres tamen sunt debiles objectiones.—Opera Sanctorum in via existentium secundum esse suum transitoria sunt; et dum cessant Sancti operari, ipsa nullum esse habent secundum se: Dei autem misericordia, addita operantibus iis gratia gratumfaciente, aut est meritum, aut causat meritum. Sunt ergo opera non aliter, quam secundum *(gratiam)* meritum. (Accordingly he confest upon his trial, that he had said to monks, XXII.: Religio non salvat vos, sed gratia Dei; he believed, nevertheless, religionem viam esse ad salutem).—Distribuere autem illa merita nemo potest, nisi Deus principaliter. Si autem homo ministerialiter haec potuerit distribuere, hoc non erit, nisi per divinum pactum.—Tale autem pactum esse factum cum ministris per Jesum, in evangelicis scripturis non habetur. Quare non est habitum. On remission of sins p. 126. Remissio peccatorum est gratiae, gratum facientis hominem Deo, donatio sive infusio.—Solus Deus donat gratiam et infundit—absque praecedente merito—his, qui quantum in eis est se parant ad recipiendum eam. p. 128: Poenitentia est dolor de commissis peccatis. Et haec est dispositio congrua ad remissionem peccatorum. p. 131: Est ex superius dictis notum, nullos sacerdotes facere remissionem peccatorum principaliter et effective, nisi per divinam assistentiam, quae est gratia donata. Quare remissio Sacerdotum est quoddam ministerium sacramentale, exhibitum peccatori poenitenti. Et non est aliud, quam datio sacramenti poenitentiae, cujus effectus est remissio peccatorum. He declares, esse divini honoris, ut ipse solus creet et donet gratiam ex sua mera liberalitate, and accordingly he would have Lombards definition of a sacrament, est invisibilis gratiae visibilis forma, sic quod ipsius imaginem gerat et causa existat, reduced again to St Augustin's: est invisibilis gratiae visibilis forma. p. 143 ss. in the passages Matt. xvi. 19. xviii. 18, quodcunque ligaveritis etc. the claves jurisdictionis were by no means delivered to the Church, but only the right to shut out incorrigible sinners: p. 146: jurisdictio, quae est in Ecclesia, secundum quam principes dominantur subditis, et leges indicunt eis, est a gentilitate sumpta et Christi verbo vetita (Matt. xx. 26). Jurisdictio itaque, quae nunc est in Ecclesia, est ab hominibus instituta, ut sentit b. Hieronymus in epistola ad Evandrum et in expositione epistolae ad Titum (see vol. 1. § 30. note 1). Ex his sequitur, quod pueriliter sentiunt, qui dicunt, indulgentias dari ex vi clavium jurisdictionis. p. 152: tales remissiones, vocatae indulgentiae, sunt piae fraudes fidelium, ut dixerunt multi presbyteri, et signanter quidem Cantor Parisiensis; they are fraudes, quia fideles peregrinantur ad sancta loca, afferunt eleemosynas ad pias causas—opinione, quod liberentur per ea ab omnibus poenis,—et in hac opinione decipiuntur.—Et quia contingit, fideles talia facere opera in caritate Dei, erunt ipsa opera meritoria vitae aeternae et augmentatoria gradus gloriae, ideoque sunt piae et utiles. Afterwards p. 153 ss. on the infallibility of the Church. Quia in Ecclesia universali continetur Ecclesia Christi fundata super petram,—et haec Ecclesia Christi est sancta et immaculata,—ideoque in ea non est error;—haec erit vera locutio: Ecclesia universalis non errat. But at the same time the proposition is likewise true, Ecclesia universalis errat.—Sic et hodie vere dicitur: Ecclesia est peccatrix, est adultera. An argument which reasoned from that holy Church to the whole, would be illogical, quia ex particularibus procedit. From the passages quoted

above it is manifest, that John did not ascribe a divine institution to the hierarchy: its duties and rights he unfolds at length in his Tract. de potestate ecclesiastica in Walchii monim. medii aevi II., ii. p. 118. The maxim laid down shortly before in the Tractatus is of importance to the understanding of several apparently contradictory maxims maintained by him at his trial, ferendam esse quorumcunque magnatum tyrannidem, et imperiis temere non esse reclamandum, quatenus ratio Evangelii per tolerantiam afflictionum non periclitetur. Thus the statement which occurs in his Parodoxa receives explanation: Qui potestati resistit, Dei ordinationi resistit; sic scilicet, quod velit potestatem non esse. Thus he denies on the one hand in the Examen XIV. quod Apostoli habuerunt auctoritatem a Christo condendi canones, aut instituendi aliquas leges (cf. De potest. eccl. in Walch I., ii. p. 133: Qua nunc audacia—Apostolorum successores—mandant observandum, non quod Christus in literis sacris, sed quod ipsi ex sese vel quaestus gratia huc impulsi, aut imperitandi libidine affecti, praecipiunt: Si ne ipsis quidem Apostolis licuit extra praecepta Dei quicquam docere, cum dicat Dominus: *docentes eos servare, quaecunque praecepi vobis!)* and declares accordingly XXIV. nullum esse peccatum mortale, nisi quod Canon Bibliae dicit esse mortale. Likewise XXVIII. Si vicarius significat aliquem, qui in absentia principalis habet facere opera principalis, tunc Christus non habet vicarium in terris. Nevertheless he affirmed the propositions XI. Romanam Ecclesiam esse caput omnium aliarum Ecclesiarum, XII. quod Romanus Pontifex sit Christi vicarius, et necessarium esse unum caput Ecclesiae, XVI. differentiam esse inter Episcopum et sacerdotem, and admitted XV. that the laws of the hierarchy were binding, to wit quod transgredientes legem humanam sic assumptam, peccent mortaliter. Accordingly he declared also XXI. when questioned with regard to the obligation of the continentia Clericorum and the septem horae canonicae: quod, quia susceperunt, etiam ad mandatum Ecclesiae teneantur. However he could only regard all this as of human institution, and preacht accordingly (see Paradoxa): Christus nunquam instituit aliquod jejunium, nec prohibuit quemcunque cibum quocunque die, sicut carnes. Christus nullum festum praecepit celebrare. Item nullam orationem docuit, nisi dominicam, neque mandavit sacerdotibus canere vel legere septem horas canonicas. Si quis confiteatur, injungitur illi ardua poenitentia, ut peregrinetur Romam, vel ad alia remotiora loca, strictum jejunium, quod dicat multas orationes. Quod Christus non fecit, sed solum dixit: vade, noli amplius peccare. Sic gravata est Christianitas per humanas leges et constitutiones. But he did not recommend disobedience as being likely to cause offence, De potest. eccl. in Walch ii., ii. p. 144: Si offensio proximi timeatur per hanc inobedientiam profecto quatenus obtemperare licebit imperantibus non periclitante veritate, nefas fuerit non obedire: non quia hoc praeceptum ab homine proficiscitur, sed quia expostulat caritas. His opinion as to the virtue of Church usages is self-evident: see Examen die Martis: Interrogatus, quid sentiat de consecratione et benedictione altarium, calicis, ornamentorum, cereorum, palmarum, herbarum, aquae benedictae, et aliarum rerum inanimatarum etc., credit, quod nihil virtutis spiritualis et efficaciae habeant ad effugandum daemones, et pro remissione venialium

peccatorum. Credit etiam, quod aqua benedicta non habeat majorem efficaciam, quam alia aqua non benedicta etc. His doctrine of sin and grace was peculiar. It was essentially Augustinian; the following statements occur in the Paradoxa: Deus ab aeterno condidit librum, in quem scripsit omnes suos electos: quicunque autem in eo non est scriptus, nunquam inscribetur in ipsum in aeternum, et qui in eo scriptus est, nunquam ex eo delebitur.—Sola Dei gratia salvantur electi. Et quem Deus vult salvare, donando sibi gratiam, si omnes sacerdotes vellent illum damnare, aut excommunicare, adhuc salvaretur ille. Et quem Deus vult damnare, si omnes—vellent hunc salvare, adhuc iste damnaretur. And accordingly he declared likewise in the Examen die Martis, quod Deus potest conferre gratiam habenti usum rationis absque omni motu liberi arbitrii. Opinatur, quod b. Paulus in sua conversione nihil fecit suo libero arbitrio pro sua conversione.—Sola Dei gratia salvantur electi. When on the other hand on the Monday he maintained as his opinion, nullum esse peccatum originale in parvulis jam conceptis in utero materno: he might well lay down as his reason that only the person habens usum rationis, was capable of sin, as in like manner of grace. Amongst the peculiar opinions of John, these following are still to be noticed, Examen die Lunae VII. quod sacra scriptura non dicat, quod Spiritus Sanctus procedat a filio, aut ab utroque. VIII. falsum esse in symbolo Athanasiano hunc versum: *nam sicut anima rationalis et caro unus est homo, ita Deus et homo unus est Christus.* XIX. quod corpus Christi possit esse sub specie panis, manente substantia panis. The opinion of John Wesel upon this John before us, is given in his Epist. ad Ludolphum de Veno (Opp. ed. Groning. 1614 p. 920 s.) Audisti periculum venerabilis illius viri, Mag. Jo. de Wesalia, cujus tametsi, ut crebro ex me audisti, exorbitantes illae et populo scandalosae absurditates displiceant, eruditio tamen et peracre ingenium ejusmodi est, ut virum illum nequeam non amare, aut casibus ejus non condolere. O quantum profuisset illi, nostro more, ut saepe inter nos Parisiis recensui, ante tum Realium tum Formalium exercitatum studia transegisse, et ita demum non incautum, non inopinum, sed velut ex arce et specula futuros insultus providisse.—Saepe ego veritus in eo inconsideratam et temerariam ejus locutionem, quae licet scholasticae subtilitatis, et fortassis nonnunquam aliquid catholicae veritatis haberet, ea tamen in vulgus indoctum, et non capacem plebem proferri cum gravi simplicium scandalo prorsus odiosum. Such offensive statements in his sermons to the people, as Wesel speaks of, are found e.g. in the Paradoxa; Si s. Petrus instituisset jejunium, forte ideo fecisset, ut eo melius pisces suos vendidisset. Sacrum oleum est sicut aliud oleum, quod comedis domi in offa. Ich verachte den Bapst, die Kirche und Concilia, und lobe Christum. At his trial he was accused no. XX. of having preacht at Wiesbaden, quod videns venerabile sacramentum Eucharistiae videat Diabolum, however he did not give his assent to this. The proceedings against him were all the more cruel, as he was already an infirm old man (Examen die Lunae XX.: prae senio et debilitate vix celebrare poterat) and had been long ill. The opinion of the author of this account, who was himself present during the trial, given at the end of his report, is in the highest degree remarkable: Magister Jo. de Wesalia longo tempore gravi morbo

hand John of Goch,[15] prior of a conven of nuns at Mechlin († 1475), while he principally maintained Christian liberty as the soul of all Christian virtue, was able to teach the same doctrine

laboravit, nihilominus inquirebatur ab eo satis fervide. Quaedam negavit se dixisse, quaedam ut prae aetate et languore potuit conabatur interpretari, et ipse per sese etiam allegabat suam diuturnam infirmitatem. Dempto solo articulo de processione Spiritus Sancti, in aliis videtur non ita gravi censura fuisse castigandus, si induciae datae fuissent, si consultores ei fuissent adhibiti, si non omnes uno solo dempto fuissent de via Realium. Et nisi forsitan impetus quidam irrepsisset in Religiosos triumphandi de Saeculari, et praesertim de eo, qui illorum Thomam peculiariter non coluerat, forsitan poterat cum eo mitius—benigniusque actum—fuisse. Deum testor, qui omnia novit, hunc processum, qui cum eo servatus fuit usque ad revocationem et librorum suorum exustionem, vehementissime displicuisse Mag. Engelino de Brunsvico, maximo Theologo, et Mag. Johanni Keisersbergio, duobus utique viris (both preachers at the time in Strasburg) cum doctis, tum integris. Praecique Mag. Engelino visum fuit nimis praecipitanter cum tanto viro actum esse. Immo non verebatur asserere, multos articulos ejus et majorem partem posse sustineri. Nec obticuit de simultate Thomistarum contra Modernos, et de gaudio triumphandi Religiosorum contra Sacculares. Quis nisi ipse Diabolus seminavit illam zizaniam inter philosophos et inter theologos, ut tanta sit dissensio—inter eos, qui Thomam, qui Scotum, qui Marsilium imitantur, adeo ut, si universalia quisquam realia negaverit, existimetur in Spiritum Sanctum peccavisse?—Unde haec caecitas mentis, nisi a Diabolo? qui, ne utiliora, ne honestiora, ne moribus, virtutibus et saluti animarum conducentia discamus, phantasias nostras illudit, et trahit ad res minus salutares, et ad gelidas harum intentionum speculationes, quibus neque ad Deum devoti reddimur, neque ad proximi dilectionem inflammamur. Et ideo minus aedificamus in Ecclesia Dei, neque fervor Christianorum videtur augeri, sed indies diminui.

[15] John Pupper from Goch in Cleves. With regard to him see Walchii nomim. medii aevi fasc. iv. Praef. p. xiii. ss. and vol. ii. fasc. 1 Praef. p. ii. ss.

[16] His works: De libertate Christiana (ed. Cornel. Grapheus. Antverp. 1521. 4. The publisher fell for this into the hands of the Inquisition, and was obliged to recant, see Gerdesii scrinium antiquarium. T. vi. p. 496 ss.). De quatuor erroribus circa legem evangelicam exortis, et de votis et religionibus facticiis dialogus (in Walch fasc. iv. p. 73 ss.). Epist. apologetica adv. quendam Praedicatorii Ordinis super doctrina doctorum scholasticorum et quibusdam aliis (ed. Corn. Grapheus. Antverp. 1521., reprinted in Walch vol. ii. fasc. 1. p. 1. ss.). With regard to the source of teaching in matters of faith Epist. apologet. in Walch ii. 1. p. 10: Sola scriptura canonica fidem indubiam et irrefragabilem habet auctoritatem. Antiquorum Patrum scripta tantum habent auctoritatis, quantum canonicae veritati sunt conformia. Haec fideli sunt amplectenda, quia canonica veritate student approbare quae dicunt. Modernorum vero doctorum, maxime Ordinum Mendi-

cantium, scripta, pro opinionibus innixa nec fundamentum habent solidum, nec veritate illustrant intellectum sed variis argumentorum implicationibus ipsam nudam et simplicem veritatem obnubilantia, vanitati magis deserviunt quam veritati. (cf. Dialogus in Walch iv. p. 77 ss.). Four errors in reference to the evangelical law, Dialog. p. 83: Primus fuit illorum, qui cum lege evangelica, quam Christus suis sequacibus sub modicis praeceptis et paucis sacramentis liberam dereliquit, onerosam etiam servitutem legis Mosaicae necessariam fore ad salutem contendebant. p. 84: Secundum genus errorum est illorum, qui perfectionem christianae vitae ita in sola fide constituerunt, et opera fidei sibi necessaria non crediderunt, ita ut credentes in Christo et bonum fidei habentes, omnia sibi alia licere arbitrati sint. p. 91: Tertium genus errorum est illorum, qui utrumque actum tam interioris volitionis quam exterioris operationis ad christianae vitae perfectionem necessarium credunt: sed, quod naturales vires liberi arbitrii, sive naturalis facultas humanae naturae absque auxilio divinae gratiae ad hoc sufficiat, impie dogmatisare non erubescunt. Haec fuit haeresis Pelagiana, quae, quamvis ab Ecclesia sit condemnata,—in quorundam tamen cordibus quaedam reliquiae ex ea serpere reperiuntur.—p. 99. Hinc in exterioribus observantiis et caeremoniis rigor intolerabilis exhibetur, et circa deficientes fratres benignitas caritatis negligitur. Motus appetitus sui infatigabiliter exequuntur, traditiones hominum magno amore amplectuntur, sed potiora legis praeterire reperiuntur. p. 109: Quartum genus erroris est illorum, qui—in hoc desipiunt, quod ad perfectiora opera legis evangelicae facienda libertatem spiritus secundum interiorem motum fidei non sufficere contendunt, sed ad hoc obligationem voti necessario requiri, impie dogmatisare non erubescunt; ita ut libertatem evangelicam in servitutem obligatoriam redigentes a pharisaica superstitione non multum distare reperiantur. Hic est error nostri temporis, qui cum Pelagiana haeresi in multis convenire cognoscitur. p. 112: He designates St Thomas in this respect as princeps erroris. p. 114 ss. he warns that voluntas voventis non firmatur in bono ex voto. p. 115: Religiosi possunt a bono virtutis deficere, et facinorosissimi fieri. Quod non est necesse per rationes probabiles adstruere, quia multorum vita nefandissima hoc declarat manifeste, ita ut vulgo dicatur: *quod Monachus audet praesumere, hoc Sathanas erubesceret excogitare.* p. 122: Aeternae beatitudinis praemium non est aliud, quam summi amoris exercitium. p. 124: Creata voluntas largitate divinae bonitatis repletur, et ejus amore inflammata, ad reciprocum amorem assurgit. Unde sicut in ea continua et sine fine duratura erit tanta divinae bonitatis influentia, sic continua et aeterna erit ejus creatae voluntatis ad Deum cum pleno amoris refluentia. p. 139: Anima rationalis eodem modo reducitur in Deum, quomodo exit a Deo. Sed per libertatem divinae voluntatis exit a Deo, ergo per libertatem suae voluntatis debet reduci in Deum. (cf. Epist. apolog. in Walch II., i. p. 19: Qua de causa Apostolus in omni scriptura et doctrina sua ita laborat ab evangelica libertate mosaicam servitutem excludere? Huc utique, ut omnibus patenter claresceret, neminem posse legem evangelicam nisi per libertatem Spiritus meritorie observare. Nec mirum, quia lex evangelica est lex amoris. Amare autem nemo potest, nisi per voluntatis libertatem). p. 142: Praecepta evangelica—non ad humanae volun-

unmolested: and the still more deeply penetrating John Wessel[17]

tatis libertatem onerandam, sed ad ipsam libertatem dirigendam ordinantur.—Sunt enim haec praecepta lumen divinae caritatis tenebris humanae ignorantiae coelitus infusum, quo divinae voluntatis beneplacitum, quae est regula omnis creatae voluntatis, manifestatur, et ad ejus conformitatem creata voluntas dirigitur. To the question Quare ergo Ecclesia votum fieri ordinavit, et cum tanta solemnitate fieri decrevit, si nihil boni supernaturalis in voluntate voventis efficit? an answer is given p. 164: Ecclesia mater est fidelium: in matribus autem plus solet abundare affectus, quam vigere intellectus. Et ideo in quibusdam actibus Ecclesiae magis attendendus est affectus pietatis, quam lumen discretionis. Unde fit, ut quamvis Ecclesia militans aliquando erret in effectu, eo quod Ecclesia militans fallitur et fallit; non tamen errat in affectu, quia quicquid circa Ecclesiae filios ordinat ad profectum eorum, procul dubio materno affectu disponere laborat. p. 167: Votum religionis propter infirmos et instabiles Ecclesia ordinavit, qui ad perfectam legis evangelicae observantiam sub communi institutione christianae religionis aliter induci non poterant, ut per exteriorem obligationem sub jugo evangelicae libertatis vivere assuescerent, qui absque obligatione ad hoc non poterant edomari. Cum igitur haec ita se habeant, valde est a veritate alienum, quod quidam Religiosorum ad tam superstitiosam elationem religiones extollunt, quod in suam contumeliam status eas perfectionis dicere non erubescant. p. 177: Divina ordinatio et constitutio est sufficientissima ad summam et perfectissimam legis evangelicae observationem, et non indiget nova institutione vel ordinatione. Et ideo positivae constitutiones Ecclesiae, ordinationi divinae superadditae, non sunt, nisi quaedam exteriores honestae observantiae, ordinatae vel propter majorem reverentiam in suscipiendis vel tractandis sacramentis, ut jejuno stomacho sacramentum eucharistiae percipere,—et similia, quae nihil faciunt ad sacramenti veritatem, sed ad honorem et dignitatem. p. 180: Quod illa necessitas coactionis sit per se causa boni productiva, vel quod sit per se bonum meritorium, quemadmodum Thomistae affirmant, omnino negamus, immo falsum esse, et haeresi Pelagianae vicinum esse dicimus.—Positiva constitutio Ecclesiae—non potest se extendere ad interiorem motum voluntatis, in quo est principium merendi, sed solum ad substantiam actus exterioris, qui potest fieri absque auxilio gratiae secundum facultatem voluntatis. Dicere ergo, quod votum sit causa productiva meriti,—non est alliud dicere, quam quod exteriore actu voluntatis absque auxilio gratiae potest aeterna beatitudo mereri.—Haec fuit insania Pelagii haeretici etc.—p. 199: Vita sacerdotalis, secundum eminentiam status sacerdotalis et dignitatem Ordinis regulata, est vere et simpliciter apostolica, et summa perfectio religionis christianae. p. 207: Ex sacramentorum primaria institutione, et ex divina ordinatione licet omnibus sacerdotibus omnia sacramenta dispensare.—Quod ergo nunc temporis Episcopis licet conferre aliqua quae non licent sacerdotibus,—hoc est vel propter Ecclesiae consuetudinem vel constitutionem. Multa enim Ordini sacerdotali per consuetudinem vel constitutionem Ecclesiae sunt ablata, quae divina constitutione ei sunt collata.

[17] Called also Gansfort, probably from a village from which his

(Lux mundi, Magister contradictionum), after having discharged many different academic offices at Cologne, Louvain, Paris, and Heidelberg, was allowed to end his life in peace at Groningen, his native place († 1489), although he profest a doctrine which Luther afterwards acknowledged to be entirely identical with his own.[18]

family was derived. There are two accounts of his life by Albr. Hardenberg and Gerard Geldenhauer at the beginning of the Opp. Wesseli. Compare Effigies et Vitae Professorum Academiae Groningae et Omlandiae. Groning. 1654. fol. p. 12. ss. Guil. Muurling de Wesseli Gansfortii cum vita, tum meritis in praeparanda sacrorum emendatione in Belgio septentrionali. Pars prior (containing the life). Traj. ad. Rhen. 1831. 8. Johann Wessel, ein Vorgänger Luthers. Zur Characteristik der christl. Kirche und Theologie in ihrem Uebergang aus dem Mittelalter in die Reformationszeit. Von D. C. Ullmann. Hamburg 1834. 8.

[18] Many of his works are lost (Hardenberg in vita Wess. p. 13: quae in scriniis ipsius reperiebantur ejus manuscripta omnia eo mortuo opera Mendicantium monachorum, et quorundam aliorum furore exusta erant). Several of his treatises were sent from Holland to Luther, and first publisht under the title Farrago Wesseli (probably Witteb. 1521) 4. since 1522 several times at Wittenberg, Basle and Marburg as Farrago rerum theologicarum uberrima doctiss. Viro Wesselo Groningensi auctore (compare Ullmann S. 461 ff). In Luther's preface prefixt to the later editions is the passage: Prodiit en Wesselus (quem Basilium dicunt) Phrisius Groningen. vir admirabilis ingenii, rari et magni spiritus, quem et ipsum apparet esse vere Theodidactum, quales prophetavit fore Christianos Jesaias, neque enim ex hominibus accepisse judicari potest, sicut nec ego. Hic si mihi antea fuisset lectus, poterat hostibus meis videri Lutherus omnia ex Wesselo hausisse, adeo spiritus utriusque concordat. The complete edition M. Wesseli Gansfortii Opera, quae inveniri potuerunt omnia (ed. Petrus Pappus a Tratzberg) Groning. 1614. 4. comprises besides the farrago five treatises and a collection of letters. For Wessel's theology see Ullmann S. 187 ff. His doctrine of justification: De magnitudine passionis c. 45. (Opp. p. 550): Arbitramur hominem justificari per fidem Jesu Christi absque operibus (Rom. iii. 28), et fides sine operibus emortua est (Jac. ii. 27): diversum dicunt Apostolus Paulus et Jacobus, verum non adversum. Communis utrique sententia est, justum ex fide vivere, fide inquam, per dilectionem operante. cap. 46. p. 553: Qui per opera sua justificari putat, non novit, quid sit justus. Justus est, qui unicuique quod suum est tribuit. Sed quis homo unquam absolvit, ut Deo esset qualis esse debet, omni homini sit qualis esse debet? Nescit quod sit suum debitum, nescit etiam quanta sit futurorum bonorum exspectatio, quam nullis operibus aequare potest: neque solum hac ignorantia errat, sed et sacrilegii (reus est), gloriam justificationis non Deo, sed sibi tribuens. Qui vero Evangelium audiens credit, desiderat, sperat, confidit ut laeta nuntia, praeterea amat evangelisatum justificantem et beatificantem, quantalibet pro consequendo faciat et patiatur; non sua opera, non se operantem extollit, sed extentus totus et propensus in eum quem amat,

a quo credit, cupit, sperat, confidit, justificatur, nihil sibi ipsi tribuit qui scit nihil habere ex se. Cap. 47. p. 554: Praecepit igitur lex perfectionem, sed nihil adduxit ad perfectum. Sed quid? Num Evangelium duxit ad perfectum? Utique. Quem igitur? Omnem credentem, quoniam omni credenti Christus finis legis est ad justitiam, et fructus, quoniam ipse est, qui dat potestatem filios Dei fieri his qui credunt in nomine ejus. Credendo verbo adhaerent Verbo. Verbum Deus est. Credendo igitur Deo adhaerent: et adhaerere Deo bonum est, quia qui adhaeret Deo, unus cum eo spiritus fit, cum justo justus, cum sancto sanctus.—Quae sit vera communio Sanctorum? Opp. p. 809: Vera essentiali unitate communicant Sancti omnes quotquot una fide, una spe, una charitate Christo cohaerent, sub quibuscunque Praelatis, quantumlibet ambitiose contendentibus, aut dissentientibus, aut errantibus, etiam haereticis Praelatis degant.—Et haec est illa sanctorum communio, de qua in Symbolo: credo Sanctorum communionem. —Constat, quod valde possibile, Graecum vera pietate adfectum omnia credere in Constantinopoli sub suo Patriarcha schismatico quae Latinus Romae credit: quid illi nocet suorum haeretica pravitas? Unitas ergo Ecclesiae sub uno Papa tantum accidentalis est, adeo ut non sit necessaria, licet conferens multum in Sanctorum communione. On Church authority and its position relative to Scripture De potestate Ecclesiastica Opp. p. 753: Pastor gregem Domini pascere positus est. Verum quia grex pascendus rationis et liberi arbitrii est, non prorsus in potestate pastoris traditus est, ut nihil ab eo exigatur, nisi pastori obedire. Debet enim ovis ipse dinosse quibus pascatur, quibus inficiatur, et quomodocunque, oblatam etiam a pastore ipso, vitare pestiferam infectionem. Et in hoc si sequatur pastorem, non excusatur. Debet ergo populus pastores ad pascua sequi. Quando vero non pascit, pastor non est: neque tunc, velut inofficioso, grex ei parere tenetur. p. 769: Nemo magis Ecclesiam destruit, quam corruptus Clerus. Destruentibus Ecclesiam omnes Christiani tenentur resistere, usque etiam ad ultimos, puta rusticos juxta illud 2 Thess. iii. 6. Sancta quippe rusticitas quantum Ecclesiam Dei aedificat vitae merito, tantum nocet, si destruentibus eam non resistit. p. 759: Propter Deum Evangelio credimus, et propter Evangelium Ecclesiae et Papae, non Evangelio propter Ecclesiam. Unde quod Augustinus (contra Epist. Manichaei c. 6.: *ego vero Evangelio non crederem, nisi me catholicae Ecclesiae commoveret auctoritas*) de Evangelio et Ecclesia dicit, originis de credendo verbum est, non comparationis aut praeferentiae. Dixit enim Apostolis Dominus Jesus: *Praedicate omni creaturae, docentes eos servare quaecunque praecepi vobis* (Matth. xxviii. 19, 20). Non igitur audiendi, nisi quantum missi: non missi, nisi cum Evangelio: non evangelisantes, nisi secundum Evangelium. Sed quia verisimilius est, unum aliquem penes Evangelium toti multitudini contradicentem errare, quam totam doctorum virorum Ecclesiam, ideo debet, quicunque ille fuerit, semper suspectum se habere, et formidare de errore. Verum quia scit, non impossibile, multos Doctores errare, debet semper adparentem Evangelii veritatem primo amplecti. Debet igitur sedulo diligenter inquirere veritatem et intelligentiam Evangelii. Debet tertio rationes contradicentium diligenter attendere, et illi parti, quam viciniorem Evangelio invenerit, firmiter adhaerere. Ex illo verbo Domini Jesu: *super cathe-*

dram Mosis sederunt scribae et Pharisaei: omnia ergo, quae dixerint, vobis servare, servate et facite (Matth. xxiii. 2: 3.), multi Praelatorum Ecclesiae trahunt erroneam et falsam intelligentiam. Putant enim ex hoc verbo datam eis authenticam potestatem, ut obligare possint auditorem ad servandum et faciendum quae dicunt.—Oportet tam Praelatorum quam Doctorum praecepta sic servare et facere, quemadmodum Paulus (1 Thess. v. 21. see p. 756) monuit, hoc est, quam diu in cathedra Mosis sedentes secundum Mosen dicunt. Et si quid extra vel contra, non magnopere ligat fideles contra legem perfectae libertatis. Dei enim servi sumus, non Papae: cui utique serviremus, si ad omnia ejus qualiacunque obligaremur. Dictum est autem: *Dominum Deum tuum adorabis, et illi soli servies* (Matth. iv. 10.) p. 748: Papa tenetur credere et obligatur cum omnibus obligatis fidelibus. Et quando credit sicut obligatur, tunc fideles obligantur credere quod ipse credit: non quia ipse credit, sed quia credit quod credere debet. Et si alius melius eo crediderit, quod credere debet, ipse Papa debet cum illo credere quocunque, etiam laico et muliere.—Unde concluditur, quod licet verisimiliter praesumendum sit, summum Pontificem et Praelatos tanto rectius ad veritatem Evangelii incedere, quanto ceteris aliis altius in sublime dignitatis evecti sunt, et ita, ceteris paribus, potius illis, quam alicui subditorum credendum; non tamen simpliciter subditos obligatos ad credendum illis. Hoc nempe adeo irrationabile est et blasphemiae plenum, ut etiam quacunque haeresi pestilentius inveniatur. Potest nempe Praelatus errare.—Summorum enim Pontificum plerique pestilenter erraverunt, ut novissimis diebus nostris in Constantia, celebri Concilio claruit, Benedictus, Bonifacius, et Johannes XXIII. quam graviter fidem lacerarint. Et nostris postremis diebus Pius II. et Sixtus IV., quorum alter patentibus bullis regna terrarum sibi vindicavit, alter turpissimas dispensationes, non solum de praestito in causa civili juramento, sed etiam de praestando—emisit in abusu potestatis Apostolicae; quicquid F. Petrus vel Comes Hieronymus insolenter aut avare gesserunt, ipse postea cum resciret ratificavit, etiam bullis plumbatis. De sacramento poenitentiae p. 779: Contra communem opinionem de monarchia Romani Pontificis est, quod impossibile homini est fines orbis terrae nosse, qui nullo unquam cosmographo omnes comprehensi sunt. Quomodo igitur judicabit, quos nosse non poterit? Quomodo judicabit fidem, quorum linguam ignorat? Unitatem igitur Ecclesiae sibi Spiritus Sanctus fovendam, vivificandam, conservandam retinuit et augendam, non Romano Pontifici, saepe non curanti, reliquit. On the Lord's Supper, De sacram. Eucharistiae c. 24. p. 696 s. Ubicunque nomen ejus benedictum,—vere illic ipse est non solum divinitate praesens et benevolentia, sed etiam corporaliter praesens.—Non hic dico, datum cuilibet homini Christiano, ut possit, cum velit, sacramentaliter per Eucharistiam habere praesentem: hoc enim solis datum est sacerdotibus. Sed hoc dico, vere praesentem commemoranti nomen ejus, vere praesentem Dominum Jesum non sola deitate sua, sed et carne sua et sanguine, et humanitate tota. Quis enim dubitabit, corporaliter saepe praesentem Dominum Jesum suis fidelibus in eorum agonibus, non propter hoc dimisso in coelestibus consessu ad dexteram Patris? Quis dubitabit, ita posse hoc simul tempore fieri extra Eucharistiam, sicut in Eucharistia? Cap. 28. p. 703: Sic parti-

cipare corpori et sanguini, hoc manducare est magis, quam si decies millies Eucharistiam ad altare de manu sacerdotis arido corde, frigida voluntate, licet etiam in statu salutis, capiamus. Cap. 8. p. 673 : Corpus autem et sanguis Domini Jesu quantumlibet sancta sint, corpora tamen sunt, non spiritus. Unde si corporaliter tantum sumantur, non solum non spiritualiter reficient manducantem, sed occident.—Unde Dominus (Jo. vi. 63.) : *Spiritus est, qui vivificat, caro non prodest quidquam*, h. e. parum est de carne quantumlibet sancta, sed operis magnitudo, et ineffabilis dilectio, et charitas offerentis per Spiritum Sanctum, illa est quae vivificat. Cap. 10. p. 678 : Valde notandum verbum Domini (Jo. vi. 53.) : *nisi manducaveritis, non habebitis vitam in vobis*. Habent autem vitam veram, qui credunt in eum. Ergo qui credunt in eum, hi sunt, qui manducant carnem ejus.—Manducabat ergo Paulus primus Eremita etiam temporibus illis, quibus mortalem nullum, ne dicam sacerdotem communicantem, videbat. Sed manducabat, quia credebat ; et quod credebat, crebro commemorabat etc. On penance De Sacram. poenitentiae p. 789 : Dicunt communiter, ad integritatem Sacramenti poenitentiae tria concurrere, contritionem, confessionem, satisfactionem. Sed hi, si intelligerent vim verbi in Psalmo (li. 18.) : *Cor contritum et humiliatum Deus non despicies*, non tam importune instarent. Quid enim est cor contritum, nisi cor ad minima comminutae et confractae duritiei obduratae mentis humiliatum cor ?— Si ergo, qui cor durum conterit et abjicit, cor pium et spontaneum Deo non despiciendum offert, profecto jam humiliato corde justus, et jam Deo satisfactum in remissionem peccatorum. Non ergo prima contritio, neque postrema satisfactio ad Sacramentum poenitentiae vivificantis et justificantis ex morte ad vitam necessariae sunt, licet sine vera contritione etc. sicut nec sine vera humilitate vita Spiritus vel redit, vel conservatur. Participatio sacramentorum est opus gratiae, non justitiae.—Poenitentia, si sacramentum est, contritione non eget, quia contritio justitiae opus est, et ita contritus ante sacramentum justus.—Infusae jam gratiae opus est contritio, detestatio videlicet peccati, opus meae justitiae : non ergo pars sacramenti poenitentiae, quia sacramentum poenitentiae praecedit, et operatur justificationem. p. 791 : Neque dolor, neque tristitia, neque contritio in oculis Dei accepta sunt magis, quam amor, ex quo procedunt. p. 777 : Nullus confitetur, nisi memor. Nullus memor, nisi justificatus ad vitam. —Patet ergo, quod antequam quis confiteatur peccatum suum, jam a reatu suae praevaricationis, quo aeterna sibi supplicia debebantur, per gratiam internae compunctionis absolvitur. P. 795 : Confessio sacramentalis ex forma sua non est judicialis, ita ut, si non adsit judicium— confessoris, non sit actus confitentis et absolventis vere verum sacramentum. Sufficit enim ad veritatem efficacis sacramenti, ut confitens vere et fideliter dicat, confessor post acceptam illius confessionem absque judiciali discussione absolvat. Quia sicut poenitentis confessione lavat poenitentem Deus, et non peccator ; ita sacerdotis absolutione dimittit Deus, et non confessor. Hi ministerium exhibent, sed mysterium operatur Deus.—De confitente et confessione solum judicat Deus, nihil de confessis peccatis. Quomodo enim judicare creditur confessa, qui confitenti promisit omnia retroacta per solam confessionem condonare ? Stulte ergo faciunt, qui post confessionem non solum judicant, sed

Hence it is manifest, that though there were differences of opinion with regard to the corruptions of the Church, still the consciousness of the necessity of a Reformation was universally

etiam post absolutionem terrores fiunt, flagris feriunt, virgis percutiunt. P. 796: Valde irrationabiliter de Sacramento confessionis loquuntur, qui adjunctam satisfactionem adserunt essentialem partem poenitentiae. Primo, quia detractant sacramentali sufficientiae, qui non putant, Principis donationem sufficere ad remissionem. Secundo, falsificant verbum absolutionis, quia, cum dicunt absolvo, postea ligant, et innodatum dimittunt. Sed quod omnium gravius est, universum sacramentum periclitant, quia protrahunt usque in peractam totaliter poenitentiam injunctam. Unde si fragilis ille iterum tempore medio labatur durante sacramento propter obicem positum in parte sacramenti, totum sacramentum facit nullum fuisse. Quae enim essentialiter unum constituunt unius nullitate omnia fiunt nulla. On indulgence, Epist. ad Jac. Hoeck de indulgentiis p. 878: A puero ridiculum et indignum semper mihi visum credere, aliquem hominem suo decreto posse facere, quo bonum in oculis Dei ut quatuor, fieret bonum ut octo.—Num tibi leves aut futiles causae videntur, quibus ab hac nova indulgentiarum adsertione Patres ante Albertum ac Thomam, ut ipsi scripto testantur, discesserunt, asserentes, nihil esse nisi piam fraudem, ac dolum non malum, quo plebs officioso errore trahetur ad pietatem? De Sacram, poenitentiae p. 773: Pari passu auctoritatis seu potestatis clavium ambulant indulgentiae et excommunicatio, neque plus potest Papa in reconciliandis Deo animabus, quam possit alienandis. Sed in excommunicandis nihil potest, nisi per forum ecclesiasticum foris ad oculum separare, et destituere etiam corpora mortuorum ecclesiastica sepultura: similiter in indulgentiis a vinculo Canonum et censuris liberare. Deo autem praeter simplicem usum aut abusum fidei, spei et charitatis nihil est quod conciliare aut alienare posset. Non enim reconciliatus Deo per gratiam sacramentalem et caritatem plus ei reconciliatur arbitrio aut aestimatione Papae, aut excommunicatione Papae magis alienatur a Deo. Non enim liceret excommunicare si magis alienaret a Deo. Non enim licet ei facere magis peccatores etc. Fidelis et prudens in domo Domini sui servus nihil facit praeter et extra voluntatem Domini sui: et quidquid facit in domo Domini sui, Dominus ratum et firmum habet.—Nec ad hoc eum Ordinis dignitas authenticat, sed charitas per Spiritum Sanctum diffusa in corde.—Immo nec sexus femineus obstat, quin si fidelis et prudens charitatem habeat diffusam in corde suo, possit et ipse conformiter sentire, judicare, favere, diffinire divino judicio. On purgatory, De purgatorio p. 829: Purgatorium ignis est, qui interioris hominis sordes etiam carne soluti comitantes purgat potius, quam torquet.—Has maculas intellectualis disciplinae ignis secundum Apostolum (1 Cor. iii. 11 ss.) probat,—et lignum, foenum, stipulam exurit, donec super unicum, verum, solum et solidum fundamentum, Jesum Christum, nihil remanet superaedificatum, nisi argentum, aurum, lapides pretiosi. P. 834: Sunt igitur (defuncti) in tali statu, quem si sciremus gauderemus. In statu igitur non misero, non sub virga lictoris, aut in igne praeparato Diabolo et angelis ejus, sed sub disciplina Patris instituentis, et eorum quotidiano profectu gaudentis P. 846. Thesis 33: Quod

diffused.[19] Nor is it to be wondered at that the wish for Reform often led to hope, and hope to confident expectation, which at length found utterance in prophecy.[20]

Christi Evangelium est solum, verum, praecipuum purgatorium, licet etiam alia minus principaliter possint rationabiliter tolerari. 34. Quod idem ergo verum purgatorium est paradisus, sed amanti tanto amarior, quanto magis ipse purgatior divino amore flagrarit.' 35. Hunc flagrantis animae ardorem et amaritudinem ego puto verum, postremum et perfectissimum purgatorium.

[19] See above § 136 notes 30 and 31. Guilielmus Budaeus de asse et partibus ejus (Paris 1514 fol.) fol. 146 ss. laments with great eloquence over the corruption of the clergy and the papal see, fol. 150 b: Quid vinea Domini, nonne ita degeneravit in labruscras, ut primo quoque tempore repastinanda videatur, et ex situ et carie negligentiae pastino quodam restituenda censurae? Certe manum poscit et flagitat solertis et industrii vinitoris, qui palmites fructuarios et munifices a pampinariis internoscat etc. fol. 152: Status civitatis orthodoxae e sede severitatis et disciplinae convulsus manum quandam Paoeniam poscit, ut apte et placide in eam reponatur, et luxata Ecclesiae membra in artus suos redeant. Sic fiet, ut principes Ecclesiae non auro obryzo, non argentea supellectili, non opimis obventionibus et numerosis titulis opum suarum magnitudinem metiantur, quae gazas Regum provocare, non divitias priscorum antistitum aemulari videntur: sed bonis internis; sed copia doctrinae, sed iis animae Christo desponsae dotibus, quae in cordis scriniolis tanquam in gazophylaciis mystici fani conduntur.

[20] Melanchthon in Apologia Conf. Aug. xiii. de votis Monasticis (ed. Rechenberg p. 276): Apud nos in oppido Thuringiae Isenaco Franciscanus quidam fuit ante annos triginta, Johannes Hilten, qui a suo sodalitio conjectus est in carcerem propterea, quod quosdam notissimos abusus reprehenderat. Vidimus enim ejus scripta, ex quibus satis intelligi potest, quale fuerit ipsius doctrinae genus.—Is multa praedixit, quae partim evenerunt hactenus, partim jam videntur impendere. (His work Comm. in Apocalypsin et textum Danielis, quantum concordat cum Apocalypsi, vel eam supplet, from which there are some extracts in Melch. Adami vitae Theologorum p. 2 s. reveal his bent of mind. He calculated the end of the world for the year 1651). Sed postremo, cum vel propter aetatem, vel propter squalorem carceris in morbum incidisset, accersivit ad se Guardianum, ut suam valetudinem illi indicaret, cumque Guardianus accensus odio Pharisaico duriter objurgare hominem propter doctrinae genus, quod videbatur officere culinae, coepisset, tum iste omissa jam mentione valetudinis ingemiscens inquit, se has injurias aequo animo propter Christum tolerare, cum quidem nihil scripsisset aut docuisset, quod labefactare statum Monachorum posset, tantum notos quosdam abusus reprehendisset. Sed alius quidam, inquit, veniet anno Dom. MDXVI., qui destruet vos, nec poteritis ei resistere. Hanc ipsam sententiam de inclinatione regni Monachorum, et hunc annorum numerum postea etiam repererunt ejus amici perscriptum ab ipso in commentariis suis inter annotationes, quas reliquerat in certos locos Danielis. Of Andrew Proles, prior of the Monastery of

§ 154.

REFORMATORY EFFECTS OF THE RESUSCITATION OF ANTIENT LORE.

Fresh means, entirely wanting to the Schoolmen, for a scientific examination of Church matters, were furnisht by the unsealing of antient lore.[1] Already in the fourteenth century Dante and Petrarch drew attention in Italy to the old Roman poets; and Boccaccio had awakened an interest for the Greeks also. But Latin Literature was first establisht on firmer and more comprehensive ground by John of Ravenna, Latin reader at Padua and Florence († before 1420), Greek literature by Emanuel

Heaven's gate at Wernigerode, and Provincial of the Augustins († 1503), an aged monk of that Monastery gave the following account to Flacius (see Catal. test. verit. ed. Francof. 1666. p. 849): Ab ipso saepe audivi inter praelegendum haec verba: Auditis, fratres, testimonium scripturae sanctae, quod gratia sumus quicquid sumus, et gratia habemus quicquid habemus. Unde igitur tantae tenebrae, et horrendae superstitiones? O fratres, res Christiana opus habet forti et magna reformatione, quam quidem jam prope instare video. Quaerentibus fratribus, quare ipse non inciperet reformationem, ac erroribus sese opponeret, respondebat: Videtis, fratres, me esse actate grandaevum, corpore et viribus debilem, et agnosco, me non esse praeditum tanta doctrina, industria et eloquentia, quantam haec res postulat. Sed excitabit Dominus heroem aetate, viribus, industria, doctrina, ingenio et eloquentia praestantem, qui reformationem incipiet, erroribusque sese opponet: ei Deus animum dabit, ut Magnatibus contradicere ausit; et ipsius ministerium salutare Dei beneficio comperietis. Solitus est etiam saepe dicere inter praelegendum: Regnum Papae magnam minatur ruinam, quia nimis alte et nimis cito crevit. Luther also records of Proles in his work: Von den neuen Eckischen Bullen und Lügen, Tom. i. Jenens. f. 359, that when he saw a picture of Dr John Zacharias decorated with a rose in acknowledgment of his services in the condemnation of Huss, he exclaimed: "O wehe, ich wollte nicht gern die Rosen mit denen Ehren tragen." Compare Das Leben des Andreas Proles, eines Zeugen der Wahrheit vor Luthero, beschrieben von M. Gottfr. Schütze. Leipzig 1744. 8.

[1] C. Meiner's Lebensbeschreibungen berühmter Männer aus den Zeiten der Wiederherstellung der Wissenschaften. 3 Bände. Zürich 1795—97. 8. A. H. L. Heeren Gesch. der classischen Literatur im Mittelalter. 2 Theile (N. A. in dess. historischen Werken Th. 4 u. 5. Göttingen 1822). Th. 1. S. 316 ff. D. H. A. Erhard Gesch. des Wiederaufblühens wissenschaftl. Bildung, vornehmlich in Teutschland bis zum Anfange der Reform. 3 Bde. Magdeburg 1827—32. 8.

Chrysoloras, who laboured in this cause at Florence and Pavia † 1415. The decline of the Grecian empire, and the final fall of Constantinople, induced many learned Greeks to seek refuge in Italy (from 1420—1430: George of Trapezium † 1484, John Argyropylus † 1486, Theodore Gaza † 1478; at the time of the Council of Florence in 1438, Bessarion † 1472, George Gemistius Pletho, who returned to Greece in 1441: After the conquest of Constantinople in 1453, Emanuel Moschopylus, Constantine Lascaris, Demetrius Chalkondylas). By means of their affectionate partiality for Hellenism, a feeling of patriotism was constantly awakened in Italy, to vindicate with due honour Roman antiquity also: thus there soon arose numerous learned Italians, distinguisht in Grecian and Roman literature (Gasparinus † 1431, John Aurispa † 1459, Guarinus † 1460, Leonardo Bruno Aretinus † 1444, Poggius † 1459, Francia Philelphus † 1481, Laurentius Valla † 1456, Nicholas Perottus † 1480, Christopher Laudinus † 1504, Philip Beroaldus the elder † 1504, Hermolaus Barbarus † 1493, Angelo Politianus † 1494). Many Italian princes made the encouragement of antient literature a source of honour (especially the Medici at Florence, Cosmo from 1429—1464, and Lorenzo from 1469—1492, Alphonso V., King of Aragon and Naples, from 1442 — 1458, Pope Nicholas V., from 1447 — 1455), and so even in the 15th century learning was widely extended and highly esteemed in Italy.

In the first place, the cultivation of taste to be obtained from the antient writers was universally valued, without considering that on the one hand the servile admiration and imitation of antiquity in which the newly awakened love for it found its expression among the Humanists, necessarily endangered their attachment to the Church, while on the other hand fresh impulses and capabilities for making hazardous investigations with regard to Church doctrines and opinions would be furnisht by the knowledge of antient lore. The Italian Humanists anxiously avoided every appearance of the fact that their knowledge had any contact with theology. Laurentius Valla, Reader at Naples and Rome, († 1456) was the only one[2] who displayed in a few

[2] With regard to him see Tiraboschi storia della litteratura italiana VI., ii. p. 301 ss. Heeren Th. 2. S. 243 ff. How he was pronounced a heretic by the clergy on account of certain philosophical works, in which he defended Epicurism and maintained doctrines offensive to them with regard to free will, he records himself in his Apologia pro se et

isolated experiments, the dangerous influence which researches into antiquity might exercise upon Church opinions. The new Platonists, who took their rise from the Platonic Academy[3] founded by Cosmo de Medicis, with the help of Gemistius Pletho at Florence in 1440, adopted in Neoplatonism, a philosophical syncretism lying open to the most manifold superstitions, which for the most part coincided with the Church system:[4] nevertheless by reason of its independent principle, and its internal vitality, it was by no means unlikely to cause danger to the Church.[5] In opposition to this Platonism the genuine Aristo-

contra calumniatores ad Eugenium P. IV. Then he denied the genuineness of the correspondence betwixt Christ and Abgarus, and declared the commonly received account of the origin of the Apostles' creed to be false. Most remarkable is his work De ementita Constantini donatione declamatio ad Papam.—Opera. Basil. 1543 fol.

[3] K. Sieveking Gesch. d. platon. Academie zu Florenz. Göttingen 1812. Heeren Th. 2. S. 41.

[4] Tennemann's Gesch. der Philosophie. Bd. 9. S. 138 ff. The men most distinguisht in this line were Marsilius Ficinus, lecturer in the Platonic Academy at Florence, († 1499, see J. G. Schelhorn de vita, moribus et scriptis Mars. Fic. in his Amoenitatt. liter. i. p. 37), and Joannes Picus, Count of Mirandula († 1494, his life by his nephew Jo. Franc. Picus is prefixt to both Opp. Basil. 1573 and 1601. 2 Bde. fol. Meiners Lebensbeschreibungen Bd. 2. S. 3 ff.). Jo. Picus was the first to introduce the Jewish Cabbala also into this Syncretism; he says of the Cabbalistic writings Apologia. Opp. i. p. 82: Hos ego libros non mediocri impensa mihi cum comparassem, summa diligentia, indefessis laboribus cum perlegissem, vidi in illis (testis est Deus) religionem non tam Mosaicam, quam Christianam; ibi Trinitatis mysterium, ibi verbi incarnatio, ibi Messiae divinitas, ibi de peccato originali, de illius per Christum expiatione, de coelesti Hierusalem, de casu Daemonum, de ordinibus Angelorum, de purgatoriis, de inferorum poenis eadem legi, quae apud Paulum et Dionysium, apud Hieronymum et Augustinum quotidie legimus. In his vero, quae spectant ad philosophiam, Pythagoram prorsus audias et Platonem, quorum decreta ita sunt fidei Christianae affinia, ut Augustinus noster immensas Deo gratias agat, quod ad ejus manus pervenerint libri Platonicorum.

[5] This was especially displayed in the 900 theses which John Picus, when 24 years old, in 1486, publisht to the whole world, to be discust in Rome. He himself records the impression which this step made in Rome Apologia Opp. i. p. 76: Aliqui philosophiam et literas omnino carpere, illud etiam (ut viderentur scioli) quandoque addentes, ejectum Adam de Paradiso, quod per scientiam boni et mali aequalem se Diis facere voluit: exterminandos pari exemplo de Christi curia, qui volunt sapere plus quam oportet.—Ex his autem, qui sapientiam, i.e. theologiae studium, profitebantur, quidam fuere, qui conviciis forte levioribus non contenti, non jam audacem me, non temerarium, non gloriosum,

telian system also recovered some adherents,[6] and gave them a dangerous inclination to scepticism.[7] This last, supported partly by a few isolated glimpses of historical criticism, partly by disregard for every thing which did not belong to the province of Philology, was communicated to many of the Italian Humanists and workt amongst them an unbelief which not unfrequently infringed upon the most generally admitted truths of religion,[8]

sed magum, sed impium, sed novum in Christi Ecclesia haeresiarcham praedicarent. The following 13 Theses were designated as objectionable. Opp. i. p. 42 : I. Christus non veraciter, et quantum ad realem praesentiam descendit ad inferos, ut ponit Thomas et communis via, sed solum quoad effectum. II. Peccato mortali finiti temporis non debetur poena infinita secundum tempus, sed finita tantum. III. Nec crux Christi, nec ulla imago adoranda est adoratione latriae, etiam eo modo, quo ponit Thomas. IV. Non assentior communi sententiae theologorum dicentium, posse Deum quamlibet naturam suppositare, sed de rationali tantum hoc concedo. V. Nulla est scientia, quae nos magis certificet de divinitate Christi, quam Magia et Cabala. VI. Si teneatur communis via de possibilitate suppositationis in respectu ad quamcunque creaturam, dico, quod sine conversione panis in corpus Christi, vel paneietatis annihilatione potest fieri, ut in altari sit corpus Christi secundum veritatem sacramenti Eucharistiae : quod sit dictum loquendo de possibili, non de sic esse. VII. Rationabilius est credere Origenem esse salvum, quam credere ipsum esse damnatum. VIII. Dico probabiliter, et nisi esset communis modus dicendi theologorum in oppositum, firmiter assererem : assero tamen hoc dictum in se esse probabile, et est quod, sicut nullus opinatur aliquid ita esse praecise, quia vult sic opinari, ita nullus credit aliquid esse verum praecise, quia vult credere id esse verum. IX. Qui dixerit, accidens existere non posse, nisi inexistat, Eucharistiae poterit sacramentum tenere, etiam tenendo, panis substantiam non remanere, ut tenet communis via. X. Illa verba, "Hoc est corpus etc.," quae in consecratione dicuntur, materialiter tenentur, non significative. XI. Miracula Christi non ratione rei factae, sed ratione modi faciendi suae divinitatis argumentum certissimum sunt. XII. Magis improprie dicitur de Deo, quod sit intellectus vel intelligens, quam de anima rationali, quod sit Angelus. XIII. Nihil intelligit actu et distincte anima, nisi se ipsam.

[6] The controversy with regard to the pre-eminence of Plato or Aristotle, may be seen in Tennemann Bd. 9. S. 54 ff. On the Aristotelians see S. 63 ff.

[7] The representative of this scepticism is Petrus Pomponatius, teacher of Philosophy at Padua and Bologna † 1526. In his works De immortalitate animae, De fato, libero arbitrio, praedestinatione et providentia, he maintains the Immortality of the Soul, the eternity of the world, and Providence, as philosophical problems, but he forgets to add, that he submits to the faith of the Church, see Tennemann Bd. 9. S. 64 ff.

[8] Marsilius Ficinus in praef. ad Plotinum : Nos ergo in theologis

but nevertheless concealed itself beneath an outward adherence to the Church. Only Scholasticism, though in fact a main sup-

superioribus apud Platonem et Plotinum traducendis et explanandis elaboravimus, ut hac theologia in lucem prodeunte et poetae desinant gesta mysteriaque pietatis impie fabulis suis annumerare, et Peripatetici quam plurimi, id est philosophi pene omnes, ammoneantur, non esse de religione saltem communi tanquam de anilibus fabulis sentiendum. Totus enim ferme terrarum orbis a Peripateticis occupatus in duas plurimum sectas divisus est, Alexandrinam et Averroicam. Illi quidem, intellectum nostrum esse mortalem existimant, hi vero unicum esse contendunt. Utrique religionem omnem funditus aeque tollunt, praesertim quia divinam circa homines providentiam negare videntur, et utrobique a suo etiam Aristotele defecisse, cujus mentem hodie pauci —ea pietate, qua Theophrastus olim et Themistius—interpretantur. Si quis autem putet, tam divulgatam impietatem, tamque acribus munitam ingeniis, sola quadam simplici praedicatione fidei apud homines posse deleri, is a vero longius aberrare palam re ipsa procul dubio convincetur. Majore admodum hic opus est potestate, id autem est vel divinis miraculis ubique patentibus, vel saltem philosophica quadam religione, philosophis eam libentius audituris quandoque persuasura. These two errors were so widely diffused that even the general Lateran Council A.D. 1513 thought it best to declare itself against them, see Sess. VIII. (Conc. ed. Labbei et Cossartii xiv. p. 187): Cum diebus nostris, quod dolenter referimus, zizaniae seminator, antiquus humani generis hostis, nonnullos perniciosissimos errores a fidelibus semper explosos in agro Domini superseminare et augere sit ausus, de natura praesertim animae rationalis, quod videlicet mortalis sit, aut unica in cunctis hominibus; et nonnulli temere philosophantes, secundum saltem philosophiam verum id esse, asseverent: contra hujusmodi pestem opportuna remedia adhibere cupientes, hoc sacro approbante Concilio damnamus et reprobamus omnes asserentes animam intellectivam mortalem esse, aut unicam in cunctis hominibus, et hacc in dubium vertentes. —Cumque verum vero minime contradicat, omnem assertionem veritati illuminatae fidei contrariam omnino falsam esse definimus, et ut aliter dogmatizare non liceat, districtius inhibemus: omnesque hujusmodi erroris assertionibus inhaerentes—ut detestabiles et abominabiles haereticos et infideles vitandos et puniendos fore decernimus. Insuper omnibus et singulis philosophis in universitatibus studiorum generalium—districte praecipiendo mandamus, ut cum philosophorum principia aut conclusiones, in quibus a recta fide deviare noscuntur, auditoribus suis legerint seu explanaverint, quale, hoc est de animae mortalitate aut unitate, et mundi aeternitate, ac alia hujusmodi, teneantur eisdem veritatem religionis Christianae omni conatu manifestam facere, et persuadendo pro posse docere, ac omni studio hujusmodi philosophorum argumenta, cum omnia solubilia existant, pro viribus excludere atque resolvere. See the stories told in Italy, even in the higher circles, about the Popes, in Jo. Fr. Pici de fide et ordine credendi theorema IV. Opp. II. p. 177: alium meminimus Pontificem creditum et ordinatum, quem tamen praestantes viri putarent, nec Pontificem eum esse, nec esse posse, utpote qui nullum Deum credens omnem infidelitatis culmen

port of the Church, might be assailed without disguise, and held up to ridicule for its barbarism[9] and its admiration for a degenerate Aristotelicism. Paul Cortesius, an apostolic secretary, was

excederet; pessimaque ejus opera in coëmendo Pontificatu, in omnigenis sceleribus exercendis id ipsum testabantur, sed et pessima quoque dicta confirmabant. Namque fassum eum affirmabatur domesticis quibusdam, nullum se Deum aliquando, etiam dum pontificiam sedem teneret, credidisse: et alium audivi Pontificem summum, qui vivens familiari cuidam aperuerat, apud se animarum immortalitatem minime creditam, mortuus vero eidem per vigiliam apparuit divino judicio manifestans, se, quam mortalem crediderat animam, immortalem tum maximo cum damno et perpetuis cum ignibus experiri. He says something of the same kind in his vita Savonarolae in Batesius p. 112. See § 153. note 5. Accordingly the expression, which Leo X. is said to have allowed himself to use before his private secretary Peter Bembo (Mornaei hist. Papatus. Salmur. 1611. p. 820): Quantum nobis nostrisque ea de Christo fabula profuerit, satis est omnibus saeculis notum, is at least not without analogous cases. Erasmi responsio nervosa ad Albertum Pium, Principem Carpensem, in v. d. Hardt. hist. lit. Reform. I. p. 173: Qui divina derideant, facilius invenies in Italia apud tui ordinis homines, atque adeo in illa laudatissima Roma, quam apud nos. Idem lib. xxvi. ep. 34. ad Augustinum Eugubinum (Opp. ed. Cleric. III., ii. p. 1382): At ego Romae his auribus audivi quosdam abominandis blasphemiis debacchantes in Christum, et in illius Apostolos, idque multis mecum audientibus, et quidem impune. Ibidem multos novi, qui commemorabant, se dicta horrenda audisse a quibusdam sacerdotibus aulae Pontificiae ministris, idque in ipsa Missa, tam clare, ut ea vox ad multorum aures pervenerit. Id. ad Guolfgangum Fabricium Capitonem (l. c. III., i p. 189): Omnia mihi pollicentur, rem (bonarum literarum) felicissime successuram: unus adhuc scrupulus habet animum meum, ne sub obtentu priscae literaturae renascentis caput erigere conetur Paganismus, ut sunt et inter Christianos, qui titulo pene duntaxat Christum agnoscunt, caeterum intus gentilitatem spirant; aut ne renascentibus Hebraeorum literis Judaismus meditetur per occasionem reviviscere, qua peste nihil adversius, nihilque infensius inveniri potest doctrinae Christi. Sic enim fert natura rerum humanarum, ut nullius unquam boni tanta fuerit felicitas, quin hujus praetextu mali quippiam simul conaretur irrepere. Compare Henke in Villers Versuch über den Geist und den Einfluss der Reformat. Luthers übers. v. Cramer. 2te Aufl. Hamb. 1828. Abthl. 2. S. 60 ff.

[9] Hermolaus Barbarus Ep. ad Jo. Picum Mirandulae (in Angeli Politiani Epistt. lib. ix. Ep. 3.) speaks the general opinion of the Humanists on this head: Neque enim inter auctores latinae linguae numero Germanos istos et Teutonas (i.e. Barbarians), qui ne viventes quidem vivebant, nedum ut exstincti vivant, aut si vivunt, vivunt in poenam et contumeliam. Appellantur enim vulgo sordidi, rudes, inculti, barbari. Quis malit sic esse, quam prorsus non esse? Atenim utile aliquid dixerunt, valuere ingenio, doctrina, bonarum rerum copia: non nego penitus, quod et possum negare; sed sermo nitidus et elegans, saltem

the first to endeavour to clothe the Catholic doctrinal system in an antient Roman garb:[10] but by so doing he only furnisht a proof, that servile imitation of the antients might lead to insipidity as well as encourage a concealed infidelity.[11]

The study of antiquity assumed a very different attitude with regard to Theology, in Germany, as soon as it penetrated thither. It found its first reception in the schools of the brethren of the common life.[12] As in them everything was valued principally in

purus et castus, qualis vel in auctoribus christianis graecis latinisque perspicitur, laudem et memoriam sempiternam scriptoribus conciliat, nisi quis pictorem, et excusorem, et statuarium, et caeteros opifices laudari posse judicet hoc solo, quod magni constet et preciosa sit materia, circa quam versentur. Picus in his reply endeavours to defend the Schoolmen (l. c. Ep. 4): Perdiderim, ego inquam, apud Thomam, Joannem Scotum, apud Albertum, apud Averroem meliores annos, tantas vigilias, quibus potuerim in bonis literis fortasse nonnihil esse? He tries to prove, non defuisse illis sapientiam, si defuit eloquentia, quam cum sapientia non conjunxisse, tantum fortasse abest culpa, ut conjunxisse sit nefas. Hermolaus replies to this (l. c. Ep. 5): Illud sane plurimum me delectat, quod sub specie defensionis exitialiter jugulas quos defendis: primum quod hostes eloquentiae tueri se nisi per eloquentes viros non possunt, quasi mancipia, quasi bruta, deinde quod, si te patrono, te vindice, te advocato non elabuntur, neque colluctari, neque tergiversari praeterea poterunt. Proinde ab amicis, quos habeo Patavii, certior factus sum, apologiam tuam, quae Scytharum et Teutonum est inscribi coepta,—molestissimam accidisse majori eorum parti quos defendis, aliis aliter factum tuum interpretantibus.—Ad quae si qui sunt ex illis paulo minus asini, volebam dicere ἄμουσοι, auriculas tantum movent: caeteri diffugiunt, respuunt, detestantur. Quorum e numero unus aliquis a Gymnasio Patavino (nihil confingo, Pice, ridiculam omnino, sed veram historiam denarro) audaculus et insolens, cujusmodi fere sunt, qui literas humaniores et odio et ludibrio habent, Picus, inquit iste, quisquis est, grammaticus opinor, parvo pedi calceos magnos circumdedit.—Ecquis est, inquit, tam stolidus,—qui patronum hunc egregium cum altero, quisquis est, nefario grammatista colludere non intelligat? etc.

[10] Paulus Cortesius in Sententias. Qui in hoc opere eloquentiam cum theologia conjunxit. Romae 1512. fol.

[11] Erasmus Ep. ad Jo. Vergaram 1527. (Opp. III., i. p. 1015) says with regard to this turn of thought: Praeterea fervet illic (Romae) Paganismus quorundam, quibus nihil placet nisi Ciceronianum: ac non Ciceronianum appellari multo probrosius esse ducunt quam appellari haereticum. Hos dictu mirum quam infensos habeam, quod non exprimam Ciceronem, quem haud scio an quisquam eorum exprimat. Ego certe nec affecto, et si affectarem tractans rem christianam, ridiculus essem.

[12] Herm. Hamelmann (Superintendent at Oldenburg) relatio hist. quomodo hominibus Westphalis potissimum debeatur, quod lingua latina

proportion to its influence upon religion, so they recognized from the first the advantage of the new study to religious knowledge. This view fully corresponding to the deep religious sense of the German people, continued to be maintained by most of the German Humanists.[13] Following the example of the first of their number Rudolph Agricola at Heidelberg † 1485,[14] they did not allow themselves, like the Italians, to be led away into indiffe-

et politiores artes per Germaniam sint restitutae priori nitori. Lemgov. 1580 (in his Opp. genealogico-historica. Lemgov. 1711. 4. p. 321) relates: cum Thomas a Kempis—suscepisset curam scholae Daventriensis, ecce in ea erant discipuli *Rodolphus Agricola*, *Mauritius Comes Spiegelbergicus*, *Rodolphus Langius*, *Antonius Liber* Susatensis, *Ludovicus Dringenbergius* Paderbornensis, *Alexander Hegius* et similes. Illos praeceptor, postquam audiret reflorescere studia in Italia,—plerosque hortatur ut se in Italiam reciperent, imo fuit suasor ditioribus tribus, ut Comiti Mauritio et utrique Rodolpho. These persons then were the first to introduce from Italy into Germany the humanist-civilization. Undoubtedly the place assigned to Thomas a Kempis in this statement is entirely untrue (Delprat over de Broederschap van G. Groote p. 280), however the general import of this tradition is unquestionably true. Compare Meiners Bd. 2. s. 308 ff.

[13] This is partly declared by the reproaches which Trithemius de laudibus s. Annae c. 3. lays upon them: Commoneo vos, o viri eruditione et scientia literarum insignes, devotionem simplicium non spernere, cultum sanctissimae matris Annae quasi novum reprehendere, sed potius pro posse imitari.—Sunt namque inter vos, quod pace bonorum dixerim, qui typho superbiae inflati omnia devotionis simplicium exercitia despiciunt, Sanctorum miracula et exempla velut deliramenta contemnunt, nihilque sanctum admittendum existimant, quod Philosophorum argumentis non probant, revelationes omnes a Deo devotis hominibus ostensas mendacia vel somnia mulierum reputant, legendas Sanctorum fabulas appellant, et dum eruditionem suam temere praedicant, magna Dei opera impudenter oppugnant. Tractatus quoque sanctorum patrum et devotorum hominum, qui Tullianam prae se non ferunt eloquentiam, tanquam eruditione carentes abjiciunt, et caelestis eruditionis verba propter eruditionem simplicium contemnunt.—Rara est in eruditis devotio, quia, dum in profunditate suae conquisitae doctrinae confidunt, a simplici devotione longius recedunt.—Temeraria igitur ora obstruite, male disertas linguas cohibete, et nolite contra Dominum loqui mendacium, devotionem nolite lacerare simplicium, ne vobis grave reputetur in scandalum.

[14] Jo. Saxo Holsat. orat. de vita Rud. Agricolae (in Melanchthonis Declam. T. i. p. 602) contributes from the epistolary notices of Goswin of Hales, a former amanuensis of John Wessel (see § 153 note 17) much of the confidential intercourse of this man with Rudolph Agricola: e. g. Goswin relates, se familiaribus item et apertis eorum sermonibus saepius interfuisse, in quibus deplorarent Ecclesiae tenebras, reprehenderent profanationem in Missis, et coelibatum: etiam de justitia fidei

rence by their closer insight into the corruption of the Church: but faithful and fearless they gave utterance to their truer convictions, in order to introduce the required amendment. The art of printing, discovered at Mayence in the year 1440,[15] rendered efficient assistance to the cultivation of literature in general, and particularly to this interchange of thought. Thus John Reuchlin, from 1502 Richter of the Swabian Bund, 1520 Professor at Ingolstadt † 1521,[16] though blinded in many respects by his Neoplatonism,[17] draws attention to the lack of Scriptural knowledge in his time, and the means of amending in this respect,[18] and censures the scarcity of preaching.[19] But above

disputarent, quid sit, quod Paulus toties inculcat, homines fide justos esse, non operibus; illos aperte rejecisse Monachorum opinionem, quae contrarium fingeret; item sensisse de humanis traditionibus, errare eos, qui affingunt illis opinionem cultus, et non posse violari judicant.

[15] See especially C. A. Schaab's Gesch. der Erfindung der Buchdruckerkunst durch Joh. Gensfleisch gen. Guttenberg zu Mainz, pragmatisch aus den Quellen gearbeitet. 3 Bde. Mainz 1830. 31. 8.

[16] Ph. Melanchthonis Oratio continens historiam Jo. Capnionis Phorcensis (in ej. Declamat T. iii.). Vita Jo. Reuchlini descripta a J. H. Majo. Francof. et Spirae 1687. 8. E. J. Schnurrer's Nachrichten von ehemal. Lehrern der hebr. Literatur in Tübingen. Ulm 1792. 8. S. 6. ff. Meiners Bd. 1. S. 44 ff. Erhard Bd. 2. S. 147 ff. Jo. Reuchlin u. s. Zeit von D. E. Th. Mayerhoff. Berlin 1830. 8. (comp. Förstemann's Rec. in d. Berliner Jahrb. f. wissenschaftl. Kritik 1832 Juni S. 923 ff.).

[17] Compare his works De verbo mirifico and De arte cabbalistica, see Erhard Bd. 2. S. 242 ff. Mayerhoff S. 96 ff.

[18] In particular by his work De rudimentis hebraicis libb. iii. Phorcae 1506. fol. (Lexicon and Grammar) he first establisht the study of the Hebrew language among Christians. On his departure from the received translations he says Praef. in lib. iii. p. 548: At gravius insurgent, credo, invidi contra dictionarium nostrum, in quo multorum frequenter interpretationes taxantur. Proh scelus, exclamabunt, nihil indignius patrum memoria, nihil admissum crudelius, cum ille homo audacissimus tot et tam sanctos viros divino spiritu afflatos labefactare contendat. Hieronymi beatissimi scriptura Gelasio Papa teste recepta est in Ecclesia: venerabilis pater Nicolaus de Lyra ordinarius expositor Bibliae omnibus christifidelibus vir integerrimus probatur. Jamjam exortus est aliquis fumulus (Reuchlin), qui plurimis in locis illos imperite transtulisse notat. Quorum imminentibus clamoribus haec pauca respondeo, mihi licere quod eisdem illustrissimis luminibus licuit. Hieronymus, vir sanctus, LXX. carpit interpretes non semel, bis, terve, sed saepissime numero:—quos tamen Ptolemaeus Alexandriae Rex divina credidit virtute transtulisse.—Nicolaus item de Lyra divum Hieronymum in translatione sua ostendit reprehensibilem: ipsemet

all men, Desiderius Erasmus (from 1516 at Basle † 1536)[20] obtained a clear insight into the corruption of the constitution and doctrine of the Church, and knew how to disseminate his thoughts with unusual success among the now important circle of his educated cotemporaries,[21] in works full of talent, and

vero Nicolaus, ut aequalem mensuram pateretur, simile a rev. Burgensi Episcopo frequentibus cum notis, invito etiam nescio quo fratre Doringo ferre coactus est. Sed quid pluribus erit opus? Ille idem divus Hieronymus in translatione sua seipsum errasse fatetur in commentariis super Isaiam cap. XIX.—Cur igitur in iis, quae ad interpretandi modum artemque grammaticam et ad veritatem idiomatis spectant, me quoque non deceret in lucem producere, quid cum doctissimis Hebraeorum sentirem, quippe ad quos etiam eodem Hieronymo teste confugiendum est, quoties in vetere Testamento controversia movetur. Quanquam enim Hieronymum sanctum veneror ut Angelum, et Lyram colo ut magistrum; tamen adoro veritatem ut Deum.

[19] Liber congestorum de arte praedicandi. Phorcae 1504. 4.

[20] Compendium vitae Erasmi, written by himself and sent to Conr. Goclenius, and Erasmi vita by Beatus Rhenanus, in the dedication of Erasmus' works to the Emperor Charles V., both at the beginning of Erasmi opp. ed. Cleric. T. i. and in Batesii vitae selectorum virorum. p. 187 ss.—Vie d'Erasme par Burigny. 2 voll. à Paris 1757. 8. (in German with corrections and additions by Henke, Halle 1782. 2 Bde. 8.). Erasmus v. Rotterdam nach s. Leben und Schriften von S. Hess. Zwei Hälften, Zürich 1790. A. Müller's Leben des Erasmus v. Rotterdam, Hamburg 1828. 8. Erhard Bd. 2. S. 461 ff. Erasmi opp. ed. B. Rhenanus. Basil. 1540. ix. voll. fol. ed. (Jo. Clericus) Lugd. Bat. 1703 ss. xi. voll. fol.

[21] The Colloquia familiaria belong to the period after the commencement of the Reformation, and rose from a frame of mind on Erasmus' part which was influenced thereby. He states himself the aim of the Enchiridion, Ep. ad Jo. Coletum (Opp. III., i. p. 95): Enchiridion non ad ostentationem ingenii aut eloquentiae conscripsi, verum ad hoc solum, ut mederer errori vulgo religionem constituentium in ceremoniis, et observationibus pene plusquam Judaicis rerum corporalium; ea quae ad pietatem pertinent mire negligentium. How he effected his purpose appears from the following examples. The fourth canon for the Christian life which he laid down in his Enchiridion is (Opp. T. v. p. 25): ut totius vitae tuae Christum velut unicum scopum praefigas, ad quem unum omnia studia, omnes conatus, omne otium ac negotium conferas. Christum vero esse puta non vocem inanem, sed nihil aliud, quam caritatem, simplicitatem, patientiam, puritatem, breviter quidquid ille docuit. Diabolum nihil aliud intellige, quam quidquid ab illis avocat. Thereupon he says, e.g.: Sunt qui certos Divos certis quibusdam colunt cerimoniis. Alius Christophorum singulis salutat diebus, sed non nisi conspecta ejus imagine: quo tandem spectans? Nempe huc, quod sibi persuaserit, sese eo die a mala morte tutum fore. Alius Rochum quendam adorat: sed cur? Quod illum credat pestem a corpore depellere.

interesting from the beauty of their form, such as the Enchiri-

Alius Barbarae, aut Georgio certas preculas admurmurat, ne in manus hostium veniat. Hic jejunat Apolloniae, ne doleant dentes. Ille visit divi Job simulacra, ut scabie careat. Nonnulli de lucro certam portionem pauperibus nuncupant, ne merces naufragio intercidant. Hieroni cereolus accenditur, ut res quae periit recipiatur. In summa, ad hunc modum, quot res sunt quas vel timemus vel cupimus, totidem iis Divos praefecimus, qui et ipsi diversis nationibus diversi sunt, ut id apud Gallos valeat Paulus, quod apud nostrates Hieron, neque passim id valeat Jacobus aut Joannes, quod illo atque illo loco. Quae quidem pietas, nisi a respectu commodorum atque incommodorum corporalium ad Christum referatur, a Deo Christiana non est, ut non ita multum absit a superstitione eorum, qui quondam Herculi decimam bonorum partem vovebant, ut ditescerent, aut Aesculapio gallum, ut a morbo revalescerent, aut qui Neptuno taurum caedebant, ut feliciter navigarent. Nomina quidem commutata sunt, sed finis utrisque communis. In the Encomium Moriae, Folly says, e.g. (Opp. T. iv. p. 443): Illud hominum genus haud dubie totum est nostrae farinae, qui miraculis ac prodigiosis gaudent mendaciis, vel audiendis vel narrandis.—Atque haec quidem non modo ad levandum horarum taedium mire conducunt, verum etiam ad quaestum pertinent, praecipue Sacrificis et Concionatoribus. His rursum adfines sunt ii, qui sibi stultam quidem, sed tamen jucundam persuasionem induerunt, futurum, ut, si ligneum aut pictum aliquem Polyphemum Christophorum adspexerint, eo die non sint perituri.—Nam quid dicam de iis, qui sibi fictis scelerum condonationibus suavissime blandiuntur, ac Purgatorii spatia veluti clepsydris metiuntur, saecula, annos, menses, dies, horas tanquam e tabula mathematica citra ullum errorem dimetientes. Aut de iis, qui magicis quibusdam notulis ac preculis, quas pius aliquis impostor, vel animi causa, vel ad quaestum excogitavit, freti nihil sibi non pollicentur, opes, honores, voluptates,—denique proximum Christo apud Superos consessum, quem tamen nolint nisi admodum sero contingere, h. e. cum hujus vitae voluptates invitos eos ac mordicus retinentes tamen deseruerint, tum succedant illae Coelitum deliciae. Hic mihi puta negotiator aliquis, aut miles, aut judex abjecto ex tot rapinis unico nummulo vitae Lernam semel expurgatam putat, totque perjuria, tot libidines, tot ebrietates, tot rixas, tot caedes, tot imposturas, tot perfidias, tot proditiones existimat velut ex pacto redimi, et ita redimi, ut jam liceat ad novum scelerum orbem de integro reverti. Quid autem stultius iis, imo quid felicius, qui septem illis sacrorum Psalmorum versiculis quotidie recitatis plus quam summam felicitatem sibi promittunt? Atque hos magicos versiculos Daemon quispiam, facetus quidem ille, sed futilis magis quam callidus, divo Bernardo creditur indicasse, sed arte circumventus miser. Et haec tam stulta, ut me ipsam propemodum pudeat, tamen approbantur, idque non a vulgo modo, verum etiam a religionis professoribus. Quid jam, nonne eodem fere pertinet, cum singulae regiones suum aliquem peculiarem vindicant Divum, cumque in singulos singula quaedam partiuntur, singulis suos quosdam culturae ritus attribuunt, ut hic in dentium cruciatu succurrat, ille parturientibus dexter adsit, alius rem

dion Militis Christiani (1503) and Moriae Encomium (1508)

furto sublatam restituat, hic in naufragio prosper adfulgeat, ille gregem tueatur: atque item de caeteris. Nam omnia percensere longissimum fuerit. Sunt qui singuli pluribus in rebus valeant, praecipue Deipara Virgo, cui vulgus hominum plus prope tribuit, quam Filio. Verum ab his Divis quid tandem petunt homines nisi quod ad stultitiam attinet? Agedum inter tot anathemata, quibus templorum quorundam parietes omnes, ac testudinem ipsam refertam conspicitis, vidistisne unquam qui stultitiam effugerit, qui vel pilo sit factus sapientior? Alius enatavit incolumis. Alius ab hoste perfossus vixit.—Alius a marito deprehensus elusit. Nullus pro depulsa stultitia gratias egit. Adeo suavis quaedam res est nihil sapere, ut omnia potius deprecentur mortales, quam Moriam. Sed quid ego hoc superstitionum pelagus ingredior?—Usque adeo omnis omnium Christianorum vita istiusmodi delirationibus undique scatet: quas ipsas tamen Sacrifici non gravatim et admittunt et alunt, non ignari, quantum hinc lucelli soleat accreseere. Inter haec, si quis odiosus sapiens exoriatur, succinatque id, quod res est, non male peribis, si bene vixeris; peccata redimes, si nummulo addideris odium malefactorum, tum lacrymas, vigilias, precationes, jejunia, ac totam vitae rationem commutaris; Divus hic tibi favebit, si vitam illius aemulaberis: haec, inquam, atque id genus alia, si sapiens ille obganniat, vide a quanta felicitate repente mortalium animos, in quem tumultum retraxerit? p. 450: Sic sculptus est hominis animus, ut longe magis fucis, quam veris capiatur.—Si quis sit Divus fabulosior et poëticus, quod si exemplum requiris, finge hujus generis Georgium, aut Christophorum, aut Barbaram; videbitis hunc longe religiosius coli, quam Petrum, aut Paulum, aut ipsum etiam Christum. p. 463: Porro Theologos silentio transire fortasse praestiterit, καὶ ταύτην καμαρίναν οὐ κινεῖν, nec hanc anagyrim tangere, utpote genus hominum miro superciliosum atque irritabile, ne forte turmatim sexcentis conclusionibus adoriantur, et ad palinodiam adigant, quod si recusem, protinus *haereticam* clamitent. Nam illico solent hoc terrere fulmine, si cui sunt parum propitii. Sane quamquam non alii sunt, qui minus libenter agnoscant meam in se beneficentiam, tamen hi quoque non mediocribus nominibus obstricti sunt, dum felices sua philautia, perinde quasi ipsi tertium incolant coelum, ita reliquos mortaleis omneis ut humi reptantes pecudes e sublimi despiciunt, ac prope commiserantur, dum tanto magistralium definitionum, conclusionum, corollariorum, propositionum explicitarum et implicitarum agmine septi sunt, tot exuberant κρηπφυγέτοις, ut nec Vulcaniis vinculis sic possint irretiri, quin elabantur distinctionibus, quibus nodos omneis adeo facile secant, ut non Tenedia bipennis melius: tot nuper excogitatis vocabulis, ac prodigiosis vocibus scatent.—In quibus omnibus tantum est eruditionis, tantum difficultatis, ut existimem ipsis Apostolis alio spiritu opus fore, si cogantur hisce de rebus cum hoc novo Theologorum genere conserere manus. Paulus fidem praestare potuit: at idem cum ait: *fides est substantia rerum sperandarum, argumentum non apparentium*, parum magistraliter definivit. Idem ut caritatem optime praestitit, ita parum dialectice vel dividit, vel finit in priore ad Cor. epistola c. 13. etc. With regard to the un-

were; whilst at the same time in his theological works he endea

profitable questions of the Schoolmen, compare his Annot. in 1 Tim. i. 6. above § 144. note 7. p. 481 : Principum quidem institutum summi Pontifices, Cardinales, et Episcopi jam pridem gnaviter aemulantur, ac prope superant. Porro si quis perpendat, quid linea vestis admoneat, niveo candore insignis, nempe vitam undiquaque inculpatam; quid sibi velit mitra bicornis,—puta Novi pariter et Veteris Instrumenti absolutam scientiam;—haec, inquam, atque id genus multa si quis perpendat, nonne tristem ac sollicitam vitam egerit? At nunc belle faciunt, cum sese pascunt, caeterum ovium curam aut ipsi Christo mandant, aut in Fratres, quos vocant, ac vicarios rejiciunt. Neque vel nominis sui recordantur, quid sonet Episcopi vocabulum, nempe laborem, curam, sollicitudinem. Verum in irretiendis pecuniis plane Episcopos agunt, *οὐδ' ἀλαοσκοπίῃ*.—Jam summi Pontifices, qui Christi vices gerunt, si conentur ejusdem vitam aemulari, nempe paupertatem, labores, doctrinam, crucem, vitae contemptum, si vel Papae i.e. patris nomen, vel Sanctissimi cognomen: quid erit in terris afflictius? aut quis eum locum omnibus emat facultatibus; emptum gladio, veneno omnique vi tueatur? Quantum his abstulerit commoditatum, si semel incessiverit sapientia? Sapientia dixi? imo vel mica salis illius, cujus meminit Christus.—At nunc fere, si quid laboris est, id Petro et Paulo relinquitur, quibus abunde satis est otii. Porro si quid splendoris aut voluptatis, id sibi sumunt. Atque ita fit mea quidem opera, ut nullum paene hominum genus vivat mollius, minusque sollicitum, ut qui abunde Christo satisfactum existiment, si mystico ac paene scenico ornatu, cerimoniis, Beatitudinum, Reverentiarum, Sanctitatum titulis, et benedictionibus ac maledictionibus Episcopos agant. Priscum et obsoletum, nec horum omnino temporum, miracula edere: docere populum, laboriosum: sacras interpretari litteras, scholasticum: orare, otiosum: lacrymas fundere, miserum ac muliebre: egere, sordidum: vinci, turpe parumque dignum eo, qui vix Reges etiam summos ad pedum beatorum admittit oscula: denique mori, inamabile: tolli in crucem, infame. Restant sola haec arma ac benedictiones dulces, quarum meminit Paulus (Rom. xvi. 18), atque harum quidem sunt sane quam benigni, interdictiones, suspensiones, aggravationes, anathematizationes, ultrices picturae, ac fulmen illud terrificum, quo solo nutu mortalium animas vel ultra tartara mitunt. Quod ipsum tamen sanctissimi in Christo patres, et Christi vicarii in nullos torquent acrius, quam in eos, qui instigante Diabolo patrimonia Petri minuere atque arrodere conantur. Cujus cum haec vox sit in Evangelio: *reliquimus omnia, et secuti sumus te*, tamen hujus patrimonium appellant agros, oppida, vectigalia, portitoria, ditiones. Pro quibus dum zelo Christi accensi, ferro iguique dimicant, non absque plurimo Christiani sanguinis dispendio, tum demum Ecclesiam Christi sponsam sese credunt apostolice defendere, fortiter profligatis, ut vocant, hostibus. Quasi vero ulli sint hostes Ecclesiae perniciosiores, quam impii Pontifices, qui et silentio Christum sinunt abolescere, et quaestuariis legibus alligant, et coactis interpretationibus adulterant, et pestilente vita jugulant.—p. 485: Jam vero vulgus Sacerdotum, nefas esse ducens, a Praesulum suorum sanctimonia de-

voured to furnish the basis and direction for an inward purification of the Church.[22] His friend Thomas More supplied no less

generare, euge, quam militariter pro jure decimarum ensibus, jaculis, saxis, omnique armorum vi belligerantur: quam hic oculati, si quid ex veterum litteris possint elicere, quo plebeculam territent, et plus quam decimas deberi convincant. At interim non venit in mentem, quam multa passim legantur de officio, quod illi vicissim praestare populo debeant. Nec saltem admonet eos vertex rasus, Sacerdotem omnibus hujus mundi cupiditatibus liberum esse oportere, neque quidquam nisi coelestia meditari. Sed homines suaves se suo officio probe perfunctos ajunt, si preculas illas suas utcumque permurmurarint, quas me Hercule demiror si quis Deus vel audiat, vel intelligat, cum ipsi fere nec audiant, nec intelligant, tum cum eas ore perstrepunt.

[22] To this number belong, besides his works upon the New Testament, his editions of Cyprian and Jerome, and his translations from the works of Origen, Athanasius, and Chrysostom, especially also the Ratio verae theologiae, Ecclesiastes s. de ratione concionandi, and commentaries on many of the Psalms, collected in the Opp. ed. Clerici T. V. His excellent remarks on the development of dogmas and institutions in the Christian Church may serve in the first place as an indication of the degree of his theological perception, Annot. ad Matth. xi. 30. jugum meum suave: Quemadmodum apud Judaeos legem per se molestam aggravabant hominum constitutiones, ita cavendum est etiam atque etiam, ne Christi legem, per se blandam ac levem, gravem et asperam reddant humanarum constitutionum ac dogmatum accessiones. Quae sic primum obrepunt, ut vel tanquam pusilla negligantur, vel pietatis specie commendata libenter amplectantur etiam homines probi magis quam providi. Semel recepta paulatim gliscunt augescuntque, donec in immensum aucta jam nolentes premant et obruant, seu consuetudinis, cujus violenta tyrannis est, praesidio, seu Principum auctoritate, quod temere receptum est in suum emolumentum abutentium, mordicusque retinentium. Quam pura, quam simplex fides a Christo nobis tradita, quam huic simile symbolum, sive ab Apostolis ipsis, sive a viris apostolicis proditum! Huic deinde multum adjunxit Ecclesia, dissidiis Haereticorum dissecta vexataque: quorum etsi quaedam sunt, quae citra fidei dispendium poterant omitti, tamen pleraque videbantur etiamnum ad rem pertinere. Tot jam erant symbola, quot homines, nihilo melius bonae fidei signum, quam cum in contractibus res multis ac verbosis syngraphis agitur, quae cum ad excludendas captiones adhibeantur, quo circumspectius scriptae sunt, hoc plus captionum solent fere gignere. Postremo res eo paulatim deducta est, ut Scholasticorum aliquot placita, quos articulos vocant, aut homunculorum quorundam nova quaedam ad fastum comminiscentium vel opiniones, vel somnia propemodum aequentur articulis fidei apostolicae. Atque in his nec scholae diversae, nec ejusdem scholae mystae inter se consentiunt: neque apud ipsos perpetua sunt, sed pro tempore mutantur. Et tamen ita primum irrepserunt, ut in scholis tantum haberentur probabiles opiniones. Mox scholae parietes egressae in libros, et in publicas adeo conciones eruperunt. Ac saepenumero fit, ut quod semel utcunque

prodidit definiendi temeritas, confirmet et augeat tuendi pertinacia. Sunt autem pleraque hujus generis, ut impium sit homini de his definire. Qualia fere sunt, quae de ratione essentiae divinae, deque distinctione Personarum philosophamur.—His proxima sunt, quae de ratione mysteriorum, velut e coelo petita, pronunciamus: cum magis ad pietatem faciat ex his excerpere, quae ad vitae sanctimoniam conducant. Verum haec pronunciandi temeritas a Veteribus orta nunc longius progressa est, quam ut ferri possit. Then he proceeds to the onus humanarum constitutionum, to the number of the superior clergy, qui religionis imagine personati, ventris agunt negotium, to the mass of church laws concerning clothing, fasts, festivals, vows, marriage, confession, which serve for the oppression of the people and the enrichment of the clergy. In templis vix vacat Evangelium interpretari. Concionis bona pars ad Commissariorum (retailers of indulgences) arbitrium consumenda est. Nonnunquam et sacrosancta Christi doctrina aut supprimenda, aut ad illorum rem detorquenda. Ad haec qui modeste pii sunt, taciti secum ingemiscunt. Qui populi malis aluntur, et quorum interest Christi gregem—quam maxime servum esse et obnoxium, adeo non reclamant, ut modis omnibus exaggerent. Accedunt iis, qui vel ambiunt praemium aliquod obsequii, vel timent poenam libertatis. Ita dum nemo succurrit, res paulatim eo prolabitur, ut pene nihil jam pudeat.—Nec ulla superest medendi spes, nisi si Christus ipse vertat, aut certe excitet Pontificum ac Principum animos ad ea quae verae sunt pietatis: aut Theologi et Concionatores, non seditiosis clamoribus, sed sobrie placideque quae Christo digna sunt, magno consensu doceant et inculcent.—Tumultus ubique vitandus: et praestat ferre Principes impios, quam novatis rebus gravius malum accersere (on these principles Erasmus afterwards past judgment upon the Reformation of Luther). Ann. ad. 1 Cor. vii. 39, he inquires: an liceat ut matrimonia quaedam dirimantur, non temere, sed gravibus de causis, neque per quoslibet, per Ecclesiae praefectos, aut judices legitimos, et ita dirimantur, ut liberum sit utrique cui velit jungi, aut alteri certe qui divortio non dederit causam. Scio quaedam esse ejus generis, ut nefas sit ceu dubia vocare in disputationem.—Quaedam ita recepta sunt auctoritate Ecclesiae, ut pro re nata possint mutari. He supports this last statement with the following examples which he seeks to prove the lawfulness of divorce from the practice of Christian antiquity, and from Holy Writ: In Actis Apostolorum solenni celebrique Concilio decretum ac promulgatum est, ut qui ex Paganismo cooptarentur in Christianos, abstinerent ab idolothytis, a suffocato animante, a sanguine, et a stupro.—Et tamen quod ibi decretum est, adeo est antiquatum, ut nunc judaizare crederetur, qui abhorreret a gallina suffocata, aut fartis sanguine distentis.—Paulus vetat Episcopum fieri qui neophytus sit, aut percussor, aut vinolentus. At hodie Romanus Pontifex vel heri baptizatum, vel piratam publicum admittet ad honorem episcopalem, si videatur, nihil deterritus Paulina constitutione. In synaxi transsubstantiationem sero definivit Ecclesia: diu satis erat credere, sive sub pane consecrato, sive quocumque modo adesse verum corpus Christi: ubi rem propius contemplata est, ubi exactius expendit, certius praescripsit. Non erant haeretici, qui olim credidissent Spiritum Sanctum a Patre duntaxat procedere, et haud scio, an maxima pars Christianorum primitus ita

important glimpses of the improvements to be wisht for in the Church, in his Utopia (1516).[23] It was not to be wondered at

crediderit; expensa re definiit Ecclesia, quod hodie sequimur. Idem videtur accidisse in conceptione b. Virginis, si tamen hoc Ecclesia sic definiit, ut haereticus sit habendus qui dubitet.—Nemo priscorum audebat clare pronuntiare, Spiritum Sanctum esse Patri Filioque homousion ne tum quidem, quum quaestio de Filio tanta contentione per universum orbem agitaretur.—Nunc audemus profiteri. Afterwards also, he discusses, whether marriage is a sacrament? Jam vero quod de sacramento afferunt, cujusmodi sit, videamus per quod volunt omne matrimonium semel contractum esse indissolubile. Neque enim hic Augustinus, qui tria bona ponit in matrimonio, quum tertium sacramentum vocat, sentit unum e septem sacramentis: quod ipsum subnotare videtur Petrus Lombardus Dist. xxxii.: imo haud scio, an hoc sacramentum septimum veteribus fuerit cognitum. Primum quod Dionysius enumerans nominatim singula, et singulorum vires, ritus ac ceremonias explicans, de conjugio nullam facit mentionem.—Deinde quum tot voluminibus tractatum sit de matrimonio vel a Graecis vel a Latinis, nullus est locus unde liqueat, illos conjugium inter septem sacramenta commemorare.—Verum cur haec recenseo, quum Durandus (see Part iii. § 116. note 1) fateatur, matrimonium a recentioribus Theologis denique numerari coeptum inter ea, quae proprie dicuntur Ecclesiae sacramenta? Porro quod Paulum sequuti veteres matrimonium aliquoties vocant sacramentum, id sentiunt opinor, in copula viri et uxoris, quoniam est arctissima amicitia, repraesentari typum quendam et imaginem Christi, sponsam Ecclesiam sibi copulantis. On Erasmus' merit in general see the letter of John Turzo, Bishop of Breslau to Erasmus dd. 1. Dec. 1519 (Erasmi opp. III., i. p. 522): At tu quomodo tibi non injurius videri possis, qui laudes, quibus te universus propemodum orbis verissime prosequitur,—averseris? Debentur profecto tibi longe majora, praesertim cum tui unius patrocinio omnium honestissimarum disciplinarum nitor, multo jam barbariei situ et squalore obtenebratus, resplendescat, tum sincerae quoque illius theologiae puritas, et sanctissima studia prope ad interitum redacta, te parente, te duce veluti renata toto orbe reflorescant.

[23] Thomas Morus, aus den Quellen bearbeitet von D. G. Th. Rudhart, Nürnberg 1829. 8. De optimo reipublicae statu deque nova insula Utopia. In the description of this ideal state there is a section de religionibus Utopiensium, lib. 11 (ed. Glasguae 1750. 8. p. 227): Religiones sunt non per insulam modo, verum singulas etiam urbes variae, aliis solem, lunam aliis, aliis aliud errantium siderum Dei vice venerantibus. Sunt, quibus homo quispiam, cujus olim aut virtus aut gloria enituit, non pro Deo tantum, sed pro summo etiam Deo suspicitur. At multo maxima pars, eademque longe prudentior nihil horum, sed unum quoddam numen putant, incognitum, aeternum, immensum,—per mundum hunc universum virtute, non mole diffusum: hunc parentem vocant, origines, auctus, progressus, vices, finesque rerum omnium huic acceptos uni referunt, nec divinos honores alii praeterea ulli applicant. Quin caeteris quoque omnibus, quanquam diversa credentibus, hoc tamen

that the Schoolmen—as the guardians of the state of the Church given in history—were distrustful and indignant against the

cum istis convenit, quod esse quidem unum censent summum, cui et universitatis opificium et providentia debeatur, eumque communiter omnes patria lingua Mithram appellant.—Caeterum paulatim omnes ab ea superstitionum varietate desciscunt, atque in unam illam coalescunt religionem, quae reliquas ratione videtur antecellere.—At posteaquam acceperunt a nobis Christi nomen, doctrinam, mores, miracula,—non credas quam pronis in eam sectam affectibus etiam ipsi concesserint.—Haud pauci nostram in religionem coierunt, lymphaque sacra sunt abluti. Verum quoniam in nobis—nemo—sacerdos erat, caeteris initiati ea tamen sacramenta desiderant, quae apud nos non nisi sacerdotes conferunt: intelligunt tamen optantque ita ut nihil vehementius. Quin hoc quoque sedulo jam inter se disputant, an sine christiani Pontificis missu quisquam e suo numero delectus sacerdotii consequatur characterem: et electuri sane videbantur, verum quum ego discederem, nondum elegerant. Quin hi quoque, religioni christianae qui non assentiunt, neminem tamen absterrent, nullum oppugnant imbutum, nisi quod unus e nostro coetu me praesente coërcitus est. Is quum recens ablutus, nobis contra suadentibus, de Christi cultu publice majore studio quam prudentia disseret, usque adeo coepit incalescere, ut jam non nostra modo sacra caeteris anteferret, sed reliqua protinus universa damnaret, profana ipsa, cultores impios ac sacrilegos, aeterno plectendos igni vociferaretur. Talia diu concionantem comprehendunt, ac reum non spretae religionis, sed excitati in populo tumultus, agunt, peraguntque, damnatum exilio mulctant. Siquidem hoc inter antiquissima instituta numerant, ne sua cuiquam religio fraudi sit. Utopus enim jam inde ab initio—in primis sanxit, uti, quam cuique religionem libeat sequi liceat; ut vero alios quoque in suam traducat, hactenus niti possit, uti placide ac modeste suam rationibus adstruat, non ut acerbe caeteras destruat.—Haec Utopus instituit non respectu pacis modo,—sed quod arbitratus est, uti sic decerneretur, ipsius etiam religionis interesse, de qua nihil est ausus temere definire, velut incertum habens, an varium ac multiplicem expetens cultum Deus aliud inspiret alii. Certe vi ac minis exigere, ut quod tu verum credis idem omnibus videatur, hoc vero et insolens et ineptum censuit. Tum si maxime una vera sit, caeterae omnes vanae, facile tamen praevidit (modo cum ratione ac modestia res agatur) futurum denique, ut ipsa per se veri vis emergat aliquando atque emineat: sin armis et tumultu certetur, ut sunt pessimi quique maxime pervicaces, optimam et sanctissimam religionem ob vanissimas inter se superstitiones, ut segetes inter spinas ac frutices, obrutum iri. Itaque hanc totam rem in medio posuit, et quid credendum putaret, liberum cuique reliquit: nisi quod sancte aut severe vetuit, ne quis usque adeo ab humanae naturae dignitate degeneret, ut animas quoque interire cum corpore, aut mundum temere ferri sublata providentia putet. Atque ideo post hanc vitam supplicia vitiis decreta, virtuti praemia constituta credunt: contra sentientem ne in hominum quidem ducunt numero, ut qui sublimem animae suae naturam ad pecuini corpusculi vilitatem dejecerit: tantum abest, ut inter cives ponant,

Humanists, from whom they had to endure so much ridicule and the Church so many wrongs. This dislike had already

quorum instituta moresque (si per metum licuit) omnes floccifacturus sit.—Quamobrem sic animato nullus communicatur honos, nullus magistratus committitur, nulli publico muneri praeficitur :—caeterum nullo afficiunt supplicio, quod persuasum habeant, nulli hoc in manu esse ut quicquid libet sentiat.—Verum, ne pro sua disputet sententia, prohibent, atque id duntaxat apud vulgus : nam alioquin apud sacerdotes gravesque viros scorsum non sinunt modo, sed hortantur quoque, confisi fore, ut ea tandem vesania rationi cedat.—Gratum Deo cultum putant naturae contemplationem, laudemque ab ea. Sunt tamen, hique haud sane pauci, qui religione ducti literas negligunt, nulli rerum cognitioni student, neque otio prorsus ulli vacant, negotiis tantum bonisque caeteris officiis statuunt futuram post fata felicitatem promereri. Itaque alii aegrotis inserviunt, alii vias reficiunt, —nec in publicum modo, sed privatim quoque ministros ac plus quam servos agunt : nam quicquid usquam operis est asperum, difficile, sordidum,—hoc illi sibi totum libentes hilaresque desumunt ; caeteris otium procurant, ipsi perpetuo in opere ac labore versantur : nec imputant tamen, nec aliorum sugillant vitam, nec suam efferunt. Ili quo magis sese servos exhibent, eo majore apud omnes in honore sunt. Eorum tamen haereses duae sunt : altera coelibum, qui non Venere modo in totum abstinent, sed carnium esu quoque ;—altera laboris haud minus appetens, conjugium praefert, ut cujus nec aspernantur solatium, et opus naturae debere se et patriae liberos putant. Nullam voluptatem refugiunt, quae nihil eos ab labore demoretur ; carnes quadrupedum vel eo nomine diligunt, quod tali cibo se validiores ad opus quodque censeant. Hos Utopiani prudentiores, at illos sanctiores reputant : quos, quod coelibatum anteferunt matrimonio, asperamque vitam placidae anteponunt, si rationibus niterentur, irriderent, nunc vero, quum se fateantur religione duci, suspiciunt ac reverentur.— Sua lingua Buthrescas (i.e. *βουθρήσκους*) vocant, quod verbum latine Religiosos licet interpretari. Sacerdotes habent eximia sanctitate, eoque admodum paucos.—Unus reliquis praeficitur. Eliguntur a populo, idque caeterorum ritu magistratuum, occultis, ad studia vitanda, suffragiis : electi a suo collegio consecrantur. Ili rebus divinis praesunt, religiones curant, ac morum veluti censores sunt.—Caeterum ut hortari atque admonere illorum est, ita coërcere atque in facinorosos animadvertere Principis atque aliorum est magistratuum, nisi quod sacris interdicunt quos improbe malos comperiunt. Nec ullum fere supplicium est quod horreant magis : nam et summa percelluntur infamia, et occulto religionis metu lacerantur, ne corporibus quidem diu futuris in tuto : quippe ni properam poenitentiam sacerdotibus approbent, comprehensi impietatis poenam senatui persolvunt. Pueritia juventusque ab illis eruditur, nec prior litterarum cura, quam morum ac virtutis habetur.—Sacerdotibus (ni foeminae sint : nam neque ille sexus excluditur, sed rarius, et non nisi vidua natuque grandis eligitur) uxores sunt popularium selectissimae. Neque enim ulli apud Utopienses magistratui major habetur honos ; usque adeo, ut, si quid etiam flagitii admiserint, nulli publico judicio sub-

manifested itself in various but generally ungracious ways;[24]

sint. Deo tantum ac sibi relinquuntur.—Religio quoniam non est ibi apud omnes eadem, et universae tamen ejus formae, quanquam variae ac multiplices, in divinae naturae cultum, velut in unum finem diversa via commigrant; idcirco nihil in templis visitur auditurve, quod non quadrare ad cunctas in commune videatur. Si quod proprium sit cujusquam sectae sacrum, id intra domesticos quisque parietes curat. Publica tali peragunt ordine, qui nulli prorsus ex privatis deroget: itaque nulla Deorum effigies in templo conspicitur, quo liberum cuique sit, qua forma Deum velit e sua religione concipere: nullum peculiare Dei nomen invocant, sed Mithrae duntaxat, quo vocabulo cuncti in unam divinae majestatis naturam, quaecunque sit illa, conspirant: nullae concipiuntur preces, quas non pronunciare quivis inoffensa sua secta possit. All this cannot be the merry pleasantry of a cheerful spirit, as Rudhardt thinks S. 156. The Utopians were not supposed to be perfect men, but their institutions according to the author's intention were to be as excellent as is possible among imperfect men. The solemnly considered principles of the author are everywhere displayed; likewise also their application to the existing state of affairs. The Utopia concludes: facile confiteor permulta esse in Utopiensium republica, quae in nostris civitatibus optarim verius quam sperarim.

[24] Compare what Reuchlin says of his proceedings in Basle 1478 in his Dedicat. libri de acc. et orth. ad Adrianum Card. (Vita Reuchlini descripta a. J. H. Majo. p. 161): Extra ordinem utriusque generis auctores publice docui. Atque id primum studio, magis ut grammatici quam elegantes haberemur. Quid enim requireres amplius ab hominibus, qui annos jam supra trecentos aliud nihil moliebantur, quam ut barbari essent? Unde cum loquendi vitio amor etiam et voluptas quaedam balbutiendi insederat. Sed prospere cessit. Magnae rei non frustra admoliti manum sumus, tametsi strenue refragarentur initio istius generis magistri, quos hodie scilicet hostes patimur, quibus corruptissimo judicio et admirabili φιλαυτίᾳ tumentibus nihil praeter faeces suas recte probatur. Jam usu res exsplendescebat, fiebatque, ut purius et scriberet et diceret juventus Germanica, idque me auspice. Deinde accessit Graecarum literarum studium, sine quibus nemo sat politus censeri potest. Hisce ad philosophiam revocabamur Aristotelicam, quae nonnisi a Graecis hominibus proprie ac rite tradi solet. Huc aspirabant, si qui bonis ingeniis, non corrupta ista et perturbata disciplina infecti erant. Sensim pueriles scholarum nugae deserebantur. Ibi vero supercilia tollentes veternosi Sophistae, mirum, ut ridiculi ajebant, literarum genus a nobis tractari, alienum a Romana pietate; Graecos schismaticos esse; interdictas eorum disciplinas contra Ecclesiae decreto nobis magistris prodi. Viden',—quid passus a Sophistis effecerim, ut resipisceret Germania vel tandem? Sero enim Phryges sapiunt. Erasmus relates with reference to his edition of the New Testament Ep. ad Capitonem ann. 1516 (Opp. III. i. p. 188): Nuper hic (Antverpiae) quidam apud plebem, in sacra scilicet concione, lachrymabili voce deploravit, actum esse de divinis literis ac theologis, qui hactenus fidem christianam suis humeris fulsissent, posteaquam extitissent, qui sacrosanctum Evangelium, atque adeo ipsam precationem dominicam emen-

when Reuchlin's dispute with John Pfefferkorn and the Domi-

darent: perinde quasi ego Matthaeum aut Lucam reprehendam, ac non eos potius, quorum inscitia incuriave depravatum est, quod illi recte scripserunt. Something similar happened when he was engaged upon his edition of St Jerome, see Epist. apologetica ad Mart. Dorpium (Opp. t. ix. v. d. Hardt hist. reform. liter. i., p. 22): Cum opus esset institutum, et fama jam percrebuisset, accurrere quidam graves ut habentur viri, et insignes ut sibi videntur theologi, per omnia sacra typographum obtestantes, ne quid Graecitatis aut Hebraismi pateretur admisceri: ingens in eis literis esse periculum, nec quicquam esse fructus: ad solam curiositatem esse paratas. With regard to the reception of his edition of the New Testament, he says Ep. ad Leonem X. ann. 1519 (l. c. p. 490): Hanc mire consentientibus calculis approbant omnes, exceptis perpaucis, quorum alii stupidiores sunt, quam ut possint rectis rationibus coargui, alii superbiores, quam ut velint meliora discere, —quidam ambitiosiores, quam ut sustineant videri nescisse quicquam antehac, sed omnes ejusmodi, ut non referat talium ambisse suffragium, —Metuebant tyrannidi suae, quidam etiam quaestui, si mundus resipisceret. Quid sibi persuaserint nescio, certe rudibus et indoctis persuadere conantur, linguarum cognitionem, bonasque, quas vocant, literas adversari theologiae studio, cum nullis disciplinis ea magis vel ornetur, vel adjuvetur. Hi (ut sunt omnibus Musis et Gratiis iratis nati) sine fine belligerantur adversus studia, sese nostris temporibus ad meliorem frugem erigentia. Summa vero victoriae spes in meris sycophantiis illis est sita. Si libris agant, nihil aliud quam suam traducunt stultitiam, simul atque inscitiam. Si rationibus conflictantur, nimirum superat manifesta veritas: tantum apud imperitam plebeculam stultasque mulierculas vociferantur, quibus imponere facillimum est, praesertim religionis praetextu, cujus simulandae miri sunt artifices. Praetexunt horrenda nomina, haereses, antichristos: jactitant periclitari, nutareque religionem christianam, quam ipsi scilicet suis humeris sustinent, atque his tam odiosis admiscent mentionem linguarum, ac politioris literaturae. Haec, inquiunt, horrenda dictu nascuntur ex poëtica, nam hoc vocabulo traducunt quicquid est elegantioris doctrinae, hoc est quicquid ipsi non didicerunt. Hujusmodi naenias non pudet etiam in sacris concionibus deblaterare, qui se praecones evangelicae doctrinae haberi postulant. Abutuntur et Romani Pontificis et Romanae sedis nomine, videlicet apud nullos, ut par est, non sacrosancto. His technis, his cuniculis adoriri parant efflorescentes optimas literas, ac puriorem illam theologiam, suos fontes resipientem. Nihil non tentatum est, nullum calumniae genus non excogitatum in eos, quorum opera vident haec studia gliscere: inter quos me quoque numerant etc. John Butzbach, prior in the monastery of Laach, in 1509, gives a representation of how it fared with the more educated monks in the monasteries, see the author's Symbolae ad hist. monasterii Lacensis ex codd. Bonnensibus depromtae. Bonnae 1826. 4. p. 37 s. e. g. p. 38: Si quispiam auctorem aliquem legere coepit saecularem, si carmen vel simile aliquod edere tentaverit, quasi jam religionem abnegaverit, continuo exclamant: quid iste fantasticus fantisat? quid delirus hic insanit? Num et ipse

nicans of Cologne upon the question whether all the writings of the Jews ought to be burnt, had given the signal for a general party warfare, betwixt the Humanists and Schoolmen in Germany.[25] James of Hochstraten, prior of Dominicans at Cologne,

vult esse poëta? Crimen est apud tales nunc legere poëtam; carmen recitavisse, scelus; sacrilegium, novisse Mantuanum. Comp. Hottingeri Analecta diss. i. p. 5 ss. Hottinger's Helvet. Kirchengesch. Th. 3. S. 125. 285. f.

[25] On the history of this struggle, see v. d. Hardt hist. liter. Reformat. p. ii. Vita Jo. Reuchlini descr. a J. H. Majo p. 250 ss. Meiners Lebensbeschr. berühmter Männer Bd. 1. S. 97 ff. Erhard's Gesch. des Wiederaufblühens wissenschaftl. Bildung Bd. 2. S. 292 ff. Mayerhoff's Reuchlin S. 114 ff. John Pfefferkorn, converted from Judaism in 1506, a favorite protegé of the Dominicans at Cologne, after writing several invitations to the Jews to be converted, in a handbill of 1509 roused the people to demand from the authorities, that the Jews should be hunted out of the country, all their books burnt except holy Scripture, and their children educated to Christianity. With the help of the Dominicans he soon obtained an imperial mandate, according to which all the writings of the Jews against Christianity were to be destroyed. Then the Emperor commissioned the elector of Mayence, in 1510, to collect opinions from several men acquainted with the subject, especially from Reuchlin, whether all the Jewish books except the Holy Scripture ought to be annihilated, (see the Emperor's letter in the Augenspiegel, v. d. Hardt ii. p. 17.) Reuchlin decided in his opinion (printed in the Augenspiegel l. c. p. 20 ff.) that only the writings against Christianity deserved to be destroyed, but not the other works which the Jews possest besides the Bible. Against this opinion Pfefferkorn, into whose hands it had fallen in some way now unknown, publisht a reproachful pamphlet called Handspiegel, which Reuchlin in turn answered with a violent reply in the Angenspiegel (printed l. c. p. 16 ss.) In this the Dominicans of Cologne, who had the lead of the theological faculty of the place, discovered heresies. Reuchlin first tried to appease them with letters (Epistolae Reuchlini, lib. ii. p. 115. ss. in Majus p. 318 ss.), but instead of the suppression of his Augenspiegel, and the revocation of several of its assertions, which they required of him, he publisht an explanation of these assertions in German (Ain klare Verstantnus in Tütsch uff Doctor Johansens Reuchlings Rathschlag von den Juden Büchern, vormals auch zu Latin im Augenspiegel usgegangen 1512): the Cologne party immediately issued in reply; Articuli sive propositiones de judaico favore nimis suspectae, ex libello theutonico Domini Jo. Reuchlin, Legum Doctoris (cui Speculi ocularis titulus inscriptus est) extractae, cum annotationibus et improbationibus venerabilis ac zelosi viri, Magistri nostri Arnoldi de Tungeri, Artium et sacrae Theologiae Professoris profundissimi (there are extracts from these in Majus p. 345 ss.). Reuchlin answered them again with vehemence in his Defensio contra calumniatores suos Colonienses, Tubingae 1513 (printed in v. d. Hardt ii. p. 53 ss.) addrest to the

went to Mayence in the character of inquisitor, there to pass sentence upon Reuchlin (1513).[26] The decision of the Bishop of Spires as papal commissary, was given indeed entirely in Reuchlin's favor (1514).[27] But the Dominicans appealed afresh, and summoned to their aid the whole of their unbounded influence at Rome.[28] Leo X. would no more venture to decide against these formidable supporters of his throne,[29] than to abandon his favorites the Humanists: so no sentence at all was given.[30] The courage of the Humanists increast so much the more. A flood of biting satires streamed forth against their spiritless antagonists; among which the Epistolae obscurorum virorum occupied the foremost place.[31] But the chivalrous Ulrich of Hutten[32] in

Emperor, at the same time he summoned his numerous friends and patrons to his assistance, and a strong league of the Humanists and their protectors was formed against the Cologne party, see Meiners ibid. S. 143 ff. These last, however, now commenced inquisitorial proceedings.

[26] With regard to this proceeding at Mayence see Reuchlin's letter to Wimpheling dd. Stuttgard. d. s. Andreae 1513, first printed in Majus p. 390 ss. The minutes are in v. d. Hardt ii. p. 94 ss.

[27] The judgment is in v. d. Hardt ii. p. 114.

[28] They sought to make a particular impression, by the fact that they had induced the theological faculties of Paris, Mayence, Erfurt, and Louvain, to accede to the opinion of the faculty of Cologne against the Augenspiegel. Meiners S. 187.

[29] That the Dominicans of Cologne were prepared for any extreme may be seen in Buschii ep. ad Reuchlin. (in his Epistt. lib. ii., p. 168 s.): Praeterea audent aperte jactare perversissimi homines, nisi secundum se pronuntiatum fuerit in urbe, ab Ecclesia et summo ejus Pontifice se defecturos, et schisma novum suscitaturos. Alii ad futurum Concilium provocaturos se minantur. Alii dicunt, quicquid contra se statuerit Papa nullius momenti esse, neque pro Papa habendum eum, qui ab se suaque sententia dissentiat. Tam caeca, tam praeceps est arrogantia eorum, ut non pudeat etiam postulare obnoxium sibi summum Pontificem esse: se palam omnibus Ecclesiam esse dictitant, sine se in rebus fidei Papam nihil decernere nec posse, nec debere conclamant. Nihil hercle secius aut honorificentius de summo Pontifice loquuntur, quam de puero sub ferula adhuc vivente, cui nihil nisi ad paedagogi sui nutum integrum sit aut liberum loqui.

[30] See the minutes of the proceedings at Rome in v. d. Hardt ii. p. 117 ss.

[31] The first book appeared under the title: Epistolae obscurorum virorum ad venerabilem virum Magistrum Ortuinum Gratium Daventriensem, Coloniae Agrippinae bonas literas docentem, variis et locis et temporibus missae (in Wolfg. Angst. Hagenau 1516). 4. The second: Epist. obsc. vir. ad Mag. Ort. Grat. non illae quidem veteres et prius visae, sed et novae et illis prioribus elegantia, argutiis, lepore ac venus-

his indignation at the injuries which the Germans had to endure from Rome, advanced even to ridicule against the Papal See.[38]

tate longe superiores (Basel b. Froben. 1517). 4. The third book was added considerably later. The latest edition is by D. E. Münch, Leipzic 1827, and recognita et praefatione a Dno H. W. Rotermundo aucta, Hannoverae 1827. 8. These letters were addrest to Ortuinus, for he was considered the real author of Pfefferkorn's works. Even the uneducated allowed (ed. of Münch S. 194): Pfefferkorn quidem composuit materiam, sed Mag. Ortuinus postea latinisavit. Erasmus and Reuchlin, though at first suspected, had no share at all in the authorship. The veil which is thrown over the origin of these letters will never be quite removed. The latest inquiries of importance upon the point are by Chr. Gottfr. Müller, Rector of the Fürstenschule at Misnia, in a latin Schulprogramme of 1801, Mohnicke in Ersch und Gruber's Encyclopädie Th. 4. S. 105 Art. Wolfg. Angst, and E. Münch in the introduction to his edition S. 28 ff. The chief authors were probably Crotus Rubianus and Ulrich of Hutten: but which of them conceived the first idea, whether or not it was probably due to the learned printer Angst, and whether Hutten contributed to the first part, on these points there is a diversity of opinion. Many of the Humanists seem to have been employed at the Ebernburg upon the second part, see E. Münch's Franz v. Sickingens Thaten Bd. 1. S. 348. How excellently the tone of the clergy of the day was imitated, may be seen from Erasmi epist. ad Mart. Lipsium dd. 5. Sept. 1528 (Opp. III. ii, p. 1110): Ubi primum exissent Epistolae obscurorum Virorum, miro Monachorum applausu exceptae sunt apud Britannos a Franciscanis ac Dominicanis, qui sibi persuadebant, eas in Reuchlini contumeliam et Monachorum favorem serio proditas: quumque quidam egregie doctus, sed nasutissimus, fingeret se nonnihil offendi stylo, consolati sunt hominem. Ne spectaris, inquiunt, o bone, orationis cutem, sed sententiarum vim. Nec hodie deprehendissent, ni quidam addita epistola lectorem admonuisset, rem non esse seriam. Post in Brabantia Prior quidam Dominicanus et Magister noster, volens innotescere patribus, coëmit acervum eorum libellorum, ut dono mitteret Ordinis proceribus, nihil dubitans, quin in Ordinis honorem fuissent scriptae. Quis fungus possit esse stupidior? At isti sunt, ut sibi videntur, Atlantes Ecclesiae nutantis, ex his designantur cognitores de dogmatibus ecclesiasticis etc.

[32] With regard to him see Meiner's Lebensbeschreibungen berühmter Männer aus den Zeiten der Wiederherstellung der Wissensch. Bd. 3. Ulrich von Hutten, nach s. Leben, s. Character u. s. Schriften geschildert von. C. J. Wagenseil, Nürnberg 1823. 8.—Ulrici ab Hutten opera quae exstant omnia herausgeg. von E. J. H. Münch 5 Theile, Berlin 1821—25. 8.

[33] So especially the preface to his edition of Laur. Valla de falsa credita et ementita Constantini donatione 1517 in the (Fasciculus rerum expetend. et fugiendarum ed. Brown p. 128 in Münch's Ausgabe Th. 2. S. 401 ff.) But in fact, many of the satirical works which appeared anonymously in great numbers about this time belong

Soon after this controversy disappeared like an insignificant skirmish in the grand battle of the Lutheran Reformation[34]. In this most of the Humanists united themselves with Luther. The Dominicans of Cologne were compelled by Franz of Sickingen in 1519 to submit to the decision of Spires.[35]

It was an especial advantage to theology, that a way was prepared for the better understanding of Holy Scripture, by the Humanists. Laurentius Valla commenced this work by his Annotations,[36] but Erasmus was the first to give more compre-

to him: of those that were aimed against the Papal See probably Julius exclusus, dialogus (printed in Münch's edition of the Epistolae obscur. virorum p. 417 ss.) Oratio ad Christum pro Julio II. (l. c. p. 458 ss.) Philalethis dialogus de facultatibus Romanensium nuper publicatis (l. c. p. 471 ss.) The Pasquillorum Tomi duo. Eleutheropoli (Basle) 1544. 8. are a collection of such satires, probably arranged by Caelius Secundus Curio. The second part consists entirely of satires by Hutten and Crotus Rubianus.

[34] See Luther's letter to Reuchlin 14. Dec. 1518 (in de Wette's Ausg. Th. 1. S. 196 f.): Dominus tecum, vir fortissime. Gratulor misericordiae Dei, quae in te est, vir et eruditissime et humanissime, qua tandem prevaluisti obstruere os loquentium iniqua. Fuisti tu sane organum consilii divini, sicut tibi ipsi incognitum, ita omnibus purae theologiae studiosis exspectatissimum: adeo longe alia fiebant a Deo, et alia videbantur geri per vos. Eram ego unus eorum, qui tecum esse cupiebant, sed nulla dabatur occasio: eram tamen oratione et voto tibi semper praesentissimus. Sed quod tunc negatum est socio, nunc cumulatissime tributum est successori. Invadunt dentes istius Behemoth me, si quo modo sarcire queant ignominiam, quam retulerunt ex te. Occurro et ego ipsis longe quidem minoribus ingenii et eruditionis viribus, quam tu occurristi et prostravisti, sed non minore animi fiducia.— Fracta sunt in tua firmitate non parum quidem cornua horum taurorum. Hoc enim in te egit Dominus, ut tyrannus sophistarum aliquando et tardius et mitius disceret veris theologiae studiis resistere, ac respirare inciperet Germania, scripturarum doctrina tot heu annorum centenariis non tam oppressa, quam extincta. Non erant haec initia danda pulcherrimorum studiorum per hominem parvae gratiae: sed sicut Christum (sit venia comparationi) omnium maximum montem Deus contrivit usque in pulverem mortis, verum ex hoc pulvere postea excreverunt tot magni montes: ita et tu parum attulisses fructus, nisi mortificatus in pulverem fuisses redactus, unde nunc tot surgunt proceres literarum sacrarum. Et exaudita est oratio gementis Ecclesiae: salvum me fac, Domine, quoniam defecit sanctus, diminuti sunt fideles de filiis hominum, quoniam exaltati fuerunt ad altitudines Dei vilissimi filiorum hominum.

[35] See Franz v. Sickingens Thaten, Plane, Freunde u. Ausgang. Durch G. Münch (3 Bde. Stuttgart u. Tübingen 1827—29. 8.) Bd. 1. S. 122 ff. and 346 ff.

[36] With regard to these see Rich. Simon hist. crit. des principaux

hensive assistance in the interpretation of the New Testament, by his edition of the original Greek text, his notes, and his paraphrases.[37] Next to him the works of Jacobus Faber Stapulensis,[38] and the complutensian Polyglott,[39] deserve to be mentioned as important means of advancing the more profound study of holy writ.

Thus the most important means for effecting a reformation of the Church were matured by knowledge. From knowledge alone the reformation could never have taken rise; for neither are the results of learning capable of being raised to convictions among the people, nor can the interest felt in them be vital and universal; whereas, nothing less than conviction and enthusiasm could burst the bands with which habit had chained men down to antiquity and tradition, or bestow the courage to risk all for the truth when once acknowledged. But when the reformation was commenced upon the only possible basis of religious and moral consciousness, which required no demonstration but only illustration and application to the question at issue; then enlightened learning presented itself as a guide, to protect it from error and superstition.

commentateurs du nouveau Test. chap. 34. Erasmus re-edited the work which was forgotten, Paris, 1505 fol.; in the dedication to the Apostolic prothonotary Christopher Fisher he defends this critico-grammatical way of treatment, and adopted it himself as his model in his own later works.

[37] Novum Testamentum juxta Graecorum lectionem cum versione Desiderii Erasmi Roterodami Basil. 1516 fol. ed. II. 1519, III. 1522, IV. 1527, V. 1535) Annotationes in N. T. Basil. 1516 (there were new editions as of the New Testament) Paraphrases in Epistolas, by themselves in 1517, together with the Paraphr. in Ev. Matthaei ac Joannis 1522. He left no paraphrases on the Gospels of Mark and Luke, the Acts of the Apostles, and the Apocalypse.

[38] Quincuplex Psalterium, Gallicum, Romanum, Hebraicum, Vetus, Conciliatum. Paris 1509. Commentarius in epistolas Pauli 1512. Afterwards he publisht a Comm. in Evangelia, Meldis 1522; in Epistt. can. Basil. 1527, and after 1523 a translation of the Bible into French, which first appeared entire at Antwerp, in 1530 fol.

[39] Biblia sacra, vetus testamentum multiplici lingua nunc primo impressum T. I—V. novum testamentum Tom VItus Compluti 1514—1517 fol., but it could not be publisht till 1523.

SIXTH CHAPTER.

EXTENSION OF CHRISTENDOM.

§ 155.

The degeneration of Christianity was completed by the cruelty with which conversions thereto were effected. Ferdinand and Isabella in 1492 only allowed the Jews in Spain the choice betwixt baptism and banishment.[1] A large number of those who remained steadfast to their faith, found refuge in Portugal; but Emmanuel the Great, in 1496, imposed upon them the same choice; at the same time he took their children from them, and made slaves of all who delayed.[2] Granada, the last Moorish city in Spain, upon its surrender in the year 1492, had stipulated for its ancestral laws and religion. But after the pretended discovery of a secret conspiracy, the same cruel law was decreed against this place also (1498), and in 1501 the remnant of the determined Mussulmen were obliged to leave the country or submit to slavery.[3] Thus the peninsula of the Pyrenees increast the ill-fated herds of the new Christians who were given over as a prey to the Inquisition. A no less revolting method of conversion ensued upon the numerous discoveries made in this

[1] Marianae hist. Hispan. lib. xxvi. Jost Gesch. der Israeliten seit der Zeit der Maccabäer Th. 7. S. 81 ff.

[2] Hieron. Osorius (Bishop of Silves in Algarve † 1580) de rebus Emanuelis R. Lusit. Colon. 1574. 8. lib. i p. 6. Mariana l. c. To the honor of Christendom both of these ecclesiastics lift their voices against this way of conversion. Jost ibid. S. 89 ff.

[3] Petri Martyris Anglerii (an ecclesiastic at the court of Ferdinand the Catholic, † about 1525) opus epistolarum Compluti 1380, better Amstelodami. 1670, Lib. v. Ep. 92. xiii. Ep. 215. Histoire du Cardinal Ximenes, par Esprit Flechier (seconde édit. à Paris 1694. 12.) T. i. p. 136 ss.

century, those of the Portugese upon the west coast of Africa, and the discovery of America by the Spainards. When the aborigines of America were forced at the same time to slavery and to Christianity, the Dominicans, elsewhere accustomed to offer bloody sacrifices to their Christianity, were zealous against this cruelty. But millions perisht before the equivocal success of the labours of Bartholomew de las Casas, when Charles V. granted the freedom of the Indians, together with the permission of the negro slave trade.[4]

[4] Bartholomaeus de las Casas brevissima relacion de la destruicion de las Indias 1552. 4. (Publisht in Latin at Oppenheim in 1614. Heidelberg 1664. 4. In German: Umbständige warhafftige Beschreibung der Indianischen Ländern, so vor diesem von den Spaniern eingenommen und verwüst worden 1665. 4). William Robertson's History of America vol. 1.

APPENDIX.

EFFORTS FOR UNION OF THE ORIENTAL CHURCHES WITH THE ROMAN.

§ 156.

Deep-rooted as was the antipathy of the Greeks against the Latins,[1] still the continual approach of destruction with the advance of the Turks compelled the Grecian Emperor, John VII., Palaeologus, from the year 1430, to try again every means to win assistance from the Latins by means of an union of the Churches. The differences between the Pope and the Synod of Basle delayed the arrangement. The Emperor at length threw himself into the arms of the Pope, and in 1438 came in person with a great body of Bishops into Italy. At the Synod, which was opened at Ferrara, but moved in Feb. 1439 to Florence,[2]

[1] Among the earlier opponents of the Latins (see Part iii. § 129 note 6) was Simeon Archbishop of Thessalonica († 1430); with regard to him see Allatius de Simeonibus lib. ii. c. 18. no. 13. Fabrici bibl. graeca vol. x. p. 326 ss.) in his work κατὰ αἱρέσεων, καὶ περὶ τῆς μόνης ὀρθῆς τῶν Χριστιανῶν ἡμῶν πίστεως, τῶντε ἱερῶν τελεσῶν καὶ μυστηρίων τῆς ἐκκλησίας διάλογος (printed at Jassy in Moldavia 1683. fol. There is an abstract in Rich. Simon Critique de la Bibliothéque de Mr Du-Pin T. i. p. 403 ss.), the 19th chapter opens the case against the Latins.

[2] With regard to this Council see two collections of the acts, one in Greek and one in Latin, the latter by Horace Justinian is in the collections of Councils in that of Labbeus et Cossart T. xiii. of Harduin. T. viii. In the cause of the Greeks was written Vera historia unionis non verae inter Graecos et Latinos, sive Concilii Florentini exactissima narratio graece scripta per Sylvestrum Sguropulum (a mistake for Syropulum) magnum Ecclesiarcham, qui Concilio interfuit. transtulit in sermonem latinum Rob. Creyghton. Hagae Com. 1660 fol. Violent against author and editor, but not without many just remarks on single points, especially on the inaccuracy of the Latin translation, is Leonis Allatii in Rob. Creyghtoni Apparatum, Versionem et Notas ad hist. Conc. Florentini, scriptam a Sylv. Syropulo Exercitationum Pars prior. Romae 1665. 4. which was followed by no pars posterior.

for a long time all seemed likely to be lost in an endless controversy; but necessity made the Greeks yielding, and on the sixth July 1439 they signed the form of union prescribed by the Pope.[3] On the other hand they now brought back with them disunion

[3] This Definitio, composed in Latin by Ambrosius Camaldulensis (see § 140 note 10) translated into Greek by Bessarion, so that each text preserves the character of an original, was issued in the form of a Papal Bull, and was subscribed by every member of the Council, given in Greek and Latin Conc. Labbei et Cossartii xiii., p. 510 ss., in Latin only in the collection of Horace Justinian ibid. p. 1165 ss.—Graeci quidem asseruerunt, quod id, quod dicunt Spiritum Sanctum ex Patre procedere, non hac mente proferunt, ut excludant Filium, sed quia eis videbatur, ut ajunt, Latinos asserere, Spiritum Sanctum ex Patre et Filio procedere tamquam ex duobus principiis et duabus spirationibus, ideo abstinuerunt a dicendo, quod Spiritus Sanctus ex Patre procedat et Filio. Latini vero affirmarunt, non se hac mente dicere, Spiritum Sanctum ex Patre Filioque procedere, ut excludant Patrem, quin sit fons ac principium totius deitatis, Filii scilicet ac Spiritus Sancti; aut quod id, quod Spiritus Sanctus procedit ex Filio, Filius a Patre non habeat; sive quod duo ponant esse principia, seu duas spirationes: sed unum tantum asserant esse principium, unicamque spirationem Spiritus Sancti, prout hactenus asseruerunt. Et cum ex his omnibus unus et idem eliciatur veritatis sensus, tandem in infra scriptam sanctam et Deo amabilem eodem sensu eademque mente unionem unanimiter concordarunt et consenserunt.

In nomine igitur s. Trinitatis, Patris, et Filii, et Spiritus Sancti, hoc sacro universali approbante Florentino Concilio diffinimus, ut haec fidei veritas ab omnibus Christianis credatur et suscipiatur sicque omnes profiteantur, quod Spiritus Sanctus ex Patre et Filio aeternaliter est, et essentiam suam, suumque esse subsistens habet ex Patre simul et Filio, et ex utroque aeternaliter tamquam ab uno principio et unica spiratione procedit; declarantes, quod id, quod sancti doctores et patres dicunt, ex Patre per Filium procedere Spiritum Sanctum, ad hanc intelligentiam tendit; ut per hoc significetur, Filium quoque esse secundum Graecos quidem causam secundum Latinos vero principium subsistentiae Spiritus Sancti, sicut et Patrem. Et quoniam omnia, quae Patris sunt, Pater ipse unigenito Filio suo gignendo dedit, praeter esse Patrem, hoc ipsum quod Spiritus Sanctus procedit ex Filio, ipse Filius a Patre aeternaliter habet, a quo etiam aeternaliter genitus est. Diffinimus insuper, explicationem verborum illorum *Filioque* veritatis declarandae gratia, et imminente tunc necessitate, licite ac rationabiliter symbolo fuisse appositam. Item, in azymo sive fermentato pane triticeo corpus Christi veraciter confici; sacerdotesque in altero ipsum Domini corpus conficere debere unumquemque scilicet juxta suae Ecclesiae sive occidentalis sive orientalis, consuetudinem. Item, si vere poenitentes in Dei caritate decesserint, antequam dignis poenitentiae fructibus de commissis satisfecerint et omissis, eorum animas poenis purgatoriis post mortem purgari; et ut a poenis hujusmodi releventur, prodesse eis fidelium vivorum suffragia, missarum scilicet sacrificia, orationes, et eleemosynas, et alia pietatis officia, quae a fidelibus pro aliis fidelibus

into their fatherland: the general indignation caused many of the Bishops to revoke their subscription. The great majority of the Greeks who were already living under the Turkish dominion, pronounced decisively against any Latinization.[4] The ill-fated

fieri consueverunt secundum Ecclesiae instituta: illorumque animas, qui post baptisma susceptum nullam omnino peccati maculam incurrerunt, illas etiam, quae post contractam peccati maculam vel in suis corporibus, vel eisdem exutae corporibus, prout superius dictum est, sunt purgatae, in caelum mox recipi, et intueri clare ipsum Deum trinum et unum, sicuti est, pro meritorum tamen diversitate alium alio perfectius: illorum autem animas, qui in actuali mortali peccato, vel solo originali decedunt, mox in infernum descendere, poenis tamen disparibus puniendas. Item diffinimus, sanctam Apostolicam sedem, et Romanum Pontificem in universum orbem tenere primatum, et ipsum Pontificem Romanum successorem esse b. Petri principis Apostolorum, et verum Christi vicarium, totiusque Ecclesiae caput et omnium Christianorum patrem ac doctorem existere; et ipsi in b. Petro pascendi, regendi ac gubernandi universalem Ecclesiam a Domino nostro Jesu Christo plenam potestatem traditam esse, quemadmodum et in gestis oecumenicorum Conciliorum et in sacris Canonibus continetur (*καθ' ὃν τρόπον καὶ ἐν τοῖς πρακτικοῖς τῶν οἰκουμενικῶν συνόδων, καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς κανόσι διαλαμβάνεται.* In some editions the passage reads quemadmodum etiam in gestis etc., as though this were only an allusion in confirmation: The genuine text which Launoi Opp. V., 1, p. 308 proves from the historiarum lib. III. Decad. X. of Flavius Blondus, secretary to Eugene IV., and from the Greek text, points this out to be the rule of the Papal supremacy.) Renovantes insuper ordinem traditum in canonibus ceterorum venerabilium Patriarcharum, ut Patriarcha Constantinopolitanus secundus sit post sanctissimum Romanum Pontificem, tertius vero Alexandrinus, quartus autem Antiochenus, et quintus Hierosolymitanus, salvis videlicet privilegiis omnibus et juribus eorum. The way in which the Emperor and his party regarded this union is manifested by the description which a Greek deacon of the court gave of it upon his return to the English Ambassadors who met him Syropulus p. 307: *οὔτε ἡμεῖς προσήλθομεν τῇ δόξῃ τῶν Λατίνων, οὐθ' οἱ Λατῖνοι τῇ τῶν Γραικῶν. ἀλλ' ἐθεωρήθησαν καθ' ἑαυτὰς αἱ δόξαι παρ' ἑκατέρου μέρους καὶ εὑρέθησαν σύμφωνοι, καὶ ὡς μία καὶ ἡ αὐτὴ ἀνεφάνη δόξα. διὸ καὶ ἐτάχθη ἵνα κατέχῃ ἑκάτερον μέρος τὴν δόξαν, ἣν κατεῖχε μέχρι τοῦ νῦν, καὶ ὑπάρχωμεν καὶ ἡνωμένοι.* Thus all was to remain unchanged in the Greek Church and only the unity be recognized. Of the Decretum unionis there were five original copies prepared and signed: ten were afterwards shown in different places, nine of which certainly were only copies, see Mémoire sur les exemplaires originaux du decret d'union de l'église Grecque avec l'église latine in the Mémoirs de l'Academie des inscriptions T. 43. p. 287 ss.

[4] When the Patriarch of Constantinople, Metrophanes, tried to introduce latinizing Bishops, even into Asia Minor, the then patriarchs of Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem issued a Synodal letter in 1443 (in Allatius de Ecclesiae occid. et orient. perpetua consensione p. 939 ss.), in which they express themselves most strongly against the *συναθροισ-*

Emperor sought so far as he could to maintain the union inviolate, in the vain hope of supporting thereby his tottering throne. But it served rather to hasten than to ward off the inbreak of destruction.

After the Act of Union with the Greeks there followed at Florence the empty show of a renewed union with the Armenians (1440), the inefficacy of which it was easy to foresee.[5] Then appeared at the Council, which in 1442 was removed to the Lateran, a succession of ambassadors from all the other oriental churches, in order to obtain for them reconciliation with the

θεῖσαν ἐν Φλωρεντίᾳ μιαρὰν σύνοδον, and against Μητρόφονος (instead of Μητροφάνης) Πατριάρχης the patriarch, depose all the latinizing clergy and threaten them with excommunication in case of resistance, and also commission the Metropolitan of Caesarea in Cappadocia as *ἔξαρχον πάσης ἀνατολῆς*, to execute this decree in his diocese. At the same time they addrest a deprecatory letter to the Emperor l. c. p. 942 ss. in which they said of the Florentine Synod, *ὅτι ἐν Φλωρεντίᾳ σύνοδος οὐκ ἐγένετο κατὰ τὰς συμβηβάσεις, ἃς εἶχον πρὸς* Ρωμαίους (i.e. the Greeks) *οἱ Λατίνοι ἐνύρκως διὰ γραμμάτων, κανονικὴ καὶ ἀβίαστος καὶ ἐλευθέρα·— ἀλλά ῥαδιουργείας μυρίας ἐπινοήσαντες οἱ Ἰταλοὶ τὰς μὲν συμβηβάσεις ἠθέτησαν, ἐπαρέβησαν δὲ τοὺς ἐγγράφους αὐτῶν ὅρκους, ἐβίασαν δὲ τὴν ἀλήθειαν, καὶ τέλος τυραννικῷ τρόπῳ τὰ ἀθέσματα αὐτῶν πάλιν ἐκύρωσαν δόγματα καὶ εἴτι ἂν ἄλλο παρὰ κανόνας ἐκράτησαν. τὸ χεῖρον δὲ μᾶλλον καὶ ἀσεβὲς, ὅτι μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων καὶ τὴν ἐν τῷ κοινῷ τῆς πίστεως συμβόλῳ προσθήκην οὐ παραιτήσαντο, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐγγράφως παρέδωκαν, φεῦ, πυρὰ πᾶσιν ὁμολογεῖσθαι.* Then they protested to the Emperor; *πρὸς τὴν σὴν βασιλείαν γνωρίζομεν τάδε· ὅτι εἰ μὲν προσέδραμεν, ὡς τοῦ ἡμετέρου γένους παντελῶς ἐξησθενηκότος, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καταναγκαζόμενος παντοιοτρόπως, ὅπως λήψῃ βοήθειαν, καὶ τινα ἴσην ἄλλην οἰκονομίαν νενόηκας, εἴτε τῆς καὶ πρὸς τὰ τῶν Λατίνων ἐνέπεσας, καὶ τὴν προσθήκην ἐδέξω κατὰ ἀνάγκην· εἶθ' οὕτως ἀποτρεψάμενος νῦν τὰ ἐκείνων τερατολογήματά τε καὶ ἀσεβήματα, καὶ τὴν ὑγιαίνουσαν ἐν τῷ θείῳ συμβόλῳ παράδοσιν κατὰ τὰς θείας πάσας γραφὰς ὁμολογεῖς ἀδιστάκτως τε στέργεις, καὶ πείθῃ, ὡς οἱ πρὸ σοῦ ἅπαντες εὐσεβεῖς αὐτοκράτορες βασιλεῖς, ἤδη καί ὑμεῖς οὐ μόνον τὸ προσφιλὲς μνημόσυνον τῆς βασιλείας ἐπιτελεῖν ἔχομεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ διηνεκῆ καὶ ἀέναον ἱκεσίαν πρὸς θεὸν ἐκπληροῦν μέλλομεν τοῦ σοῦ κράτους ἕνεκα, καὶ ὑπὲρ ψυχῆς μάλιστα, δι' ὃν ἐξιλεούμενοι καθ' ἑκάστην τὸ θεῖον συγκυινῶσαί τέ σοι, καὶ τὰ ἀμπλακήματα ἐν γνώσει καὶ ἀγνοίᾳ πραχθέντα. Οὕτω μὲν οὖν ἔσται σοὶ ἔλεος τῶν πλημμελημάτων, οὕτως δὲ ἄφεσις τῶν ἀγνοημάτων, εἰ μὲν τὰς θείας οὐκ ἀθετεῖς παραδόσεις· Εἰ δὲ περιμένεις, καὶ ἀνέχῃ τὰ τῶν ἑτεροδόξων, ὥσπερ ἀλλότρια ὄντα πάσης κανονικῆς παραδόσεως καὶ συνοδικῆς, οὐ μόνον ἐκκόψομεν τὸ τοῦ σοῦ κράτους μνημόσυνον, ἀλλὰ τὰ τοῦ βάρους προσθήσομεν ἐπιτίμια, ἵνα μὴ τῇ τοῦ* Χριστοῦ *ἐκκλησίᾳ διαφέρῃ ἡ λύμη τοῦ ἀλλοτρίου καὶ βλαβεροῦ δόγματος.—Ἂν δὲ τῷ τυραννικῷ τρόπῳ παρανόμως βιάζῃ καὶ πειθανολογεῖς τὴν ἐλευθερον καὶ ἀδούλωτον Χριστοῦ ἐκκλησίαν, γίνωσκε οὕτως, ὅτι—οὐκ ἀνεξόμεθα σιωπᾷν ἐφεξῆς, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὴν ἐντολὴν ἀφόβως ἐλέγξαι καὶ ἐπιτιμῆσαι μέλλομεν τοῦτον.*

[5] Compare part iii. § 131. The acts are in Labbei et Cossart Conc. xiii. p. 1197 ss.

Church of Rome by a papal decree.[6] This frivolous scene was evidently intended to win back the public opinion of the Western world to the Pope, by the appearance of a general union of all Christendom under the papal obedience, and to overawe and bring to submission the steadfast adherents of the Council of Basle.

[6] First came Decretum pro Jacobinis dd. Florent. 4. Febr. 1441 l. c. p. 1204 ss. determining the union of the Egyptian Jacobites, which, however, Renaudot hist. Patriarcharum Alexandrinorum Jacobitarum p. 611 has not ventured to mention. Decretum pro Syris dd. Laterani 30. Sept. 1444 l c. p. 1222 ss. Decretum pro Chaldaeis et Maronitis dd. 3. Aug. 1445 l. c. p. 1225 ss.

FOURTH PERIOD.

THE RISE OF THE REFORMATION IN GERMANY AND SWITZERLAND.

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[1] Sources for the history of both: Jo. Sleidani (properly Phillippson of Sleida in Grafsch. Manderscheid, Professor of Law at Strasburg † 1556) de statu religionis et reipublicae Carólo V. Caesare commentarii. Libb. xxvi. Argentor. 1555. fol. [1] best edition multis annotationibus illustrata a Chr. Car. AmEnde. Francof. ad M. 1785, p. iii. 8. in French with notes by P. F. le Courayer. à la Haye. 1767. 3 voll. 4. in German with Courayers and other notes, original documents, and a preface by J. S. Semler (by F. A. Stroth) Halle 1771. 4 Bde 8.

Supplemental sources: Abr. Sculteti (Professor at Heidelberg afterwards preacher at Emden † 1625) annalium evangelii, passim per Europam decimo sexto salutis partae seculo renovati decas i. et ii. (from 1516—1536, the other decades were destroyed at the conquest of Prague) Heidelb. 1618. 8. reprinted in v. d. Hardt hist. liter. reformationis. P. V. Dan. Gerdes (Professor at Groningen † 1765) introductio in hist. evangelii saec. xvi. passim per Europam renovati. Groning. 1744—52. Tomi iv. 4. To this is added as a collection of tracts and original documents Ejusd. Scrinium antiquarium, s. miscellanea Groningana nova ad hist. reformationis ecclesiasticam praecipue spectantia. ib. 1748—63. Tomi

[1] With respect to the first two editions see AmEnde in Schelhorns Ergötzlichkeiten aus der Kirchenhist. u. Literatur. Bd. 2. S. 414. 653. Against Sleidan were written Siméon Fontaine histoire catholique de nostre tems touchant l'état de la religion chretienne, contre l'hist. de J. Sleidan. Antverp. 1558. 8. Roveri Pontani (Carmelite at Brussels) vera narratio rerum ab anno 1500 usque ad annum 1559 in republ. christiana memorabilium. Colon. 1559. fol. Laur. Surii (Carthusian at Cologne † 1578) commentarius brevis rerum in orbe gestarum ab. ann. 1500 usque 1566. Colon. 1567. 8.

viii. 4. K. R. Hagenbach Vorlesungen über Wesen u. Gesch. d. Reform. in Deutschland u. d. Schweiz. 4 Th. Leipz. 1834—39. 8. H. N. Clausen populäre Vorträge über die Reformation. Leipzig. 1837. 8.

Reformations-Almanach herausgeg. v. Friedr. Keyser. 3. Jahrgg. Erfurt 1817. 19. 21. in 12.

[2] For the history of the German Reformation. Sources: Ge. Spalatini (properly Burckart from Spelt in the Bishopric of Eichstädt, preacher to the Court of Saxony, afterwards Superintendent at Altenburg and Historian of Saxony † 1545 [2]) Annales reformationis or Yearbooks of the Reformation of Luther, publisht from his Autograph by E. S. Cyprian. Leipzig 1718. 8. (cf. Spalatini annales a mense Aug. 1513 usque ad finem fere 1526, in Menckenii Scriptt. rerum Germ. t. ii. p. 589 ss. but neither printed with sufficient accuracy, nor complete, see Veesenmeyer in Vater's Archiv. f. 1825 S. 73; besides Spalatini vitae aliquot Electorum et Ducum Saxoniae in Menckenii Scriptt. rerum Germanic. t. ii. p. 1067. ss.).—Frid. Myconii (or Mecum, Superintendent at Gotha † 1546 [3]) hist. reformationis A.D. 1518—1542, given from the author's autograph, and illustrated with a preface by E. S. Cyprian. A reprint, Leipzig, 1718. 8.—Phil. Melanchthonis hist. vitae Mart. Lutheri, preface to Lutheri opp. lat. Vitemberg T. ii. 1546, several times issued separately, e.g. by Chr. A. Heumann Gottingae 1741. 4. by J. Chr. G. Augusti). [4] translated by F. Th. Zimmerman, with notes by Villers, and a preface by Planck, second ed. Göttingen 1816. 8.)—Jo. Mathesii (pastor in Joachimsthal † 1568) Historien von D. Martin Luthers Anfang, Lehren, Leben, standhaft Bekäntniss seines Glaubens und Sterben (in twenty-seven sermons) 1565. 4. often publisht e.g. Frankfort and Leipzic 1724. 8. in epitome by L. A. v. Arnim. Berlin, 1817. 8.—Joach. Camerarii (Prof. in Leipzig † 1574) de Phil. Melanchthonis ortu totius vitae curriculo et morte, implicata rerum memorabilium temporis illius hominumque mentione atque indicio, cum expositionis serie cohaerentium narratio diligens et accurata. Lips. 1566. 8. publisht several times, recensuit, notas, documenta, bibliothecam librorum Melanchth. aliaque addidit G. Th. Strobel. Halae 1777. 8. Ed. by Augusti see note 4.

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Original documents: Val. E. Löscher vollständige Reformations-Acta und Documenta. 3 Tomi. (f. d. J. 1517—1519) Leipz. 1720—29. 4.—Documente zur Reformationshistorie, deutsch in der Walchschen Ausgabe v Luthers Schriften. Th. 15—17.

[2] Historia vitae Ge. Spalatini exposita ab Chr. Schlegelio. Jenae 1693. 4.

[3] Narratio de Frid. Myconio primo dioeceseos Gothanae Superintendente, scrips. C. H. G. Lommatzsch. Annaebergae 1825. 8.

[4] Phil. Mel. de vita Mart. Luth. narratio, et vita Phil. Mel. ab Joach. Camerario conscripta ed. D. J. Chr. Gu. Augusti Vratisl. 1819. 8.

The works of the Reformers: Luther's works: the Wittenberg edition, 12 German volumes (1539—59) and 7 Latin (1545—58). The Jena edition printed accurately after the autograph with the exception of the first part of the German works, 8 German volumes (1555—58) and 4 Latin (1556—58), besides two supplemental volumes by Aurifaber, Eisleben 1564. 65. The Altenburg edition containing only the German works, by John Christfried Saggitarius. 10 vols. 1661—64. A supplemental volume to all earlier editions (by J. G. Zeidler). Halle 1702. The Leipsic edition, 22 voll. 1729—40. Fol. The most complete Halle edition by J. G. Walch, 24 Thle. 1740—50. 4. In the last two editions the Latin works are only found in a German translation.[5] Especially: Dr M. Luthers Briefe, Sendschreiben u. Bedenken, herausgeg. von Dr W. M. L. de Wette. Berlin 1825—28. 5 Th. 8.

Phil. Melanchthonis opera (theol. ed. Casp. Peucer) Wittcb. 4 Partes. 1562—64. Consilia theologica ed. Christ. Pezelius. Neustadii 1600. 8. Christliche Berathschlagungen u. Bedenken — in teutscher Sprach gestellet, zusammengebracht durch Christ. Pezelium Reustadt a. d. Hardt. 1600. 8. Especially Ph. Mel. Epistolae, praefationes, consilia, judicia, schedae academicae. voll. vi. (1514—48). or Corpus Reformatorum ed. C. G. Bretschneider. vol. i.—vi. Halis 1834—39. 4.

There are useful documents in illustration of the earlier history of the Reformation, contributed from the originals by E. S. Cyprian, at the end of W. E. Tentzels histor. Bericht vom Anfang und ersten Fortgang der Reform. Lutheri. Leipzig 1718. 2 Th. 8.—J. E. Kapp kleine Nachlese einiger zur Erläuterung der Reformationsgeschichte nützlicher Urkunden. Leipz. 1727 ff. 4 Th. 8.—Dr Th. G. Neudecker's Urkunden aus der Reformationszeit. Cassel 1836. 8. His merkw. Aktenstücke aus dem Zeitalter der Reformation. 2 Abtheil. Nürnberg 1838. 8.

Works: Vit. Lud. a Seckendorf (privy councillor in Saxony, afterwards in Brandenburg, † at Halle 1692) commentarius historicus et apologeticus de Lutheranismo. libb. iii. ed. 2. Lips. 1694 fol. (written against L. Maimbourg the Jesuit's hist. de Lutheranisme. Paris 1680. 4.).—Christ. Aug. Salig (Conrector in Wolfenbüttel) vollständige Historie der Augsb. Confession u. derselben Apologie (v. 1517—1562). Halle 1730—35. 3 Th. 4.—G. J. Planck Gesch. der Entstehung, der Veränderungen u. der Bildung unsers protest. Lehrbegriffs bis zur Einführung der Concordienformel. Leipzig 1781—1800. 6 Bde. 8. (2te Aufl. von Bd. 1—3. 1791—98).—C. L. Woltmann sets out from a political point of view Gesch. der Reform. in Deutschland. 3 Th. Altona 1800—05. kl. 8.—Ch. W. Spicker Gesch. Dr Mart. Luthers u. der durch ihn bewirkten Kirchenverbesserung in Deutschland. Bd. 1. (bis 1521). Berlin 1818. 8.—K. A. Menzel Neuere Gesch. d. Deutschen v. d. Reformation bis zur Bundesacte. Bd. 1—8. Breslau 1826—39. 8.—Ph. Marheineke Gesch. der teutschen Reformation. 4 Th. Berlin 1816—34. 8. (2te Aufl. v. Th. 1. u. 2. 1831).—L. Ranke deutsche Geschichte im Zeitalter der Reformation. Bd. 1. u. 2. Berlin 1839. 8.

Essai sur l'esprit et l'influence de la Reformation de Luther par Ch.

[5] With regard to the editions of Luther's works, see Walch in the Halle edition. Th. 24. S. 582 ff.

Villers. Paris 1804. (deutsch v. K. F. Kramer, m. Vorrede u. Beilage einiger Abhandlungen v. Henke. 2 Abtheil. (2te Aufl. Hamburg 1828. 8.)

3. For the History of the Reformation in Switzerland. Accounts of cotemporary writers; a. of Reformers: Bernh. Weiss (burgher of Zurich, lived at Cappel 1531) kurze Beschreibung der Glaubensänderung im Schweizerlande (in Füssli's Beyträgen iv., 32). Valerius Anshelm (physician and historian of Berne) Berner Chronik bis 1526 (publisht by Stierlin and Wyss. Berne 1825—1833. 8. 6 Bde) from Bd. 5. S. 368 and onwards. Henry Bullinger (Antistes of the Church of Zurich † 1575) Reformationsgeschichte (down to 1532), publisht by J. J. Hottinger and H. H. Vögeli. 3 Bde. Frauenfeld 1838—40. gr. 8. b.) of Catholics: Joh. Salat (Historian at Lucerne) Beschreibung von Anfang u. Ursprung luther. u. zwinglischer Secten v. 1516—1535 (extant in manuscript, partial throughout, and full of calumny, see Füssli's Beyträge ii., 81. Schulers Huldreich Zwingli, Einleit. S. xix.). Valentin Tschudi (Pastor in Glarus † 1555) kurze histor. Beschreibung der in Kriegs- u. Friedenszeiten verloffenen Sachen u. Händeln zu Glarus u. in einer Eidgenossenschaft, down to 1523, very impartial (in manuscript, see Egedius Tschudi's Leben u. Schriften von Ild. Fuchs. St. Gallen 1805. Th. 2. S. 33. Schuler ibid. S. xxiv. 46.) Egidius Tschudi (Landammann of Glarus † 1572) Chronik. The part which relates to this time, extant only in MS., is a rich collection of original documents (see Ild. Fuchs ibid. Th. 2. S. 89).

J. Oecolampadii et H. Zwinglii epistolarum libb. iv. cum praef. Theod. Bibliandri et utriusque vita et obitu, S. Grynaeo, W. Capitone et Osw. Myconio auctoribus. Basil. 1536. fol. The vita Zwinglii by Oswald Myconius (schoolmaster at Lucerne and Zürich, from 1531 preacher at Basle † 1552), printed separately in Stäudlins u. Tzschirners Archiv. für Kirchengesch. Bd. 1. St. 2. s. 1. Supplemental facts of importance are contained in the Narratio verissima civilis Helvetiorum belli (Capellani) per modum dialogi ab Osvaldo Myconio congesta in the part, which is printed ibid. s. 38 ff.

Original documents: the works of the Reformers, Ulr. Zwinglii opera. Turici 1544. 4 voll. fol. especially Huldreich Zwingli's works, the first complete edition is by M. Schuler and J. Schulthess. Zürich 1828 ff. Bd. 1—2. with the German works have already appeared, and voll. iii. v.—vii., (opp. lat.) Jo. Calvini opera Amstel. 1667 ss. 9 voll. fol.

Miscellanea Tigurina. 3 Theile. Zürich 1722—24. 8. J. Conr. Füssli (treasurer of the Chapter at Winterthur † 1775) Beyträge zur Erläuterung der Kirchen-Reformationsgesch. des Schweizerlandes. Zürich 1741—63. 5 Th. 8. Ejusd. Epistolae ab Ecclesiae helveticae reformatoribus vel ad eos scriptae. Tiguri 1742. 8. J. J. Simler (Censor of Zürich † 1785) Samml. alter und neuer Urkunden zur Beleuchtung der Kirchengesch. vornemlich des Schweizerlandes. Zürich 1767. 2 Bde 8. (this gives only a small part of what is contained in the great manuscript-collection of Simmler in the town-library of Zürich, see Lebensgesch. Oecolampads von S. Hess. Vorr. s. iii.

Works: J. H. Hottingeri (Professor at Zürich † 1667) hist. eccles. (P. ix. Hanoviae et Tiguri 1655 ss. 8.) P. v. ss. J. J. Hottinger (Prof. in Zürich

† 1735) Helvetische Kirchengeschichten (4 Th. Zürich 1708 ff. 4.) Th. 3. Abrah. Ruchat (Preacher and Professor at Lausanne) hist. de la reformation de la Suisse. Geneve 1727 s. 6 voll. 12. Ludw. Wirz. (pastor at Münchaltdorf in Zürich † 1816) Neuere helvetische Kirchengeschichte, 2 volumes have now appeared Zürich 1813. 1819. 8 (the second by Melch. Kirchhofer, pastor at Stein on the Rhine goes down to 1523). Sal. Hess. (pastor at St Peter's in Zürich) Ursprung, Gang u. Folgen der durch Zwingli in Zürich bewirkten Glaubensverbesserung und Kirchenreform. Zürich 1819. 4. J. v. Müllers u. Rob. Glutz Blotzheims Geschichten Schweizerischer Eidgenossenschaft, fortgesetzt von. J. J. Hottinger. 6ter Bd. v. s. 237 ff. u. 7ter Bd. (Zürich 1825 u. 1829) reaches down to 1531.

Lebensbeschreibung M. Ulrich Zwingli's von J. C. Hess, aus dem Französ. nebst einem literarisch hist. Anhang v. Leonh. Usteri Professor. Zürich 1811. 8. (Nachträge v. Usteri in Stäudlin's u. Tzschirners Archiv. für Kirchengesch. Bd. 1. St. 2. u. Bd. 2. St. 3.). Huldreich Zwingli, Geschichte seiner Bildung zum Reformator des Vaterlandes, von J. M. Schuler, Pfarrer zu Bözberg im Canton Aargau. 2te Ausg. Zürich u. Leipzig 1819. 8.—Jac. Tichler diss. de indole sacrorum emendationis a Zwinglio institutae rite dijudicanda. Traj. ad Rhenum 1827. 8.—Biographien berühmter schweizer. Reformatoren. Bd. 1. Lebensgesch. D. Joh. Oekolampads (v. Sal. Hess) Zürich 1793. 8.—Lebensgeschichte M. Heinr. Bullingers, Antistes der Kirche Zürich, von Sal. Hess. Zürich 1828. bis jetzt 2 Bde. 8.—Bertold Haller, oder die Reformation von Bern, von M. Kirchhofer. Zürich 1828. 8.—Das Leben Wilh. Farel's aus den Quellen bearbeitet. v. M. Kirchhofer. 2 Bde. Zürich 1831. 33. 8.—Das Leben Joh. Calvin's des grossen Reformators, mit Benutzung der handschriftl. Urkunden, vornehmlich der Genfer und Züricher Bibliothek, entworfen, nebst einem Anhang bisher ungedruckter Briefe u. anderer Belege von Paul Henry, Pred. zu Berlin, bis jetzt 2 Bde. Hamburg 1835 and 38. 8.

§ 1.

HISTORY OF THE REFORMATION IN GERMANY TILL 1524.

W. E. Tentzel's hist. Bericht vom Anfang u. ersten Fortgang der Reform. Lutheri, mitgetheilt v. D. E. S. Cyprian. 3ter Druck. Leipz. 1718. 8.

The corruption of the Church and the necessity of a Reformation had been already felt and acknowledged long and strongly enough, but at the same time very differently understood and defined. The people took offence at the immorality of the clergy, complained of Church oppressions, censured the fraud of many

ecclesiastics, and felt the emptiness of that which the Church proffered them as religion. Princes and bishops recognized the abridgement of their rights by the Papal see, and the manifold disorders which had crept into the Church, and desired a rearrangement of these points by a reformation in head and limbs. Individuals of deeper insight saw the chief cause of the corruption in the distortion of doctrine by human institutions, and wisht for a reconstitution of doctrine upon its own Scriptural foundation.

The Papal see refused all these manifold demands, for it feared to confess to former errors by such concessions, and so to undermine its power. After it had overcome the eager struggle of the secular and ecclesiastical aristocracy for a reform of head and members in the fifteenth century; it managed so to balance the different powers hostile to itself, against each other, that they mutually kept each other in check. But it always maintained its strongest hold among the common people. For although all enthusiasm for the Church had long vanisht from among them, and there was no lack of discontent upon many subjects; still the mass of mankind lulled their religious requirements to rest with the mechanical constitution of the Church. To them the Pope was not only the central point of the Church, without which there could be no salvation, but also the chief awarder of all ecclesiastical graces and penalties, which would retain their virtue in the world to come. Accordingly a war waged to the utmost against the papal see, threatened still to occasion an uprising of the masses, which could not but be formidable even to the most powerful.

However the time could no longer be far distant, when the people also would free themselves from the ensnaring influence of Rome: for the enlightenment now advancing with giant strides, must gradually find its way among the people. But here a new danger threatened. A learned education could not be widely spread among the lower orders, but only its most general and most obvious results. These results not being accompanied with any knowledge of the reasons for them, could but beget a negative spirit, which would not only have assailed the abuses of the Church, but also the very truths of religion: naturally and necessarily a superstitious fanaticism would have grown up in opposi-

tion to this.[1] Nothing but a well-timed and genuine reformation, overthrowing error by the quickening influence of truth in the hearts of the people, could at once shatter the former yoke of spiritual bondage, and shield from the impending dangers of the future. The moral and religious truthfulness cherisht in every heart, and the opposition of this to the existing Church-system, had to be brought clearly before the self-consciousness of the people: and enthusiasm for the newly-discovered truth had to be kindled up from the discontent felt against the long-endured deception. From the very nature of the case this consciousness, and quickening influence could work its way but gradually into the hearts of men. The whole truth, suddenly brought forward, would only have blinded and not enlightened mankind. Accordingly that Reformation alone can hope for success, which beginning with the conquest of erroneous doctrines and abuses, that can be immediately demonstrated as such to the moral and religious feelings of the people advances step by step from truth to truth, so that the people may follow with their own convictions and their own enthusiasm. For this very reason it can only be beneficial, when the Reformer has himself advanced gradually in his perceptions, and so been always in a condition to proclaim

1 Luther's remark to the elector John during the diet at Spires in April 1529 (Luther's letters by de Wette iii. 439): "Da solche Missbräuche so unleidlich viel und gross, und nicht geändert wurden durch die, so es billig thun sollten, begunten sie von sich selbst allenthalben in deutschen Landen zu fallen, und die Geistlichen daruber veracht werden. Als aber die ungeschichten Schreiber solche Missbräuche noch dazu wollen vertheidigen und erhalten, und konnten doch nichts Rechtschaffenes ausbringen, machten sie aus ubel ärger, dass man die Geistlichen allenthalben für ungelehrte, untuchtige, ja schädliche Leute hielte, und ihres Dinges und Vertheidigung spottete. Solchs Abfallen und Untergehen der Missbräuche war bereit des mehrer Theil im Schwang, ehe des Luthers Lehre kam; denn alle Welt war der Geistlichen Missbräuche müde und feind, dass zu besorgen war, wo des Luthers Lehre nicht drein komen wäre, domit die Lute unterricht von dem Glauben Christi und vom Gehorsam der Oberkeit, es ware ein jamerlich Verderben im deutchen Landen entstanden; denn man wollte die Missbrauche nicht langer leiden, und stracks eine Aenderunge haben, so wollten die Geistlichen nicht weichen oder nachlassen, dass da keines Wehrens gewest wäre. Es wäre eine unordige, sturmische, fährliche Mutation oder Aenderung worden (wie sie der Munzer auch anfing), wo nicht ein bestandige Lehre dazwischen komen ware, und ohn Zweifel die ganze Religion gefallen, und lauter Epicurer worden aus den Christen."

the whole truth recognized by himself, without any measured calculations to weaken the effect of his enthusiasm upon the people. For enthusiasm only can rouse enthusiasm: without this no one can succeed in opposition to the formidable Colossus of the Papacy. An enthusiastic, world-despising piety alone, could furnish the man, who should kindle such an impulse, with courage and strength for his undertaking: but clear-sightedness and well grounded judgment would be necessary to protect his enthusiasm from superstition, and give consistency and permanence to his work.

Martin Luther,[2] born at Eisleben on the 10th of November 1483, became a monk in the monastery of the Augustin-eremites at Erfurt (1505), in consequence of peculiar circumstances; he was early led to Augustinism and the study of the Bible,[3] by

[2] Des sel. Zeugen Gottes D. M. Luthers merkwürdige Lebens-Umstande von F. S. Keil. 4 Th. Leipzig 1764. 4. Luthers Leben mit einer kurzen Reformationsgeschichte Deutschlands u. der Literatur v. G. H. A. Ukert. 2 Th. Gotha 1817. 8. Martin Luthers Leben von Gustav Pfizer. Stuttgart 1836. 8.

[3] Melanchthon in vita Lutheri ed Heumann p. 7: Occasio autem ingrediendi illud vitae genus, quod pietati et studiis doctrinae de Deo existimavit esse convenientius, haec fuit, ut ipse narrabat, et ut multi norunt: saepe eum cogitantem attentius de ira Dei, aut de mirandis poenarum exemplis, subito tanti terrores concutiebant, ut paene exanimaretur.—Etsi doctrinam in scholis usitatam quotidie discebat, et Sententiarios legebat, et in disputationibus publicis labyrinthos aliis inextricabiles diserte multis admirantibus explicabat, tamen quia in eo vitae genere non famam ingenii, sed alimenta pietatis quaerebat, haec studia tanquam parerga tractabat, et facile arripiebat illas scholasticas methodos. Interea fontes doctrinae coelestis avide legebat ipse, scilicet scripta Prophetica et Apostolica, ut mentem suam de Dei voluntate erudiret, et firmis testimoniis aleret timorem et fidem. Hoc studium ut magis expeteret, illis suis doloribus et pavoribus movebatur. Et senis cujusdam sermonibus in Augustiniano collegio Erfordiae saepe se confirmatum esse narrabat, cui cum consternationes suas exponeret, audivit eum de fide multa disserentem, seque deductum ajebat ad symbolum, in quo dicitur: *credo remissionem peccatorum.* Hunc articulum sic ille interpretatus erat, non solum in genere credendum esse, aliquibus remitti, ut et daemones eredunt, Davidi aut Petro remitti, sed mandatum Dei esse, ut singuli homines nobis remitti peccata credamus. Et hanc interpretationem confirmatam dicebat Bernardi dicto, monstratumque locum in concione de Annuntiatione, ubi haec sunt verba: *sed adde—ut credas et hoc, quod per ipsum peccata tibi donantur. Hoc est testimonium, quod perhibet Spiritus sanctus in corde tuo, dicens: dimissa sunt tibi peccata tua. Sic enim arbitratur Apostolus, gratis justificari hominem per fidem.* Hac se voce

deep religious requirements, which could find no satisfaction in the mechanicism of the Church. Removed in 1508 to the Augustin monastery at Wittenberg, he laboured there, in the newly founded University[4] (1502) first as bachelor, from 1512 as doctor, with especial zeal to promote the study of the Bible.[5] He

non solum confirmatum esse Lutherus dicebat, sed commonefactum esse de tota Pauli sententia, qui toties inculcat hoc dictum: *fide justificamur*. De quo cum multorum expositiones legisset, tunc et ex hujus sermonibus et e suae mentis consolatione animadvertisse interpretationum, quae tunc in manibus erant, vanitatem. Paulatim legenti et conferenti dicta et exempla in Prophetis et Apostolis recitata, et quotidiana invocatione excitanti fidem, plus lucis accessit. Tunc et Augustini libros legere coepit, ubi et in *Psalmorum enarratione*, et in *libro de spiritu et litera* multas perspicuas sententias reperit, quae confirmabant hanc de fide doctrinam et consolationem, quae in ipsius pectore accensa erat. Nec tamen prorsus reliquit Sententiarios; Gabrielem (Biel) et Cameracensem (Petrus de Alliaco) paene ad verbum memoriter recitare poterat. Diu multumque legit scripta Occam. Hujus acumen anteferebat Thomae et Scoto. Diligenter et Gersonem legerat. Sed omnia Augustini monumenta et saepe legerat, et optime meminerat. Hoc acerrimum studium inchoavit Erfordiae, in cujus urbis collegio Augustiniano commoratus est annos quatuor.

[4] Melanchthon continues p. 11: Eo autem tempore quia reverendus vir Staupicius (John of Staupitz, Provincial of the Augustins, and Professor at Wittenberg), qui exordia Academiae Wittebergensis adjuverat, studium theologicum in recenti Academia excitare cupiebat cum ingenium et eruditionem Lutheri considerasset, traducit eum Wittebergam anno MDVIII., cum jam ageret annum vicesimum sextum. Hic inter quotidiana exercitia scholae et concionum magis etiam lucere ejus ingenium coepit. Cumque eum attente audierant viri sapientes, Doctor Martinus Mellerstadius et alii, saepe dixit Mellerstadius, tantam esse vim ingenii in hoc viro, ut plane praesagiret, mutaturum esse vulgare doctrinae genus, quod tunc in scholis unicum tradebatur. Hic primum Dialecticen et Physicen Aristotelis enarravit: interea tamen suum illud studium legendi scripta theologica non omittens. On the 17th March 1509 Luther wrote to John Braun at Eisenach, see Luther's letters collected by de Wette Th. 1. S. 6: Sum itaque nunc jubente vel permittente Deo Wittenbergae. Quod si statum meum nosse desideres, bene habeo Dei gratia, nisi quod violentum est studium maxime philosophiae quam ego ab initio libentissime mutarim theologia, ea inquam theologia, quae nucleum nucis et medullam tritici et medullam ossium scrutatur. However, even then he gave himself up to theological studies. He is thus entered under the Rector Nicol. Viridimontanus ann. 1508: Fr. Martinus Luder de Mansfeld, admissus mox 1509 d. 9 Mart. Baccalaureus tanquam ad Biblia see Sennerti Athen. Vitemberg. p. 57.

[5] Luther's oath on taking his Doctor's degree may be seen Liber Decanorum Facult. theol. Acad. Vitebergensis ed. C. E. Foerstemann.

met with much success as a lecturer; by him and some like-minded fellow-labourers, the study of theology at Wittenberg was diverted from Aristotle and the Schoolmen, to Augustin and Holy Scripture; and denying the sanctity of works, it made the doctrine of salvation of man by faith in Christ alone, its animating central point.[6] Such a practical and scriptural turn of

Lips. 1838. 8. p. 146. Luther's comments on the pretended Imperial edict of 1531. (Walchsche Ausg. Th. 16. S. 2061): Ich aber, Doctor Martinus, bin dazu berufen und gezwungen, dass ich musste Doctor werden ohne meinen Dank aus lauter Gehorsam: da hab ich das Doctoramt müssen annehmen, und meiner allerliebsten heiligen Schrift schwören und geloben, sie treulich und lauter zu predigen und lehren. Ueber solchem Lehren ist mir das Pabstthum in Weg gefallen, und hat mirs wollen wehren: darüber ist es auch ihm gangen wie vor Augen, und soll ihm noch immer ärger gehen, und sollen sich meiner nicht erwehren. Mathesius S. 17: Dieses ordentlichen und öffentlichen Berufs, so ihm von einer bestätigten Universität, im Nahmem und auf Befehl der hohen kaiserl. Majestät, und des Stuhls zu Rom, nach Rath und Beschluss seiner Präeceptoren und fürgesetzten geistlichen Obrigkeit, und auf gnädigste Beförderung und Darlag seines Churfürsten und Landesherrn aufgetragen, und auf seinen theuren Eyde, den er Gott, der heil. Schrift, und der Universität zu Wittemberg gethan, hat er sich oft in grossen Nöthen und Kämpfen getröstet und aufgehalten, wenn ihm Teufel und Welt hat wollen angst und bange machen, wer es ihm befohlen, und wie ers verantworten wolle, dass er ein solch Wesen in der ganzen Christenheit anrichte? Da, sage ich, hat er sich seines ordentlichen Doctorats und öffentlichen Befehls und theuren Eydes erinnert und getröstet, darauf er auch seine (zwar Gottes) Sachen im Namen Christi mit Ehren und vieler Leutseligkeit unerschrocken fortbracht, und mit Gottes Hülfe redlich hinausgefuhrt hat.

[6] At Wittenberg a disinclination towards scholasticism was displayed from the first. So Martin Polichius of Mellerstadt, who was actively engaged in the foundation of the University, and afterwards lectured there himself, pronounced the subtilties of the schoolmen unprofitable; on the other hand he insisted on the importance of philology to Divinity, and gave his advice upon this point in 1505, in a controversy with Wimpina at Leipzic, see Löschers Reformationsacta i. 87. Melancthon in vita Lutheri p. 12: Postea (after he was made Doctor) enarrare Epistolam ad Romanos coepit, deinde Psalmos. Haec scripta sic illustravit, ut post longam et obscuram noctem nova doctrinae lux oriri videretur omnium piorum et prudentum judicio. Hic monstravit legis et Evangelii discrimen: hic refutavit errorem, qui tunc in scholis et concionibus regnabat, qui docet, mereri homines remissionem peccatorum propriis operibus, et homines coram Deo justos esse disciplina, ut Pharisaei docuerunt. Revocavit igitur Lutherus hominum mentes ad filium Dei, et, ut Baptista, monstravit agnum Dei, qui tulit peccata nostra, ostendit gratis propter filium Dei remitti peccata, et quidem oportere id beneficium fide accipi. Illustravit et cae-

mind, had often existed silent and still in the Church before,

teras partes doctrinae ecclesiasticae. There are characteristic remnants of Luther's writings at this time: in two letters to Spalatin, of 1510 and 1514 (de Wette Th. i. S. 7 and 13) he declares himself strongly in favour of Reuchlin against the divines of Cologne. The letter to John Lange Prior of Augustins at Erfurt, 8. Feb. 1516 (de Wette i. S. 15): Mitto has literas, mi Pater, ad eximium D. Jodocum Isenacensem, plenas—blasphemiarum et maledictionum contra Aristotelem. Porphyrium, Sententiarios, perdita scilicet studia nostri saeculi.—Nihil ita ardet animus, quam histrionem illum, qui tam vere graeca larva Ecclesiam lusit, multis revelare, ignominiamque ejus cunctis ostendere, si otium esset. Habeo in manibus commentariolos in primum Physicorum, quibus fabulam Aristaei denuo agere statui, in meum istum Protea, illusorem vaferrimum ingeniorum, ita ut nisi caro fuisset Aristoteles, vere diabolum eum fuisse non puderet asserere. Pars crucis meae vel maxima est, quod videre cogor, fratrum optima ingenia bonis studiis nata in istis coenis vitam agere et operam perdere: nec cessant Universitates bonos libros cremare et damnare, rursum malos dictare, imo somniare. To George Spenlein, Augustin at Memmingen, 7. Apr. 1516 (ibid. S. 17): Fervet nostra aetate tentatio praesumtionis in multis, et iis praecipue, qui justi et boni esse omnibus viribus student: ignorantes justitiam Dei, quae in Christo est nobis effusissime et gratis donata, quaerunt in se ipsis tam diu operari bene, donec habeant fiduciam standi coram Deo, veluti virtutibus et meritis ornati, quod est impossibile fieri. Fuisti tu apud nos in hac opinione, imo errore, fui et ego: sed et nunc quoque pugno contra ipsum errorem, sed nondum expugnavi. Igitur, mi dulcis frater, disce Christum et hunc crucifixum, disce ei cantare et de te ipso desperans dicere ei: "tu, Domine Jesu, es justitia mea, ego autem sum peccatum tuum; tu assumsisti meum, et dedisti mihi tuum: assumsisti quod non eras, et dedisti mihi quod non eram." Cave ne aliquando ad tantam puritatem aspires, ut peccator tibi videri nolis, imo esse. Christus enim non nisi in peccatoribus habitat.—Non nisi in illo, per fiducialem desperationem tui et operum tuorum, pacem invenies. Compare the sermon against the idea and conceit of sanctity, and the merit of good works, and the other upon the great sins and chief evils, which find their expression in that conceit, preacht on the 10th and 11th Sundays after Trinity 1516. in Walch's Ed. Th. 10. S. 1546 ff. Among the Theses de viribus et voluntate hominis sine gratia contra doctrinam Sophistarum, which Bartholom. Bernhardi maintained in 1516 under Luther's protection (best in Löscher's Reformationsacta. Th. 1. s. 325 ff.) the following are found with others: Homo, Dei gratia exclusa, praecepta ejus servare nequaquam potest, neque se vel de congruo, vel de condigno ad gratiam Dei praeparare, sed necessario sub peccato manet.—Voluntas hominis sine gratia non est libera, sed serva, licet non invita.—Homo, quando facit, quod in se est, peccat, cum nec velle, aut cogitare ex se ipso possit.—Cum justitia fidelium sit in Deo abscondita, peccatum vero eorum manifestum in se ipsis, verum est nonnisi justos damnari, atque meretrices et peccatores salvari (viz. as is shown by the explanations which follow, justos h. e. sibi nihil

and so long as it was not directly assailed in its inmost sanctuary, holding fast its allegiance to an ideal church instead of the real,

imputantes peccati, justos in malis suis damnari; meretrices, vel sibi reputantes peccata, in oculis suis meretrices et peccatores, Deo tamen confitentes suam impietatem, atque pro hac remittenda tempore opportuno orantes, in eundem, non se ipsos, sperantes, salvari).—Cum credenti omnia sunt possibilia auctore Christo, superstitiosum est, humano arbitrio aliis sanctis alia deputari auxilia. With regard to these Theses, Luther writes to John Lange, 1516 (de Wette 1, 33), and records e. g. Ego sane gravius offendi omnes, quod negavi librum de vera et falsa poenitentia esse b. Augustini (compare vol. ii. part ii. § 83. note 4. above). Est enim insulsissimus et ineptissimus, et nihil ab Augustini eruditione et sensu remotius, Quod enim Gratianus et Magister sententiarum plurima ex illo ceperint, et conscientiarum non medicinam, sed carnificinam conflaverint, sciebam. At illos implacabiliter offendit, praecipue Doctorem Carlstadium, quod haec sciens negare audeam. He assailed the Schoolmen still more openly in the Theses in defence of Augustinism (of the 4th Sept. 1517, see Cyprian in Tentzel's Bericht vom. Anf. und ersten Fortgange der Reform. s. 278) see Tom. Jen. lat. 1, p. 9. Löscher's Reformationsacta. 1. s 539. E. g. I. Dicere, quod Augustinus contra haereticos excessive loquatur, est dicere, Augustinum fere ubique mentitum esse. Contra dictum commune (compare above vol. 1. § 86. note 4). IV. Veritas itaque est, quod homo arbor mala factus, non potest nisi malum velle et facere. V. Falsitas est, quod appetitus liber potest in utrumque oppositorum: imo nec liber sed captivus est. Contra communem. VI. Falsitas est, quod voluntas possit se conformare dictamini recto naturaliter. Contra Scotum et Gabrielem (Biel.). XXIX. Optima et infallibilis ad gratiam praeparatio et unica dispositio est aeterna Dei electio et praedestinatio. XXX. Ex parte autem hominis nihil nisi indispositio, imo rebellio gratiae gratiam praecedit. XLI. Tota fere Aristotelis ethica pessima gratiae inimica. Contra Scholasticos. XLIII. Error est dicere: sine Aristotele non fit theologus. Contra dictum commune. XLIV. Imo theologus non fit, nisi id fiat sine Aristotele. LI. Dubium est vehemens, an sententia Aristotelis sit apud Latinos. LXXVII. Omne opus legis sine gratia Dei foris apparet bonum, sed intus est peccatum. Contra Scholasticos. In conclusion: In his nihil dicere volumus, nec dixisse nos credimus, quod sit non catholicae Ecclesiae, et catholicis doctoribus consentaneum. Thus Luther could not be altogether satisfied with Erasmus. He writes to Spalatin the 19th Oct. 1516 (de Wette 1, 39): Quae me in Erasmo, homine eruditissimo, movent, haec sunt, quod in Apostolo interpretando justitiam operum, seu legis, seu propriam (ita enim appellat Apostolus) intelligit ceremoniales illas et figurales observantias; deinde de peccato originali (quod utique admittit) non plane velit Apostolum loqui cap. V. ad Romanos.—Ego sane in hoc dissentire ab Erasmo non dubito, quod Augustino in scripturis interpretandis tantum posthabeo Hieronymum, quantum ipse Augustinum in omnibus Hieronymo posthabet. Non quod professionis meae studio ad b. Augustinum proban-

it had overlookt the shortcomings of the latter, or excused them

dum trahar, qui apud me, antequam in libros ejus incidissem, ne tantillum quidem favoris habuit: sed quod video b. Hieronymum velut dedita opera ad historicos sensus incedere. To John Lange 1. March 1517 (de Wette 1, 52): Erasmum nostrum lego, et indies decrescit mihi animus erga eum: placet quidem, quod tam religiosos quam sacerdotes non minus constanter quam erudite arguit et damnat inveteratae hujus et veternosae inscitiae: sed timeo, ne Christum et gratiam Dei non satis promoveat, in qua multo est quam Stapulensis ignorantior: humana praevalent in eo plus quam divina.—Video, quod non ideo quispiam sit Christianus vere sapiens, quia Graecus sit et Hebraeus, quando et b. Hieronymus quinque linguis monoglosson Augustinum non adaequavit, licet Erasmo aliter sit longe visum. Sed aliud est judicium ejus, qui arbitrio hominis nonnihil tribuit, aliud ejus, qui praeter gratiam nihil novit. On the other hand he betook himself to the Mystics. In 1516 he edited the deutsche Theologie, and says in the preface (Löscher's Reformationsacta 1, 300): "Dies edele Büchlein als arm und ungeschmückt es ist in Worten und menschlicher Weisheit, also und vielmehr reicher und überköstlich ist es in Kunst und göttlicher Weisheit. Und dass ich noch meinen alten Narren rühme, ist mir nebst der Biblien und St Augustin nicht fürkommen ein Buch, daraus ich mehr erlernet hab und will, was Gott, Christus, Mensch und alle Ding seyn, und befinde nun allererst, dass wahr sey, dass etliche Hochgelehrten von uns Wittenbergischen Theologen schimpflich reden, als wollten wir neue Ding fürnehmen, gleich als wären nicht vorhin und anderswo auch Leute gewesen. Ja freylich seyn sie gewesen, aber Gottes Zorn, durch unsere Sünde verwirkt, hat uns nicht lassen würdig seyn, dieselben zu sehen oder hören. Denn am Tage ist, dass in den Universitäten eine lange Zeit solches nicht gehandelt, dahin bracht ist, dass das heil. Wort Gottes nicht allein unter der Bank gelegen, sondern von Staub und Motten nahend verweset." He considered the work as an epitome of Tauler, and accordingly sent it to Spalatin, on the 11th Dec. 1516 with the words (de Wette 1, 46): Si te delectat puram, solidam, antiquae simillimam theologiam legere, in germanica lingua effusam: sermones Johannis Tauleri, praedicatoriae professionis, tibi comparare potes, cujus totius velut epitomen ecce hic tibi mitto. Neque enim ego vel in latina, vel in nostra lingua theologiam vidi salubriorem vel cum Evangelio consonantiorem. His colleague Carlstadt entirely agreed with him. He also publisht on the 18th of April 1417, 152 Theses in defence of Augustinism (see his letter to Spalatin in Löschers Reformationsacten i. 846) with regard to which Luther writes on the 6th May 1517 to Christ. Scheurl, a man learned in the law at Nuremberg (de Wette i. 55): Sunt, nisi fallor, haec jam non Ciceronis paradoxa, sed Carolstadii nostri, imo sancti Augustini, Ciceronianis tanto mirabilioria et digniora, quanto Augustinus, imo Christus, Cicerone dignior est. Arguent autem ista paradoxa omnium eorum vel negligentiam, vel ignorantiam, quibuscunque fuerint visa magis paradoxa quam orthodoxa: ne dicam de iis, qui ea potius cacodoxa impudenti temeritate judicabunt, quoniam nec Augustinum, nec Paulum legunt, aut ita legunt, ut non intelligant, seque et

on the plea of human imperfectibility.[7] Thus even Luther held fast to the Church, without considering the internal difference between his point of view, and that of the Church;[8] but at the same time his inward religious life and faith attained such rock-like steadfastness, that counting all outward things as nought, he was ready to face every danger, and every onset in defence of the saving truth he had recognized.

At this time the Dominican John Tetzel,[9] as sub-commissary

alios secum negligant.—Benedictus Deus, qui rursum jubet de tenebris splendescere lumen!—Thus Luther could write to John Lange on the 18th May 1517 (de Wette i. 57): Theologia nostra et s. Augustinus prospere procedunt et regnant in nostra Universitate Deo operante: Aristoteles descendit paulatim, inclinatus ad ruinam prope futuram sempiternam: mire fastidiuntur lectiones sententiariae, nec est, ut quis sibi auditores sperare possit, nisi theologiam hanc, id est bibliam, aut s. Augustinum, aliumve ecclesiasticae auctoritatis doctorem velit profiteri.

[7] Luther's journey to Rome, which he undertook in 1510 on some business relating to his order, is remarkable in this respect (see Bzovius ann. 1517 no. 7). Here he met with the most undisguised infidelity amongst the clergy, as he states himself in his work on the Winkelmesse (Walch xix. 1509) and Mathesius p. 15 records remarkable proofs of it. Nevertheless his confidence in the Church was not shattered thereby, see his appendix to the commentary on the 117th Psalm (Walch v. 1646): "ich war zu Rom auch so ein todter Heiliger lief durch alle Kirchen und Klüfte, glaubte alles, was daselbst erlogen und erstunken ist. Ich habe auch wohl eine Messe oder zehn zu Rom gehalten, und war dazumahl sehr leid, dass mein Vater und Mutter noch lebten. Denn ich hätte sie gern aus dem Fegefeuer erlöset mit meinen Messen und andern treflichen Werken und Gebeten." Afterwards these experiences were of great importance to him, and he often said at his table: "er wollte nicht tausend Gülden darfür nehmen, denn dass er hätte Rom gesehen." See Mathesius ibid. Compare the Narratio de profectione M. Lutheri in urbem Romam in M. Dresseri historia Lutheri Lips. 1598. 8.

[8] Lutheri praef. ad. T. 1. opp. written in 1545 (and so before T. I. Jen. lat.): Sciat (lector), me fuisse aliquando Monachum et Papistam insanissimum, cum istam causam (the Reformation) aggressus sum, ita ebrium, imo submersum in dogmatibus Papae, ut paratissimus fuerim, omnes, si potuissem, occidere, aut occidentibus cooperari et consentire, qui Papae vel una syllaba obedientiam detrectarent.—Non eram ita glacies et frigus ipsum in defendendo Papatu, sicut fuit Eccius et sui similes, qui mihi verius propter suum ventrem Papam defendere videbantur, quam quod serio rem agerent.—Ego serio rem agebam, ut qui diem extremum horribiliter timui et tamen salvus fieri ex intimis medullis cupiebam.

[9] With regard to him see vol. 2. part 4 § 147 note 26. God. Hechtii vita Jo. Tezellii, quaestoris sacri. Vitembergae 1717. 8. Jac. Vogel

of Albert, the elector of Mayence, began to preach in the border lands, as it was not allowed him to preach within the Saxon dominions, the indulgence prescribed by the Pope for the advancement of the building of St Peter's Church :[10] he proffered

das Leben des päpstl. Gnadenpredigers oder Ablasskrämers Joh. Tetzels. Leipzig 1717. 2te Aufl. 1727. 8. *J. E. Kappens* Schauplatz des tetzelischen Ablasskrams und des darwider streitenden sel. D. M. Lutheri. 2te. Aufl. Leipz. 1720. 8. His Sammlung einiger zum päpstl. Ablass überhaupt, sonderlich aber zu der im Anfange der Reform. hievon geführten Streitigkeit gehörigen Schriften. Leipz. 1721. 8. Löschers Reformationsacta. i. 367 ff. Walchs Ausg. von Luther's Werken. xv. 313 ff.

[10] The instructio summaria of the elector Albert for the sub-commissaries appointed for the traffic in this indulgence, printed in 4to, is reprinted in Kappens Samml. einiger zum päpstl. Ablass gehöriger Schriften, S. 93. and in Gerdesii introd. in hist. evang. renovati. T. 1. Monim. p. 83. Herein, first, quatuor principales gratiae per bullam apostolicam concessae, were recited, to wit, plenaria remissio omnium peccatorum ; confessionale plenum maximis et relevantissimis et prius inauditis facultatibus ; participatio omnium bonorum operum Ecclesiae universalis ; pro animabus in purgatorio existentibus plenaria omnium peccatorum remissio. Then follow seven facultates, which, however, must be purchast separately : votorum omnium commutatio ; dispensatio et compositio cum simoniacis et irregularibus ; facultas componendi super male ablatis incertis, vel etiam certis in aliquibus casibus ; dispensandi cum eis, qui ante aetatem legitimam sine dispensatione ad ordines sacros sunt promoti ; dispensandi cum his qui in gradu prohibito consanguinitatis et affinitatis contraxerunt ; componendi cum injuste occupantibus bona Ecclesiarum vel Monasteriorum ; apprehendendi et de jure assequendi ad usum fabricae Basilicae Principis Apostolorum in urbe omnia bona, res et pecunias, quae hactenus relicta sunt et durante octennio relinquentur pro male ablatorum restitutione in quacunque ultima voluntate quibuscunque incertis, Ecclesiis aut piis locis et personis.—Similiter applicat Papa dictae fabricae omnia bona, quae per aliquos injuste detinentur, Sed illi, quibus illa bona restituenda essent aliqua ratione, non possunt illa repetere. Tetzel also issued an Instructio summaria for the parochial clergy, in what way they were to go to work in behalf of the indulgence, fragments of this may be seen in Löschers Reformationsacten. i. 414. The sermons subjoined which he gave the parochial clergy as patterns, are examples of his style of preaching, e.g., p. 418 : Capiatis literas salvi conductus a vicario Domini nostri Jesu Christi, quibus mediantibus poteritis animam a manibus inimicorum liberare, et ad felicia regna, mediante contritione confessioneque, tutam et securam sine aliqua poena purgatorii perducere. Sciant, quod in his literis impressa et sculpta sunt omnia ministeria Christi passionis ibi extenti. Animadvertant, quod pro quolibet peccato mortali oportet per septem annos post confessionem et contritionem poenitere, vel in hac vita vel purgatorio : quot peccata mortalia committuntur in die, quot in hebdomada, quot in mense, quot in anno,

it for sale with unheard of exaggerations and incredible effrontery at Jüterbock and Zerbst, not far from Wittenberg.[11] Luther soon discovered in the confessional the corrupting consequences

quot toto tempore vitae? Fere infinita sunt, et infinitam poenam habent subire in ardentibus poenis purgatorii. Et cum his literis confessionalibus poteritis semel in vita, in omnibus casibus, quatuor exceptis sedi apostolicae reservatis, habere plenariam omnium poenarum usque tunc debitarum; deinde toto tempore vitae poteritis, quandocunque vultis confiteri, in casibus Papae non reservatis, etiam habere similem remissionem, et postea in articulo mortis plenariam omnium poenarum et peccatorum indulgentiam, et habere participationem omnium bonorum spiritualium, quae fiunt in militante Ecclesia et in membris ejus. Nonne cognoscitis, quod si contingat aliquem ire Romam, vel ad alias periculosas partes, mittant pecunias suas in banco, et ille pro quolibet centum dat quinque aut sex aut decem, ut Romae vel alibi cum literis dicti banci securas rehabeat: et vos non vultis pro quarta parte floreni recipere has literas, quarum virtute non pecunias, sed animam divinam et immortalem tutam et securam ducere potestis ad patriam Paradisi?

[11] Luther speaks of this in the Praefatio quoted in note 8, more at length in his work against Hans Wurst 1541 (Walch's Edition xvii. 1703): "Es geschah im Jahre, da man 17 schrieb, dass ein Predigermönch, mit Namen Johann Tetzel, ein grosser Clamant, welchen zuvor Herzog Friedrich hatte zu Inspruck vom Sacke erlöset, denn Maximilian hatte ihn zu ersaufen geurtheilt in der Inn (kannst wohl denken, um seiner grossen Tugend willen). Und H. Friedrich liess ihn dess erinnern, da er uns Wittenberger also anfing zu lästern: er bekannte es auch frey. Derselbige Tetzel führte nun das Ablass umher, und verkaufte Gnade ums Geld, so theuer oder wohlfeil er aus allen Kräften vermochte. Zu der Zeit war ich Prediger allhier im Kloster und ein jungen Doctor, neulich aus der Esse kommen, hitzig und lustig in der heil. Schrift. Als nun viel Volks von Wittenberg lief dem Ablass nach gen Jüterbock und Zerbst &c., und ich (so wahr mich mein Herr Christus erlöset hat) nicht wusste, was das Ablas wäre, wie es denn kein Mensch nicht wusste: fing ich säuberlich an zu predigen, man könnte wol bessers thun, das gewisser wäre weder Ablass lösen. Solche Predigt hatte ich auch zuvor gethan hie auf dem Schlosse wider dass Ablass, und bey Herzog Friedrich damit schlechte Gnade verdienet: denn er sein Stift auch sehr lieb hatte" (which indeed was in possession of a large indulgence). "Nun, dass ich zur rechten Ursachen des lutherischen Lernens komme, liess ich alles also gehen, wie es ging. Indess kommt vor mich, wie der Tetzel hätte gepredigt greuliche schreckliche Artikel, der ich diessmal etliche will nennen, nämlich: Er hätte solche Gnade und Gewalt von Papst, wenn einer gleich die heil. Jungfrau Maria, Gottes Mutter, hätte geschwächt oder geschwangert, so könnte ers vergeben, wo derselbe in den Kasten legte, was sich gebührt (s. Lutheri thes. 75). Item, das rothe Ablasskreuz mit des Papsts Wappen, in den Kirchen ausgericht, wäre eben so kraftig, als das Kreuz Christi (thes. 79) Item, wenn St Peter jetzt

of this; he first preacht against it;[12] then on the 31st of October, 1517, he fixt to the door of the Castle church 95 theses drawn up against this proceeding,[13] and sent them to the neighbouring

hie wäre, hätte er nicht grössere Gnade noch Gewalt weder er hätte thes. 77). Item, er wollt im Himmel mit St Peter nicht beuten: denn er hätte mit Ablass mehr Seelen erlöset, weder St Peter mit seinem Predigen. Item, wenn einer Geld in den Kasten legt für eine Seele im Fegfeuer, sobald der Pfennig auf den Boden fiel und klünge, so führe die Seele heraus gen Himmel (thes. 27). Item, die Ablassgnade wäre eben die Gnade, dadurch der Mensch mit Gott versöhnt wird (thes. 33). Item, es wäre nicht Noth, Reu noch Leid oder Busse für die Sünde zu haben, wenn einer das Ablass oder die Ablassbriefe kaufete (ist nach thes. 35 einzuschränken): und verkaufte auch künftige Sünde. Und des Dinges trieb er greulich viel, und war alles ums Geld zu thun." Luther quotes the propositions condemned in theses. 33 and 35, in his letter to the elector of Mayence of the 31st Oct. 1517, as to be found word for word in Tetzel's instructions (see de Wette. i., 69).

[12] Earlier sermons by Luther on the subject ex MS. see in Löscher i., 729.

[13] Disputatio D. Mart. Lutheri theologi pro declaratione virtutis indulgentiarum, after the original in v. d. Hardt hist. liter. Reform. p. iv. p. 16. Löscher's Reformationsacten i., 438, the most remarkable theses are: 1. Dominus et magister noster Jesus Christus dicendo: *poenitentiam agite* etc. omnem vitam fidelium poenitentiam esse voluit. 5. Papa non vult nec potest ullas poenas remittere praeter eas, quas arbitrio vel suo vel canonum imposuit. 6. Papa non potest remittere ullam culpam, nisi declarando et approbando remissam a Deo (as Petrus Lomb. taught, vol. ii., part ii., § 83. note 2): aut certe remittendo casus reservatos sibi, quibus contemtis culpa prorsus remaneret. 8. Canones poenitentiales solum viventibus sunt impositi, nihilque morituris secundum eosdem debet imponi (as Card. Hostiensis, vol. ii. part ii., § 84., note 17., and John Gerson, part iv., § 147., note 14, held). 11. Zizania illa de mutanda poena canonica in poenam purgatorii videntur certe dormientibus Episcopis seminata. 21. Errant itaque indulgentiarum commissarii, qui dicunt, per Papae indulgentias hominem ab omni poena solvi et salvari. 27. Homiuem praedicant, qui statim, ut jactus nummus in cistam tinnierit, evolare dicunt animam. 32. Damnabuntur in aeternum cum suis magistris, qui per literas veniarum securos sese credunt de sua salute. 33. Cavendi sunt nimis, qui dicunt, venias illas Papae donum esse illud Dei inaestimabile, quo reconciliatur homo Deo. 35. Non christiana praedicant, qui docent, quod redemturis animos vel confessionalia non sit necessaria contritio. 36. Quilibet Christianus vere compunctus habet remissionem plenariam a poena et culpa, etiam sine literis veniarum sibi debitam. 38. Remissio tamen et participatio Papae nullo modo est contemnenda quia, ut dixi, est declaratio remissionis divinae. 39. Difficillimum est etiam doctissimis theologis, simul extollere veniarum largitatem et contritionis veritatem coram populo. 43. Docendi sunt Christiani, quod dans pauperi, aut mutuans egenti melius facit, quam si venias redi.

meret. 49. Docendi sunt Christiani, quod veniae Papae sunt utiles, si non in eas confidant: sed nocentissimae, si timorem Dei per eas amittant. 50. Docendi sunt Christiani, quod, si Papa nosset exactiones venialium Praedicatorum, mallet basilicam s. Petri in cineres ire, quam aedificari cute et ossibus ovium suarum. 56. Thesauri Ecclesiae, unde Papa dat indulgentias, neque satis nominati sunt, neque cogniti apud populum Christi (as Durandus a S. Porciano in Sent. lib. iv. Dist. 20, Qu. 3.) 57. Temporales certe non esse patet, quod non tam facile eos profundunt, sed tantummodo colligunt multi concionatorum. 58. Nec sunt merita Christi et sanctorum, quia haec semper sine Papa operantur gratiam hominis interioris, et crucem, mortem, infernumque exterioris. 62. Verus thesaurus Ecclesiae est sacrosanctum Evangelium gloriae et gratiae Dei. 69. Tenentur Episcopi et Curati veniarum apostolicarum commissarios cum omni reverentia admittere. 70. Sed magis tenentur omnibus oculis intendere, omnibus auribus advertere, ne pro commissione Papae sua illi somnia praedicent. 71. Contra veniarum apostolicarum veritatem qui loquitur, sit ille anathema et maledictus. 72. Qui vero contra libidinem ac licentiam verborum concionatoris veniarum curam agit, sit ille benedictus. 75. Opinari, venias papales tantas esse, ut solvere possint hominem, etiamsi quis per impossibile Dei genitricem violasset, est insanire. 76. Dicimus contra, quod veniae papales nec minimum venialium peccatorum tollere possint, quoad culpam. 77. Quod dicitur, nec si s. Petrus modo Papa esset; majores gratias donare posset, est blasphemia in s. Petrum et Papam. 79. Dicere, crucem armis papalibus insigniter erectam cruci Christi aequivalere, blasphemia est. 80. Rationem reddent Episcopi, Curati et theologi, qui tales sermones in populum spargi sinunt. 81. Facit haec licentiosa veniarum praedicatio, ut nec reverentiam Papae facile sit, etiam doctis viris, redimere a calumniis aut certe argutis quaestionibus laicorum. 82. Scilicet, cur Papa non evacuat purgatorium propter sanctissimam caritatem, et summam animarum necessitatem, ut causam omnium justissimam, si infinitas animas redimit propter pecuniam funestissimam ad structuram basilicae, ut causam levissimam? (as Abelard vol. ii. part ii. §. 84. note 1. Compare Summa Astesana. part iii, § 120, note 12.) 83. Item, cur permanent exequiae et anniversaria defunctorum, et non reddit aut recipi permittit beneficia pro illis instituta, cum jam sit injuria pro redemptis orare? 90. Haec scrupulosissima laicorum argumenta sola potestate compescere, nec reddita ratione diluere, est Ecclesiam et Papam hostibus ridendos exponere, et infelices Christianos facere. 94. Exhortandi sunt Christiani, ut caput suum Christum per poenas, mortes, infernosque sequi studeant: 95. Ac sic magis per multas tribulationes intrare coelum, quam per securitatem pacis, confidant. Probably immediately afterwards he publisht his sermon on Indulgence and Grace (see Lutheri praef. ad. T. I. opp. edidi disputationis schedulam simul et germanicam concionem de indulgentiis: Tetzel also mentions it at the end of his second disputation printed 1517, see Löschers Reformationsacten. i. 522, so that it cannot, as has been often thought, belong to the year 1518) in which a still further advance may be recognised (in Löscher i. 469.) He here explains that the common division of repentance into contrition, confession and satisfaction "schwerlich oder auch gar nichts gegründet erfunden wird in der heil. Schrift, noch in den

Bishops with a prayer for the discontinuation of the abuse.[14] Little acquainted with the worldly party in the Church, he thought it was only necessary to unmask and assail the imposture in order to effect its abrogation.[15] Although in his theses he only attackt the Thomist doctrine of indulgences, which had lately obtained an almost universal acceptation, and did not pass on to many others of the Schoolmen; still they produced an effect important in the highest degree,[16] and roused the Dominicans

alten heil. christl. Lehrern"; —"dass man aus keiner Schrift bewähren kann, das göttliche Gerechtigkeit etwas pein oder Genugthuung begehre oder fordere von dem Sünder, denn allein seine herzliche und wahre Reue und Bekehrung, mit Vorsatz, hinförder das Kreuz Christi zu tragen, und die obgenannten Werke (auch von niemand aufgesetzt) zu üben.—Ob die christliche Kirche noch heut beschliesse und auserkläret, dass der Ablass mehr denn die Werke der Genugthuung hinnehme; so wäre es dennoch tausend mal besser, dass kein Christenmensch den Ablass lösete oder begehrte, sondern dass sie lieber die Werke thäten, und die Pein litten. Ablass wird zugelassen um der unvollkommenen und faulen Christen willen, die sich nicht wollen kecklich üben in guten Werken, oder unleidlich sind. Denn Ablass fodert niemand zum bessern, sondern duldet oder zulässet ihre unvollkommenheit. Darum soll man nicht wider das Ablass reden; man soll aber auch niemand dazu reden."

[14] Luther against Hans Wurst ibid. "Da schrieb ich einen Brief mit den Propositionibus an den Bischof von Magdeburg, vermahnete und bat, er wollten dem Tetzel Einhalt thun, und solch ungeschickt Ding zu predigen wehren, es mögte eine Unlust daraus entstehen: solches gebührte ihm als einem Erzbischofe. Denselben Brief kann ich noch auflegen, aber mir ward keine Antwort. Desgleichen schrieb ich auch dem Bischof zu Brandenburg, als Ordinario, an dem ich sehr einen gnädigen Bischof hatte. Darauf er mir antwortete, ich griffe der Kirchen Gewalt an, und würde mir selbst Mühe machen: er riethe mir, ich liesse davon. Ich kann wol denken, dass sie alle beyde gedacht haben der Papst würde mir, solchem elenden Bettler, viel zu mächtig seyn." The letter to Albert archbishop of Mayence and Magdeburg of the 31st Oct. 1517 may be seen in de Wette i. 67.

[15] Lutheri praef. ad. T. I. Opp. in iis certus mihi videbar, me habiturum patronum Papam, cujus fiducia tum fortiter nitebar, qui in suis decretis clarissime damnat quaestorum (ita vocat indulgentiarios praedicatores) immodestiam. Compare above vol. ii. part 2, §. 84, note 14.

[16] Luther against Hans Wurst: Also gingen meine Propositiones aus wider des Tetzels Artikel.—Dieselbigen liefen schier in vierzehn Tagen durch ganz Deutschland: denn alle Welt klagte über das Ablass, sonderlich über Tetzels Artikel. Und weil alle Bischöfe und Doctores still schwiegen, und niemand der Katzen die Schellen anbinden wollte (denn die Ketzermeister Predigerordens hatten alle Welt mit dem Feuer in die Furcht gejagt, und Tetzel selbst auch etliche Priester, so wider seine freche Predigt gemuckt hatten, eingetrieben):

especially to oppose them; the spirit of this order was particularly sensitive by reason of humiliations but lately undergone;[17] and they considered themselves injured in the persons of St Thomas and Tetzel at the same time. Tetzel at once assailed Luther with counter theses, for the defence of which

da ward der Luther ein Doctor gerühmet, dass doch einmal einer kommen wäre, der drein griffe. Der Ruhm war mir nicht lieb, denn (wie gesagt) ich wusste selbst nicht, was das Ablass wäre, und das Lied wollte meiner Stimme zu hoch werden."

[17] To wit, by the fate of Savonarola (Vol. ii., part iv, § 153 note 5), the events at Berne (Ibid. § 145 note 20), and by the still surviving controversy with Reuchlin (§ 154 note 26 ss). Because of the perpetual jealousy of the mendicant orders against each other, a conjecture was likely to be raised by evil-minded or ill-informed persons, that jealousy in the cause of his order was the source of Luther's theses. Thus Jerome Emser, in the work A venatione Aegocerotis assertio. Nov. 1519. 4. in Löscher's Reformationsacten iii. 707 says: Quid si ipse quoque *vates fiam*, incipiamque *divinare*, puerum hunc (the Theses) —alium habuisse patrem: quod nihil scilicet quaesti ex indulgentiis tibi aut tuis etiam accesserit, quod Tecellio ac suis potius, quam tuae farinae hominibus negotium datum sit? Haec enim non vane imaginor, sed suspicionis istius tu mihi ansam praestitisti, qui mihi ubi in Cancellaria Principis Ecchium, Carolostadium ac te, semotis arbitris, obsecrassem, ut propter honorem Dei abstineretis a conviciis et parvulorum offensione, respondisti satis theologice, causam hanc neque propter Deum esse coeptam, neque propter Deum finiri oportere. This expression of Luther's, often misused by Catholics, evidently refers to the Leipsic disputation, as Luther always represents this as occasioned by Eck's love of fame.—Alphonsus Valdesius also suggests jealousy for his order as the cause, in his letter to Peter Martyr dd. Brussels, 31. Aug. 1520 (Petri Martyris epistolae. Amstelod. 1670. p. 380): prosiliit monachus Augustinensis, cui nomen Martinus Lutherus Saxo, et hujus tragoediae auctor, et Dominicani *fortassis* invidia motus, nonnullos articulos typis excusos emisit caet. The conjecture was soon repeated as a certainty by Luther's enemies, see Joh. Fabri christl. Unterrichtung über etliche Puncten der Visitation. Dresden 1528. 4. Kap. 2, who says, addressing Luther, he had issued his Theses, als du nit zu Commissari in der Indulgenz angenohem warest." Cochlæus at length put together the following story in 1549 (vita Lutheri ann. 1517). The Elector Albert had first wisht to employ the Augustins to preach the Indulgence, nisi Jo. Tetzelius frater Ordinis Praedicatorum magis idoneus quibusdam visus fuisset.—Id vero quam aegerrime tulerunt fratres Augustiniani, in primis Joannes Staupitius,—et Martinus Lutherus,—velut praecipui duo gregis sui arietes.—Principi (Frederick the Wise) familiarius insinuavit se Staupitius, instillans ejus pectori frequentes indulgentiarum abusus, et quaestorum atque commissariorum scandala, quod illi per avaritiam veniarum et gratiarum pretextu expilarent Germaniam, et quaererent quae sua sunt, non quae

he obtained the degree of doctor at Frankfurt on the Oder.[18] Sylvester Prierias, magister sancti palatii at Rome wrote against

Jesu Christi. Lutherus vero ardentioris naturae, magisque injuriarum impatiens, arrepto calamo—scripsit caet. This has been often repeated afterwards by many Catholic authors. On the other hand Pallavicini hist. Conc. Trid. lib. 1. c. 3, bears witness that it was not to the Augustins, but to the Minorites, that the sale of this indulgence was first intrusted; and in harmony with this Fred Myconius relates in his History of the Reformation p. 16 ss., that the Pope had first appointed the Archbishop of Mayence and the guardian of the monastery of barefooted friars at Mayence, as chief commissaries of the Indulgence: "Aber der Gardian und Barfüsserorden hatten nicht Lust zur Sachen," partly because the indulgence was already held in contempt by the people in consequence of Tetzel's rude proceedings, partly because the friars thought they had enough to do, to beg their own bread. On this account a convention of Franciscans was held at Weimar, where Myconius was parish priest at the time, to consult upon measures for being releast from the commission, and the guardian contrived so to manage that the archbishop of Mayence undertook it alone. Hence it is evident that at that time the traffic in indulgences could not well be an object of envy betwixt two monastic orders. At the same time with this false calumny arose another, which Luther mentions in his letter to Spalatin, 15th Febr. 1518 (de Wette 1. 92), Principis nostri illustrissimi esse totum, quod ego ago, tanquam inductus ab eo ad invidiam Archiepiscopi Magdeburgensis; Duke Henry in his rejoinder against the Elector of Saxony 1540, repeats this (Walsch's edition of Luther's works xvii. 1623) see on the other side Luther against Hans Wurst (ibid. 1701 ff.). It is evident that a common feeling of hostility early sought out ordinary motives, which might have influenced Luther, one guesst one motive, another another, till at length conjecture ventured to come abroad as certain truth. Evidence to the contrary is borne by one of Luther's most zealous foes, Laurentius Surius, Carthusian at Cologne † 1578, in his Comm. rerum suo tempore in orbe gestarum ad ann. 1517: In ipsis hujus tragoediae initiis visus est Lutherus etiam plerisque viris gravibus et eruditis non pessimo zelo moveri, planeque nihil spectare aliud, quam Ecclesiae reformationem, cujus quidam deformes abusus non parum male habebant bonos omnes.

[18] There are two Disputationes, one for the degree of Licentiate, the other for that of Doctor, both were printed as early as 1517, and in fact were composed by Conr. Wimpina (see Löscher ii. 8), in Löscher i., 503 ff. The theory of indulgence laid down in Disp. i., starts from the assumption that the Satisfactio is a necessary part of repentance. Thes. 5: Haec satisfactio (cum Deus delictum absque ultione non patiatur) per poenam fit, vel acquivalens in acceptione divina, 6. quae vel a Presbyteris imponitur, arbitrio vel canone, vel nonnumquam a justitia divina exigitur hic vel in purgatorio dissolvenda. 11. Hanc poenam ob peccata contrita et confessa impositam potest Papa per indulgentias penitus relaxare, 12. sive haec sit ab eo, vel sacerdotis arbitrio, vel canone imposita, vel etiam justitia divina exigenda; cui

him with similar zeal.[19] Dr John Eck, vice-chancellor of the

contradicere est errare. 13. Sed licet per indulgentias omnis poena in dispositis remittatur, quae est pro peccatis debita, ut eorum est vindicativa: 14. errat tamen, qui ob id tolli putet poenam, quae est medicativa et praeservativa, cum contra hanc Jubileus non ordinetur. The deep-rooted immorality of the state of confession at the time is revealed in thes. 30 : minima contritio, quae potest in fine vitae contingere, 31. sufficit ad peccatorum remissionem, ac poenae aeternae in temporalem mutationem. Here also Tetzel defends many of his obnoxious statements, thus 64 : Non esse christianum dogma, quod redempturi pro amicis confessionalia vel purgandis Jubileum, possint haec facere absque contritione, error: and 99—101 even the shameless statement si quis per impossibile Dei genitricem semper virginem violasset. Disp. ii. on the power of the Pope, thes. 3 : Docendi sunt Christiani, quod Papa jurisdictionis auctoritate superior tota universali Ecclesia et Concilio, quodque statutis suis humiliter sit obediendum. 4. Docendi sunt Christiani, quod Papa ea, quae fidei sunt, solus habet determinare, quodque sacrae scripturae sensus ipse auctoritative, et nullus alius, pro suo sensu, interpretatur, et quod aliorum omnia dicta vel opera habet vel approbare, aut reprobare. 5. Docendi sunt Christiani, quod judicium Papae in his, quae sunt fidei, et ad humanam salutem necessaria, errare potest minime. 12. Docendi sunt Christiani, quod claves Ecclesiae non universali Ecclesiae,—sed Petro et Papae, et in eis omnibus eorum successoribus et universis Praelatis futuris per derivationem eorum in ipsos, sunt collatae. 13. Docendi sunt Christiani, quod plenissimam indulgentiam non Concilium generale, nec Praelati alii Ecclesiae simul vel disjunctim dare possunt, sed solus Papa, qui est sponsus universalis Ecclesiae. 17. Docendi sunt Christiani, quod Ecclesia multa tenet ut catholicas veritates, quae tamen sicut nec in canone bibliae, ita nec a doctoribus antiquioribus ponuntur. Besides Tetzel also wrote a refutation of Luther's sermon on indulgence and grace, in Löscher i. 484. Walch xviii. 538.

[19] Dialogus in praesumptuosas M. Lutheri conclusiones de potestate Papae (it appeared in December 1517) in Lutheri Opp. Tom. Jenens. lat. i. 15, in Löscher ii. 12 ff. P. 14 in Löscher is characteristic of the work : Ecclesia universalis virtualiter est Ecclesia Romana—Ecclesia Romana—virtualiter est Pontifex summus p. 31. Veniae sive indulgentiae auctoritate Scripturae nobis non innotuere, sed auctoritate Ecclesiae Romanae, Romanorumque Pontificum, *quae major est.* p. 22. Quantum ad indulgentias attinet, Papa habet clavem jurisdictionis secundum Sanctos etiam in Purgatorium applicative: animas tamen a debito seu reatu poenarum non absolvit, sed eis tribuit, unde poenam vel debitum solvant, applicans et adjiciens eis satisfactionem Christi vel aliorum.—Praedicator, animam, quae in Purgatorio detinetur, adstruens evolare in eo instanti, in quo plene factum est illud, gratia cujus plena venia datur, puta dejectus est aureus in pelvim, non hominem, sed meram et catholicam veritatem praedicat. So Erasmus in his Responsio nervosa ad Albertum Pium could write with justice (in v. d. Hardt hist. liter. reform. i. p. 179): scripsit Prierias :—sed ita, ut causam indulgentiarum fecerit deteriorem.

University of Ingolstadt, united himself with them, and wrote Obelisci against Luther's Theses.[20] The tenor and the manner of these attacks could not discourage a Luther; they only kindled him into a noble indignation against the hypocritical falsehoods which were arranged in defence of the soul-destroying imposture.[21] The more his enemies were excluded from bringing any other than human influence against him, so much the more clearly did he recognize in the admixture of human opinions with divine lore the source of corruption; and maintain his fundamental principle, that holy Scripture alone offered a firm foundation to faith, and that by this alone the doctrine and state of the Church must be determined.[22] The Dominicans carried

[20] According to Eck's assertion in a letter to Carlstadt of the 28th May 1518 (in Löscher ii. 64), in which he tries to satisfy the men of Wittenberg, he had only composed them for private use at the request of his diocesan, the Bishop of Eichstädt, (in fact the duty was imposed upon him at his collation to a canonry, to give the Bishop advice when required, see the Papal Bull in Mederi Annal. Ingolst. iv. 25), and they had been publisht against his will. Luther publisht them with his Asterisci in August 1518, and so they are found Tom. Jen. lat. i. p. 31 in Löscher iii. 333. But before this, Carlstadt in his Academic disputations from May to July 1518, had already drawn up a course of Theses against the Obelisks, see Löscher ii. 62 ff. On the other side Eck publisht a Defensio, to which Carlstadt replied in August 1518 with a Defensio adv. Jo. Eckii monomachiam (in Löscher ii. 108).

[21] Against Tetzel's refutation, he wrote in June 1518 (see the letter to Lang in de Wette i. 124): Freyheit des Sermons päpstl. Ablass u. Gnade belangend b. Löscher i 525 and Walch xviii. 564; against Prierias in August, Responsio ad Sylv. Prieriatis dialogum in Tom. 1 lat. Jen. p. 44, in Löscher ii. 390. His principal work, however, at this time was the Resolutiones disputationum de virtute indulgentiarum, which had been already in May sent in manuscript to the Bishop of Brandenburg and the Pope, and appeared in print at the beginning of August. Tom. 1. lat. Jen. p. 76. Löscher ii. 183.

[22] The Responsio ad Prierat. in Löscher ii., 390 first lays down the principles from which Luther started: Secundum est illud b. Augustini ad Hieronymum: ego solis eis *libris*, *qui canonici appellantur*, hunc honorem deferre didici, ut nullum scriptorem eorum errasse firmissime credam. Caeteros autem, quantalibet doctrina sanctitateque polleant, non ideo verum esse credo, quia illi sic senserunt.—Tu perpetuo pro verborum textu non nisi nuda verba ponis, aut solas opiniones d. Thomae mihi nunc demum decantas; qui aeque ut tu nudis verbis incedit, sine Scriptura, sine Patribus, sine canonibus, denique sine ullis rationibus. Ideoque meo jure, i. e. christiana libertate, te et illum simul rejicio et nego. p. 400: Et ut animum meum scias, mihi videtur id in gravissimum Ecclesiae ludibrium vergere, si ea doceamus, de quibus nullam prorsus rationem reddere possumus. Nec satis ibi esse

eredo etiam factum Ecclesiae,—quia *tam Papa quam Concilium potest errare*, ut habes Panormitanum egregie haec tractantem (see vol. ii., part iv., § 136., note 6). Resolution. conclus. 26 (Löscher ii. 248): Me nihil movet, quid placeat vel displiceat summo Pontifici: homo est sicut et caeteri: multi fuerunt summi Pontifices, quibus non solum errores et vitia sed etiam portenta placuerunt. Responsio p. 403: *Theologia illa scholastica* exulem nobis fecit veram et sinceram theologiam. Nam vides, quod perpetuo hoc dialogo nihil ago, nisi quod resisto et redarguo scholasticam theologiam, i. e. falsam Scripturae et Sacramentorum intelligentiam. Resolut. concl. 25. p. 236: Deinde adversarios meos etiam rogo, ut ferant dolorem meum, quo crucior, dum audio *ea praedicari* in Ecclesia Christi, *quae nunquam scripta et statuta sunt*, quando sanctis olim Patribus legimus visum esse periculosissimum, aliquid ultra praescriptum caeleste doceri, ut inquit Hilarius. Concl. 58. p. 282: Plus trecentis annis tot Universitates, tot in illis acutissima ingenia, tot ingeniorum pertinacissima studia in uno *Aristotele* laborant, et tamen adhuc non solum Aristotelem non intelligunt, verum etiam errorem et fictam intelligentiam per universam pene Ecclesiam spargunt, quanquam si etiam intelligerent eum, nihil egregiae sapientiae adepti essent. Concl. 8. p. 203: Si canones poenitentiales manent mortuis, eadem ratione et caeteri omnes. Celebrent ergo, agant festa, et jejunia, et vigilias, dicant horas canonicas, non comedant ova, lac, carnes certis diebus, sed tantum pisces, fructus, legumina, induant vestes pullas vel candidas pro differentia dierum, et alia onera gravissima *quibus nunc premitur misera illa, olim liberrima, Ecclesia Christi* (according to Augustin. ad. Januar. see vol. i. § 106. note 2). Concl. 26. p. 238: Cum nostro saeculo sint tam zelosi haereticae pravitatis inquisitores, ut christianissime catholicos vi conentur ad haeresim adigere, oportunum fuerit super singulis syllabis protestari. Nam quid aliud fecerint *Johannes Picus Mirandulanus, Laurentius Valla, Petrus Ravennas, Johannes Vesalia*, et novissime diebus istis *Johannes Reuchlin* atque *Jacobus Stapulensis*, ut inviti cogerentur et bene sentiendo male sentire, non facile viderim, nisi quod omiserint forte protestationem super singulis, ut dixi, syllabis: *tanta est hodie in Ecclesia puerorum et effoeminatorum tyrannis*. With regard to indulgence Luther wrote as early as 15. Febr. to Spalatin (de Wette. i. 92): duo tamen dicam: primum tibi soli et amicis nostris, donec res publicetur: mihi in indulgentiis hodie videri non esse nisi animarum illusionem, et nihil prorsus utiles esse, nisi stertentibus et pigris in via Christi. Etsi hanc sententiam non tenet noster Carolstadius, certum est tamen mihi, quod eas nihil ducit. Thus also Concl. 46. p. 270: Veniae sunt de numero eorum, quae licent, non autem eorum, quae expediunt. Concl. 49. p. 272: Quod autem dixi: sunt utiles, intelligo, non omnibus, imo veteri homini et stertentibus operariis, eo quod melius sit, illis eas remitti poenas, quam ut ferrent invite. Concl. 50. l. c. indulgentiae est vilissimum bonum omnium bonorum Ecclesiae, nec nisi vilissimis Ecclesiae donandum, deinde nec meritorium, nec utile, sed plerumque nocentissimum, si non sint timorati. Against the doctrine of the thesaurus Concl. 58, Esp. p. 276: nullus Sanctorum in hac vita sufficienter implevit mandata Dei, ergo nihil prorsus fecerunt superabundans, quare nec ad indulgentias aliquid distribuendum reliquerunt. Concl. 26. p. 240: Procedit ejus

somnium ex laboriosa illa et *inutili arte confitendi*, imo desperandi et perdendi animas, qua hucusque docti sumus arenam numerare, i. e. singula peccata discutere, colligere, atque ponderare ad faciendam contritionem. Quod cum fecerimus, fit ut refricemus vel concupiscentias vel odia, praeteritorum memoria, et dum conterimur de praeteritis, nove peccemus; aut certe si fiat optima contritio, sit tantummodo violenta, tristis, mereque factitia, de metu poenarum simulata duntaxat. Sic enim docemur peccata conteri, i. e. ad impossibile, vel ad pejus, conari. Cum vera contritio sit incipienda a benignitate et beneficiis Dei, praesertim a vulneribus Christi, ut homo ad sui ingratitudinem primo veniat ex intuitu divinae bonitatis, et ex illa in odium sui ac amorem benignitatis Dei. Concl. 7. p. 199: Theologi recentiores—Sacramentum poenitentiae sic tractant et docent, ut populus discat, *per suas contritiones et satisfactiones confidere, se peccata sua posse delere.* Quae vanissima praesumptio nihil aliud potest efficere, quam ut cum haemorrhoissa Evangelica, consumpta in medicos tota substantia, pejus et pejus habeant. Fides primo in Christum, gratuitum remissionis largitorem, docenda erat, et desperatio propriae contritionis et satisfactionis persuadenda, ut sic fiducia et gaudio cordis de misericordia Christi firmati, tandem hilariter odirent peccatum, et contererentur, et satisfacerent. Concl. 42. p. 268: Si populus doceatur propter poenarum evasionem contribuere (ad fabricam Eccl. s. Petri),—tunc clarum est, quod non propter Deum contribuunt, et *erit timor poenarum, seu poena idolum eorum, cui sic sacrificant.* Concl. 62. p. 288: *Satis incognita res est Evangelium Dei in multa parte Ecclesiae:* ideo paulo latius de illo dicendum, nihil enim reliquit in mundo Christus praeter solum Evangelium.—Est autem *Evangelium* secundum Apostolum Rom. I. sermo de filio Dei incarnato, nobis sine meritis in salutem et pacem donato. Est verbum salutis, verbum gratiae, verbum solatii, verbum gaudii, vox sponsi et sponsae, verbum bonum, verbum pacis.—*Lex* vero est verbum perditionis, verbum irae, verbum tristitiae, verbum doloris, vox judicis et rei, verbum inquietudinis, verbum maledicti. Nam secundum Apostolum lex est virtus peccati, et lex iram operatur. Est lex mortis. Ex lege enim nihil habemus, nisi malam conscientiam, inquietum cor, pavidum pectus a facie peccatorum nostrorum, quae lex ostendit, nec tollit, nec nos tollere possumus. Sic itaque captis, ac tristibus, omninoque desperatis venit lux Evangelii et dicit: nolite timere:—ecce agnus Dei, ecce qui tollit peccata mundi, ecce qui solus implet legem pro vobis.—Hoc suavissimum nuncium cum audierit conscientia peccatrix, reviviscit,—jam nec mortem—formidat, neque infernum. Ideo *qui poenas adhuc timent, nondum audiverunt Christum, nec vocem Evangelii, sed vocem potius Mosis.* Ex hoc itaque Evangelio nascitur vera gloria Dei, dum docemur, non nostris operibus, sed gratia miserentis Dei in Christo impletam legem et impleri; non operando sed credendo, non Deo aliquid offerendo sed ex Christo omnia accipiendo et participando. He denied the secular power as well as the infallibility of the Pope, see Concl. 80, p. 297: Id ego vehementer admiror, quisnam illam glossam invenerit primus, quod *duo gladii* significent unum spiritualem (non ut Apostolus vocat, scil. gladium Spiritus, verbum Dei), alium materialem, ut sic Pontificem utraque potestate armatum nobis non patrem amabilem, sed

their complaints to Rome.[23] True, Leo X., who regarded the whole matter as a mere monkish wrangle,[24] suffered Luther to be summoned before him;[25] but he was easily induced, out of consideration for Frederick the Wise, Elector of Saxony, whom he wisht to bend to his views for the approaching election of the Roman Emperor, to commission his cardinal legate Cajetan at Augsburg to bring the new heretic to submission.[26] However

quasi tyrannum formidabilem faciant, dum nihil nisi potestatem undique in eo videmus. On the other hand still in Concl. 69. p. 290. Auctoritati papali in omnibus cum reverentia credendum est. Qui enim potestati resistit, resistit Dei ordinationi. He still believed in purgatory also Concl. 15. p. 215: Quae ideo dico, ne Pighardus haereticus (the Bohemian brethren) in me sibi videatur obtinuisse, purgatorium non esse, quia locum ejus ignotum esse confiteor.—Mihi certissimum est, purgatorium esse. Löscher p. 304 is wrong in thinking that as he wrote he increast in knowledge, and in Concl. 18. p. 225 denied purgatory; he only says that the reasons alleged by his adversaries for the statement, purgatorium non esse merendi locum, proved against purgatory altogether.—Concl. 39. p. 301: *Ecclesia indiget reformatione*, quod non est unius hominis Pontificis, nec multorum Cardinalium officium, sicut probavit utrumque novissimum Concilium, sed totius orbis, imo solius Dei. Tempus autem hujus reformationis novit solus ille, qui condidit tempora.

[23] Hochstraten in his Apologia ad Sanctiss. Leonem Papam X ac D. Maximilianum Imp. Colon. 1518. 4. made mention of Luther also in his peculiar style, see Lutheri scheda contra Hochstratanum Jul. 1518) T. i. lat. Jen. f. 116. Löscher ii., 323: sanguinaria sua lingua ad caedem et fraternam perniciem anhelans, monet optimum Pontificem Leonem X., ut non agnino et christiano, sed leonino et furiali animo exurgat.

[24] According to the account of the cotemporary Matteo Bandello, Bishop of Agen (Novelle. Lucca 1554 ff. Th. 3 in the preface to the 25th novel), Leo at first replied to those who instigated him to more serious proceedings against Luther, che Fra Martino fosse un bellissimo ingegno, e che coteste erano invidie fratesche. On the other hand so early as Non. Febr. 1518 he wrote to Gabriel Venetus, when he appointed him to be Promagister Ord. Augustinianorum Eremit. (see P. Bembi Epistolae nomine Leonis X. scriptae lib. xvi., no. 18., p. 379): Volo te eam curam suscipere, ut Martinum Lutherum, tuae societatis sacerdotem, quem scire te existimo in Germania novas res moliri, nova dogmata nostris populis tradere, quibus utantur, ab incepto, si potes, revoces auctoritate ea, quam tibi prafectura dat.—Id si celeriter feceris, non erit puto difficile modo natam flammam extinguere. Parva enim omnia atque surgentia paulum magnos vehementesque impetus non sustinent. Sin differes, et malum vires sumpserit, vereor ne, cum velimus adhibere incendio remedia, non possimus.

[25] Löscher ii. 309 ff. 372 ff.

[26] The Papal brief to Cajetan of the 27th Aug. T. i. lat. Jen. f. 181.

this legate, before whom Luther made his appearance at Augsburg in October 1518, could neither subdue the humble monk by his kindness nor his threats.[27] Moreover the monk appealed a Papa non bene informato ad melius informandum,[28] and afterwards when the whole doctrine of indulgence, as developt down to this time, was confirmed from Rome by a bull,[29] he issued an

Löscher ii. 437. The Commission was: Mandamus, ut—dictum Lutherum haereticum—ad personaliter coram te comparendum, invocato, ad hoc tam carissimi in Christo filii nostri Maximiliani Rom. Imp. electi, quam reliquorum Germaniae Principum—brachio cogas atque compellas, et eo in potestate tua redacto, eum sub fideli custodia retineas, donec a nobis aliud habueris in mandatis, ut coram nobis et Sede apostolica sistatur. Ac quodsi coram te sponte ad petendum de hujusmodi temeritate veniam venerit, et ad cor reversus poenitentiae signa ostenderit, tibi eum ad unitatem sanctae matris Ecclesiae—benigne recipiendi concedimus facultatem.

[27] Information as to the proceedings at Augsburg may be found 1, in Luther's letters written from Augsburg to Spalatin and Carlstadt, in de Wette i. 142 ff. 2, more in detail in his letter to the Elector Frederick 19. Nov. ibid. 174. 3. His Acta apud Dom. Legatum Apostolicum Thom. Cajetanum Augustae ann. 1518 in Octobri, called Acta Augustana, publisht in 1518 (with regard to three different editions of these see Riederers Abhandlungen 3tes Stück. S. 362) in T. i. lat. Jen. fol. 185. 4. There is a longer account of the proceedings of Dr Martin Luther with Thomas Cajetan (by Spalatin) in the 1ten Jen. deutschen Theile Bl. 108. b. ff. There is a collection of all the accounts and the acts in Luther's works by Walch xv. 636 ff.

[28] The appeal of the 16th Oct. T. i. Jen. p. 193. b. in Löscher ii. 484.

[29] Of the 9th Nov. T. i. Jen. f. 203. b. in Löscher ii. 493. On the other hand in Hottingeri hist. eccl. saec. xvi. T. iii. p. 180, it bears the date Cal. Jan. 1518. Luther was not mentioned here, it was only directed against the errors which had been spread abroad, nonnullis Religiosis in Germany with regard to Indulgence, in order that for the future no one might pretend ignorantiam doctrinae Rom. Ecclesiae circa hujusmodi indulgentias Romanum Pontificem—potestate clavium, quarum est aperire tollendo illius in Christifidelibus impedimenta, culpam scil. et poenam pro actualibus peccatis debitam, culpam quidem mediante sacramento poenitentiae, poenam vero temporalem pro actualibus peccatis secundum divinam justitiam debitam mediante ecclesiastica indulgentia, posse pro rationalibus causis concedere eisdem Christifidelibus,—sive in hac vita sint, sive in Purgatorio, indulgentias ex superabundantia meritorum Jesu Christi et Sanctorum, ac tam pro vivis quam pro defunctis — thesaurum meritorum Jesu Christi et Sanctorum dispensare, per modum absolutionis indulgentiam ipsam conferre, vel per modum suffragii illam transferre consuevisse. Ac propterea omnes tam vivos quam defunctos, qui veraciter omnes indulgentias hujusmodi consecuti fuerint, a tanta temporali poena se-

appeal from the Pope to a general council (at Wittenberg 28 Nov. 1518).[30] Sympathy with the bold champion had long been exprest only in a tone of fear and deprecation:[31] gradually some few voices ventured to encourage him, especially amongst the Humanists,[32] and his associates and fellow-townsmen at Witten-

cundum divinam justitiam pro peccatis suis actualibus debita liberari, quanta concessae et acquisitae indulgentiae aequivalet.

[30] T. 1. Jen. p. 205. b. Löscher. ii. 505.

[31] Luther relates in his commentary on Psalm cxviii. 9 (in Walch v. 1713): "Da ich zum ersten das Ablass angriff, und alle Welt die Augen aufsperrete, und sich liess dünken, es wäre zu hoch angehaben, kamen zu mir mein Prior und Subprior, aus dem Zetergeschrey bewegt, und furchten sich sehr, baten mich, ich sollte den Orden nicht in Schande führen, denn die andern Orden hüpften schon für Freuden, sonderlich die Prediger, dass sie nicht allein in Schanden steckten, die Augustiner müssten nun auch brennen und Schandträger seyn. Da antwortet ich: lieben Väter, ists nicht in Gottes Namen angefangen, so ists bald gefallen; ists aber in seinem Namen angefangen, so lasset denselbigen machen." Staupitz wrote from Salzburg to Luther 14. Sept. 1518, when he was summoned to Augsburg (Löscher ii. 445): quid hodie praeter crucem te maneat non video quicquam. In foribus, ni fallor, est sententia, ne quis inconsulto Pontifice scrutetur Scripturas, ad inveniendum se quod utique Christus ut fieret jussit. Paucos habes patronos, et utinam non sint occulti propter metum adversariorum. Placet mihi, ut Vittembergam ad tempus deseras, meque accedas, ut simul vivamus moriamurque.

[32] The manner in which these were Luther's natural allies, as well as the peculiar position of Erasmus with reference to the Reformation, appears from the epistle of the latter to Luther dd. 30 Maji 1519 (Erasmi epistt. T. i. Ep. 427): Nullo sermone consequi queam, quas tragoedias hic excitarint tui libelli: ne adhuc quidem ex animis istorum revelli potest falsissima suspicio, qua putant tuas lucubrationes meis auxiliis esse scriptas, meque hujus factionis, ut vocant, vexilliferum esse. Existimabant quidam sibi datam ansam, qua et bonas literas opprimerent, quas capitaliter oderunt, velut offecturas majestati theologicae, quam multi pluris faciunt quam Christum.—Habes in Anglia, qui de tuis scriptis optime sentiant, et sunt hi maximi. Sunt et hic, quorum est eximius quidam, qui tuis favent. Ego me quod licet integrum servo, quo magis prosim bonis literis reflorescentibus. Et mihi videtur, plus profici civili modestia, quam impetu. Sic Christus orbem in suam ditionem perduxit; sic Paulus judaicam legem abrogavit, omnia trahens ad allegoriam. Magis expedit clamare in eos, qui Pontificum auctoritate abutuntur, quam in ipsos Pontifices: idem de Regibus faciundum censeo. Scholae non tam aspernandae sunt, quam ad studia magis sobria revocandae. De rebus receptioribus, quam ut subito possint ex animis revelli, disputandum est argumentis densis et efficacibus potius quam asseverandum. Quorundam virulentas contentiones magis conducit contemnere quam

berg :[33] but in the young Melanethon, who was won over to the

refellere. Ubique cavendum, ne quid arroganter aut factiose loquamur, faciamusve: sic arbitror gratum esse spiritui Christi. Interea servandus animus, ne vel ira, vel odio, vel gloria corrumpatur: nam haec in medio pietatis studio solet insidiari. Haec non admoneo ut facias, sed ut quod facis perpetuo facias. Also in the letter of the 14th April 1519, in which he dedicates his Vitae Caesarum to the elector Frederick the Wise, Erasmus identifies Luther's cause with the interests of the Humanists; see this letter in full T. i. Jen. f. 211: Huic tam odioso negotio, praesertim apud mulierculas et indoctam plebeculam, miscuerunt homines callidi trium linguarum, eloquentiae, politiorisque literaturae mentionem, quasi aut Lutherus his praesidiis fideret, aut ex hisce fontibus haereses nascerentur.—Lutherus mihi tam ignotus est, quam cui ignotissimus, ut suspectus esse non queam, quasi faveam amico. But the question embraced certain theological opinions, which had not yet been refuted, and on account of which he ought not to be pronounced a heretic and persecuted. Si quidquid in Scholis receptum est, oraculum haberi volunt, cur inter se Scholastici dissentiunt?—Ad haec non raro deprehenduntur damnare in recentium libris, quod in Augustino aut Gersone non damnant: quasi veritas cum auctore mutetur. Eos, quibus favent, sic legunt, ut omnia torquentes, nihilnon excusent: quibus infensi sunt, sic legunt, ut nihilnon calumnientur.—Caeterum, ut tuae Celsitudinis est, christianam religionem pietate tua protegere, ita prudentiae est, non committere, ut quisquam innocens, te justitiae praeside sub praetextu pietatis aliquorum impietati dedatur. Vult idem Leo Pontifex, cui nihil magis est cordi, quam ut tuta sit innocentia.—Certe hic video libros illius ab optimis quibusque cupidissime legi, quamquam mihi nondum vacavit evolvere. Frederick the Wise replied to this on the 14th of May (l. c. f. 212): Non damnari ab eruditis causam Lutheranam, et Doctoris Martini lucubrationes ab optimis quibusque istic cupidissime legi laetamur. Eoque magis, quod plerique bonorum et eruditorum in nostris quoque regionibus et Principatibus, nedum externis, hominis tam vitam et mores, quam eruditionem miro consensu laudant. Quod enim hactenus in Saxonibus nostris degit, non tam homini, quam causae dedimus. Nihil minus unquam conati, quam ut dignos praemiis poena premeret. Neque Deo omnipotente juvante committemus, ut nostra culpa innocens quispiam sua quaerentium impietati dedatur.

[33] Carlstadt was the first to come forward in behalf of Luther, see note 20. Luther wrote to Jodocus, professor at Erfurt on the 19th May 1518, in de Wette. i. 108: Scis ingenia eorum, qui apud nos sunt, puta Carlstadii, Amsdorfii, D. Hieronymi (Schurf), D. Wolfgangi (Stehlen), utriusque Feldkirchen, denique D. Petri Lupini (Radhemius). At ii omnes constanter mecum sentiunt, imo tota Universitas, excepto uno ferme Licentiato Sebastiano. Sed et Princeps, et Episcopus ordinarius noster, deinde multi alii Praelati: et quotquot sunt ingeniosi cives, jam uno ore dicunt, sese prius non novisse nec audivisse Christum et Evangelium. The university also interceded for him on the 25th Sept. 1518, upon his summons to Rome, in two

Wittenberg School in 1518,[34] he found his most faithful helper in the great work,[35] for which he was destined, without as yet knowing it himself. His luminous and edifying works, by means of which he made the subject of controversy intelligible to a larger circle, and contrived to awaken the feelings of the people with moral and religious addresses in the spirit of Augustin's system, to an inward religion, instead of a dead hypocrisy,[36] won

letters, to the Pope and to the Pope's Chamberlain, Charles of Miltitz. T. i. Jen. f. 183. in Löscher ii. 384. ff.

[34] He entered upon his office on the 29th of August with a speech, see Löscher ii. 387.

[35] Luther writes on the subject Praef. in T. i. Opp. 1545: Eodem anno jam M. Phil. Melanchthon a Principe Friderico vocatus huc fuerat ad docendas litteras graecas, haud dubie, ut haberem socium laboris in theologia. Nam quid operatus sit Dominus per hoc organum, non in literis tantum, sed in theologia, satis testantur ejus opera, etiamsi irascatur Satan et omnes squamae ejus.

[36] His sermon on the sacrament of Penance is especially remarkable (Nov. 1518) in Walch x. 1464. in Löscher ii. 512. Fortschritte S. 515. "An dem Glauben liegt es alles mit einander, welcher allein macht, dass die Sacramente würken, was sie bedeuten, und alles wahr wird, was der Priester sagt: den wie du gläubest, so geschicht dir. Ohn welchen Glauben alle Absolution, alle Sacrament umsonst sind, ja mehr schaden, denn frommen." S. 517: "Zum neunten folget mehr, dass in dem Sacrament der Busse und Vergebung der Schuld nichts mehr thut ein Papst, Bischof, denn der geringste Priester, ja wo ein Priester nicht ist, eben so viel thut ein jeglicher Christenmensch, ob es schon ein Weib oder Kind wäre. Denn welch Christenmensch zu dir sagen kann: dir vergiebt Gott deine Sünde in dem Namen Christi &c. und du das Wort kannst fahen mit einem festen Glauben, als spräch es Gott zu dir, so bist du gewiss in demselben Glauben absolvirt." S. 521. "Zum sechszehenten, dass nicht abermal jemand mir Schuld gebe, ich verbiete gute Werk, so sage ich, man soll mit allem Ernst Reu und Leid haben, beichten und gute Werk thun. Das wehre ich aber, wie ich kann, das man den Glauben des Sacraments lasse das Hauptgut seyn, und das Erbe, dadurch man Gottes Gnade erlange, und darnach viel Guts thue, allein Gott zu Ehren und dem Nächsten zu Nutz, und nicht darum, dass man sich darauf verlassen soll, als gnugsam für die Sünde zu bezahlen, denn Gott giebt umsonst, frey seine Gnade, so sollen wir auch umsonst, frey weiderum ihm dienen." S. 524. "Darum so gehöret in die heimliche Beicht keine Sünde, denn die mann öffentlich für Todsund erkennet, und die dass Gewissen zur Zeit drücken und ängsten: denn sollt man alle Sünde beichten, so müsst man all Augenblick beichten, weil wir nimmer ohn Sünde sind in diesem Leben, auch unsere guten Werke nicht rein ohne Sünde sind."—"Und ob einer schon nichts beichtet, bennoch wäre

for him more and more the hearts of the German nation. The dissatisfaction against the imposture of Rome increast, and general attention and sympathy turned towards the bold champion of the truth.[37]

The Elector of Saxony was at this time a person of too great importance to the Pope in a political point of view, to be alienated for the sake of an insignificant monk. Leo X. sent his

die Absolution und Gottes Werk vielmals zu hören nütz, um desselben Glaubens willen, dass man also sich gewöhne, der Sünden Vergebung zu gläuben." S. 521. "Auch hat der Priester gnugsam Zeichen und Ursach zu absolviren, wenn er siehet, dass man von ihm begehret der Absolution."

[37] Alphonsus Valdesius writes from Brussels 31. Aug. 1520. to Peter Martyr upon this period (Petri Martyris epistt. Amstelod. 1670 p. 380): Intumuerunt dudum Germanorum animi, videntes Romanensium mores plus quam profanos, coeperantque de excutiendo Rom. Pontificis jugo clam per cuniculos agere. Quo factum est, ut, quum primum Lutheri scripta in vulgum prodiere, mirum quanto applausu ab omnibus suscepta sint. Ibi Germani gestire, et convicia in Romanenses jactare, petereque ut generalis Christianorum omnium conventus indiceretur, in quo excussis his, quae Lutherus scribebat, alius ordo in rebus Ecclesiae statueretur. Quod utinam factum fuisset! Verumtamen dum Pontifex jus suum mordicus tuetur, dum timet Christianorum conventum, dum (ut libere loquar) plus apud eum valet privatum commodum in generali synodo forte periclitaturum, quam Christiani populi salus, dum cupit Lutherana scripta nondum discussa e medio tollere; Legatum a latere (Cajetan) ad Caesarem Maximilianum mittit caet. Wolfg. Fabritius Capito wrote to Luther 18th Feb. 1519 (in Sculteti annal. reform. ad h. a.): Helvetia et Rhenana regio ad Oceanum usque solidos amicos fovet Lutherio, eosque potentissimos, neque omnino alienos a bonis studiis Cardinalis Sedunensis, Comes de Gerolseck, Episcopus quidam eruditus ac primae honestatis, aliique ex nostris non pauci cum nuper audierant te periclitari, non tantum sumtum, sed etiam tuta loca pollicebantur, quibus aut latere, aut aperte degere posses. Cum peregre constitutum fama praedicaret et summa rerum difficultate laborare, fuerunt, qui per me submittere nitebantur sumtum, et submisissent utique. On the 14th Feb. 1519, Froben the bookseller at Basle wrote to Luther (T. 1. Jen. fol. 367. 6.), that he had sent off numerous copies of his works to France, Spain, Italy, Brabant, and England: venduntur Parisiis, leguntur etiam a Sorbonicis et probantur, quemadmodum amici nostri certiores nos reddiderunt. Dixerunt illic doctissimi quidam, se jam pridem talem libertatem desiderasse in his, qui sacras literas tractant.—Hic (in Basle) ut quisque est optimus, ita tui maxime est studiosus. Episcopus noster imprimis tibi favet, ejus item Suffraganeus Tripolitanus Episcopus. The Cardinal of Sitten said after reading Luther's works: Luther tu vere es luther (lauter) and Disputet Eccius quantum velit, Lutherus veritatem scribit.

chamberlain, Charles of Miltitz, to him with the golden rose,[38] in order to win him over to his views with regard to the election of the Roman Emperor, and to come to an understanding with him on the subject of Luther. Miltitz quickly saw upon his entrance into Germany (Dec. 1518) that nothing could be effected here by force;[39] and so much the less when on the death of Maximilian I. which now followed († 12 Jan. 1519) the Elector of Saxony became Regent in northern Germany. He tried with Luther a flattering kindness, and thereby actually obtained, not indeed the recantation he wisht for, but still the promise to be silent if his enemies kept silent, and to declare openly his obedience to the see of Rome.[40] Under existing circumstance Miltitz

[38] With reference to Miltitz's proceedings, see Löscher ii., 552. iii., 6. 92. Walch xv. 808.

[39] Lutherus ad Jo Sylvium dd. 2. Febr. 1519 (de Wette. i., 216): Carolus de Miltitz missus ad Principem nostrum armatus plus 70 apostolicis Brevibus, in hoc scilicet datis, ut me vivum ac vinctum perduceret in Hierusalem homicidam illam Romam: sed per viam a Domino prostratus, i.e. multitudine mihi faventium territus, juxta quod curiosissime ubique de mei opinione exploraverat, mutavit violentiam in benevolentiam fallacissime simulatam, agens mecum multis sane verbis, ut pro honore Ecclesiae Romanae revocarem mea dicta. In the Praef. ad Opp. T. I. 1545 he states, that Miltitz had said to him himself: "Si haberem 25 millia armatorum, non confiderem te posse a me Romam perduci. Exploravi enim per totum iter animos hominum, quid de te sentirent: ecce ubi unum pro Papa stare inveni, tres pro te contra Papam stabant."

[40] At a personal interview at Altenburg in the first days of January 1519 Miltitz and Luther came to an agreement, as the latter informs the elector (de Wette 1, 209): "Zum ersten, dass ein gemein Inhibition beyden Parteyen geschehe, und verboten werde beyden Theilen weiter von der Materien zu predigen, schreiben und handeln. Zum andern, will Er Carol dem heil. Vater Papst kurzlich schreiben aller Sachen, wie er erfunden, Gelegenheit, und darnach sehen, dass papstliche Heiligkeit herausbefehle, etwa einem gelehrten Bischof, die Sach zu erfahren, und Artikel anzeigen, welche irrig und von mir widerruffen werden sollen. Und alsdann, so ich den Irrthum gelehret werde, soll und will ich gerne denselben widerruffen, und der heil. Romischen Kirchen ihre Ehre und Gewalt nicht schwächen." Besides this Luther had offered, see the somewhat earlier letter to the elector ibid. s. 208: "Zum andern wollt ich päpstlicher Heiligkeit schreiben, und mich ganz demuthig unterwerfen, bekennen, wie ich zu hitzig und zu scharf gewesen, doch nit vermeinet, der h. Rom. Kirchen damit zu nahe seyn, sondern anzeigen die Ursach, dass ich als ein treu Kind der Kirchen widderfochten hätte die lästerliche Prediget, davon gross Spott, Nachrede und Unehr und Aergerniss des Volks gegen der Rom. Kirchen

thought he might venture to be satisfied with this result in this troublesome matter. He rebuked John Tetzel, the real author of the difficulty, at Leipsic, with such sternness, for his shameless proceedings, that he died of fear.[41] Luther gave the promised declarations,[42] and the matter seemed to be brought to an end.

erwachsen ist. Zum dritten wollt ich ein Zedell ausgehn lassen, einen jeden zu vermahnen, der Rom. Kirchen folgen, gehorsam und ehrbietig zu seyn, und mein Schrift nit zur Schmach, sundern zur Ehr der heil. Rom. Kirchen verstehn sollten, auch bekennen, dass ich die Wahrheit allzu hitzig und vielleicht unzeitig an Tag bracht." He writes to Christopher Scheurl on the 13th January, at the same time informing him of the compact (Ibid. s. 212): Ego, quantum in me est, nec timeo nec cupio protelari causam. Sunt adhuc multa, quae Romanam lernam movere possunt, quae libens premam (not promam), si permittant. Sin Deus non volet, ut permittant, fiet voluntas Domini. Miltitz in general conducted himself rather as a German than a Roman, and by so doing won Luther. The Romans afterwards complained of him (see Instructio Nuntio data ann. 1536 in Ranke Fürsten u. Völker v. Süd-Europa. iv. 290): id tantum fructus reportavit, quod saepe, perturbatus vino, ea effutire de Pontifice et Romana curia a Saxonibus inducebatur, non modo quae facta erant, sed quae ipsi e malae in nos mentis affectu imaginabantur et optabant; et ea omnia scriptis excipientes postea in conventu Vormatiensi nobis publice coram tota Germania exprobabant.

[41] Miltitz had at first summoned Tetzel to him at Altenburg; but he excused himself in a letter, 31. Dec. 1518 (publisht by Cyprian in Tentzel's Bericht v. Anf. d. Reform. i. 374 in Löscher. ii. 567): "Nu solt mich solcher Arbeit und Reiss nicht verdriessen, Ew. Erwird zu willfahren, wenn ich mich one meins Lebens Nachtheil durfft aus Leipzick begeben. Wann Martinus Luther, Augustiner, hat die Mächtigen nicht allein schier in allen teutschen Landen, sondern auch in den Königreichen zu Behem, Ungarn und Polen also wider mich erregt und bewegt, dass ich nirgent sicher bin." Miltitz heard more particulars of Tetzel's impostures and other disgraceful proceedings, and in January 1519 called him to a strict account for them. (See Miltitz Schreiben an Pfeffinger in Cyprian ibid. S. 380. Löscher iii. 20) Lutherus praef. ad. T. i. Opp. v. 1545; Vocaverat (Miltitius) autem ad se Johannem Tetzelium,—et verbis minisque pontificiis ita fregit hominem, hactenus terribilem cunctis, et imperterritum clamatorem, ut inde contabesceret, et tandem aegritudine animi conficeretur. Quem ego, ubi hoc rescivi, ante obitum literis benigniter scriptis consolatus sum, ac jussi animo bono esse, nec mei memoriam metueret. Sed conscientia et indignatione Papae forte occubuit.

[42] He publisht in February: Unterricht auf. etliche Artikel, so ihm von seinen Abgönnern aufgelegt und zugemessen worden (in Löscher iii. 84. Walch xv. 842.) His letter to the Pope is dated the 3rd March in de Wette i. 233.

Dr Eck renewed it again. In order to close in triumph a controversy raised by his Obelisks,[43] the far-famed disputant,[44] challenged Luther's colleague, Andrew Bodenstein, surnamed Carlstadt from his birthplace, to a disputation at Leipsic,[45] and contrived to entangle Luther also in it.[46] In this disputation which

[43] See above, note 20.

[44] With reference to his former disputations held at Bologna and Vienna, see Riederers Nachrichten Bd. 3. s. 47, 178. 283.

[45] This Disputation between Eck and Luther had been already concerted at Augsburg and Luther informs him 15th Nov. 1518 (de Wette i. 171) that Carlstadt agreed to it.

[46] By 13 Theses, which Eck publisht in January 1519, in Löscher iii. 210, to which Luther replied with 13 others. Ibid. 212. Compare Luther to Spalatin, 7. Febr. de Wette i. 222: Eccius noster—gloriae edidit schedulam, disputaturus contra Carlstadium Lipsiae post Pascha. Et homo insulsa obliquitate, suae jam diu in me conceptae invidiae satisfacturus, in me et mea ruit scripta, alium nominans concertatorem, alium autem invadens tractatorem. On the 13th of March he pleaded to the Elector, that under these circumstances he could not consider his promise to keep silence given to Miltitz to be binding (de Wette i. 237). In his 13th thesis, Eck introduced an entirely new subject into the argument: Romam Ecclesiam non fuisse superiorem allis Ecclesiis ante tempora Sylvestri, negamus. Sed eum, qui sedem beatissimi Petri habuit et fidem, successorem Petri et Vicarium Christi generalem semper agnovimus. Luther opposed to this the counterthesis (as he writes to Spalatin in May, de Wette i. 261: haec xiii. propositio mihi est extorta per Eccium: for xiii., as in the following letter, must be read instead of xii.): Romanam Ecclesiam esse omnibus aliis superiorem, probatur ex frigidissimis Rom. Pontificum decretis, intra quadringentos annos natis, contra quae sunt historiae approbatae mille et centum annorum, textus scripturae divinae, et decretum Nicaeni Concilii omnium sacratissimi. There are some remarkable expressions of Luther's at this time: To Scheurl 20th Febr. de Wette i. 230: Eccius noster, hucusque insaniam suam in me pulchre dissimulans, tandem manifestavit. Vide, quid sit homo. Sed Deus in medio Deorum: ipse novit, quid ex ea tragoedia deducere voluerit. Nec Eccius sibi, nec ego mihi in hac quicquam serviemus. Dei consilium agi mihi videtur. Saepius dixi, hucusque lusum esse a me: nunc tandem seria in Romanum Pontificem et arrogantiam Romanam agentur. To Lange likewise, 7. Febr. (ibid. 217): To Spalatin 5. March (ibid. 236): Nunquam fuit in animo, ut ab Apostolica sede Romana voluerim desciscere: denique sum contentus, ut omnium vocetur aut etiam sit Dominus. Quid hoc ad me! qui sciam etiam Turcam honorandum et ferendum potestatis gratia. Quia certus sum, non nisi volente Deo (ut Petrus ait) ullam potestatem consistere: sed hoc ago pro fide mea in Christum, ut verbum ejus non pro libito trahant atque contaminent Dimittant mihi decreta Romana Evangelium sincerum, et omnia alia rapiant: prorsus pilum non movebo. To the same 13. March (ibid.

lasted from the 27th June to the 16th July 1519,[47] Carlstadt maintained the Augustinian doctrine of free will against Eck. Luther was obliged to argue upon the primacy of the Pope; and upon this occasion he was roused by Eck's imputing Hussite opinions to him, to a declaration which made much impression, that several of Huss's doctrines had been unjustly condemned.[48] Eck was superior to his opponents in dialectic skill, and accordingly won the appearance of a victory before the persons pre-

239): Verso et decreta Pontificum, pro mea disputatione, et (in aurem tibi loquor) nescio, an Papa sit Antichristus ipse vel apostolus ejus: adeo misere corrumpitur et crucifigitur Christus, i.e. veritas, ab eo in decretis. Discrucior mirum in modum, sic illudi populum Christi, specie legum et Christiani nominis. Aliquando tibi copiam faciam annotationum mearum in decreta, ut et tu videas, quid sit leges condere postposita Scriptura ex affectu ambitae tyrannidis: ut taceam, quae alia Romana curia Antichristi opera simillima exundat. Nascitur mihi indies magis ac magis subsidium et praesidium pro sacris literis. One result of these studies was the Resolutio super propositione xiii. de potestate Papae, which Luther had already prepared in May, but probably did not have it printed till after the disputation at Leipzic, in T. 1. Jen. f. 295 b. in Löscher iii. 123. In May he wrote to Spalatin (de Wette i. 260): Multa ego premo, et causa Principis et Universitatis nostrae cohibeo, quae, si alibi essem, evomerem in vastatricem Scripturae et Ecclesiae Romam, melius Babylonem. Non potest Scripturae et Ecclesiae veritas tractari, mi Spalatine, nisi haec belua offendatur. Non ergo speres me quietum ac salvum futurum, nisi velis et me penitus theologiam intermittere. Sine ergo amicos putare me insanire. Res ista finem non accipiet (si ex Deo est), nisi sicut Christum discipuli et noti sui, ita et me derelinquant omnes amici mei, et sola sit veritas, quae salvet se dextera sua, non mea, non tua, non ullius hominis: et hanc horam ab initio spectavi.

[47] There are cotemporary accounts of this in letters from Melancthon to Oecolampadius, Eck to Hochstraten, Joh. Cellarius to Capito, all written in July, from Luther to Spalatin, from Amsdorf to the same, both in August, from Peter Mosellanus to Julius Pflug in December. In August there is the account of John Rubeus in favour of Eck, all in Löscher iii. 215 ff. The Latin minutes written down during the disputation form the principal authority, best in Löscher iii. 292 ff.

[48] Acta disp. hor. 2. d. 5 Jul. in Löscher iii. 360: Certum est, inter articulos Johannis Huss vel Bohemorum multos esse plane christianissimos et evangelicos, quos non possit universalis Ecclesia damnare, velut est ille et similis, *quod tantum est una Ecclesia universalis*, Haec enim agentibus impiissimis adulatoribus inique est damnata.— Deinde ille: *non est de necessitate salutis credere Rom. Ecclesiam esse aliis superiorem.*

sent.[49] But the correspondence in which this disputation was afterwards prolonged for a length of time,[50] turned public opinion again in favour of the Wittenberg school, although Eck already stigmatized them as heretics under the name of Lutherans.

This disputation was the real training school of the Reformer. In order to prepare himself for it, and to maintain it in writing, Luther was driven to investigations, to which from his bent towards practical religion, he would probably not have been led

[49] Luther to Spalatin on the 20th July (de Wette i. 287. Löscher iii. 236): Et ita nihil ferme in ista disputatione tractatum est saltem digne praeter propositionem meam decimam tertiam. Interim tamen ille (Eccius) placet, triumphat et regnat, sed donec ediderimus nos nostra. Nam quia male disputatum est, edam resolutiones denuo.

[50] In July Eck publisht in answer to Melancthon's account addresst to Oecolampadius: Excusatio Eckii ad ea, quae falso sibi Ph. Melanchthon Grammaticus Wittenb. super theologica disputatione Lipsica adscripsit (in Löscher iii. 591), whereupon Melanchthon immediately followed with a Defensio (Ibid. 596). Luther issued in August Resolutiones super propositionibus suis Lipsiae disputatis (T. i. Jen. f. 279. in Löscher iii. 733.) Against these Eck drew up an Expurgatio in October, to which Luther replied in November, with an Epistola super Expurgatione Ecciana. (T. i. Jen. f. 358. b. in Löscher iii. 805. de Wette i. 354). The Franciscans at Jüterbock had already drawn 14 propositions from Luther's works as heretical in April, and denounced them to the Bishop of Brandenburg (in Löscher iii. 115). Eck publisht these in August with notes, upon which in September appeared Contra malignum Jo. Eckii judicium super aliquot articulis a fratribus quibusdam ei impositis M. Lutheri defensio (T. 1. Jen. f. 214. b. in Löscher iii. 856). Luther met with much good will from the Bohemians. Two of the utraquist clergy at Prague, Rosdialowin and Paduschka, wrote to him in July letters of congratulation and encouragement (T. i. Jen. f. 366. in Löscher iii. 649), which he received in October (see Luther's to Staupitz, 3 Oct. de Wette i. 341). Rosdialowin writes *e. g.* quod olim Johannes Huss in Bohemia fuerat, hoc tu Martine es in Saxonia. Quid igitur tibi opus! Vigila et confortare in Domino, deinde cave ab hominibus. Neque animo concidas, si te haereticum, si excommunicatum audies, memor subinde, quid Christus passus, quid Apostoli, quid omnes hodie patiantur, qui pie volent vivere in Christo. It was probably to the bearer of these letters that Luther gave his writings for the Bohemians (Luther to Spalatin 15 Oct. de Wette 1, 350). However Jerome Emser in a printed letter to Joh. Zack, administrator of the diocese of Prague, De disputatione Lipsicensi quantum ad Boemos obiter deflexa est in August (T. i. Jen. f. 348. in Löscher iii. 660) had endeavoured to rob the Bohemians of their joy, by maintaining that Luther although he agreed with them in several points, would still have nothing to do with them as schismatics. Luther answered him in Sept. Ad Aegocerotem

under other circumstances :[51] in these Melancthon faithfully assisted with his wide range of learning, and clear penetration.[52]

Emserianum (he refers to Emser's armorial bearings which were printed on the title page of his book, the front of a wild goat). M. Lutheri responsio (T. 1. Jen. f. 350. Löscher iii. 668). Emser wrote a reply in November: A venatione Luteriana Aegocerotis assertio in Löscher iii. 691.

[51] Lutherus de captivitate Babylonica Ecclesiae (Oct. 1520) in the letter of dedication (T. ii. Jen. f. 259): Velim, nolim, cogor indies eruditior fieri, tot tantisque magistris certatim me urgentibus et exercentibus. De indulgentiis ante duos annos scripsi, sed sic, ut me nunc mirum in modum poeniteat editi libelli. Haerebam enim id temporis magna quadam superstitione Romanae tyrannidis : unde et indulgentias non penitus rejiciendas esse censebam, quas tanto hominum consensu cernebam comprobari. Nec mirum, quia solus tum volvebam hoc saxum. At postea beneficio Sylvestri et Fratrum adjutus, qui strenue illas tutati sunt, intellexi, eas aliud non esse, quam meras adulatorum Romanorum imposturas, quibus et fidem Dei et pecunias hominum perderent. Atque utinam a bibliopolis queam impetrare, et omnibus, qui legerunt, persuadere, ut universos libellos meos de indulgentiis exurant, et pro omnibus, quae de eis scripsi, hanc propositionem apprehendant: *Indulgentiae sunt adulatorum Romanorum nequitiae.* Post haec Eccius et Emserus cum conjuratis suis de primatu Papae me erudire coeperunt. Atque hic etiam, ne hominibus tam doctis ingratus sim, confiteor, me valde promovisse eorum opera. Nempe cum Papatum negassem divini, admisi esse humani juris. Sed ut audivi et legi subtilissimas subtilitates istorum Trossulorum, quibus suum idolum fabre statuunt (est enim mihi ingenium in his rebus non usquequaque indocile): scio nunc et certus sum, *Papatum esse regnum Babylonis et potentiam Nimrod robusti venatoris.* Proinde et hic, ut amicis meis omnia prosperrime cedant, oro librarios, oro lectores, ut iis, quae super hac re edidi, exustis, hanc propositionem teneant: *Papatus est robusta venatio Romani Episcopi.*

[52] Melancthonis contra J. Eckium defensio (Aug. 1519). Opp. ed. Bretschneider i. 113 : Puto non temere fieri, sicubi sententiis S. Patres variant, quemadmodum solet, ut judice Scriptura recipiantur ; non, ipsorum, nempe variantibus judiciis, Scriptura vim patiatur. Quandoquidem unus aliquis et simplex Scripturae sensus est, ut et coelestis veritas simplicissima est, quem collatis Scripturis e filo ductuque orationis licet assequi. In hoc enim jubemur philosophari in Scripturis divinis, ut hominum sententias decretaque ad ipsas ceu ad Lydium lapidem exigamus. Soon after he drew up these Theses among others (see his letter to Hess of Febr. 1520, l. c. p. 138): Quod Catholicum praeter articulos, quos Scriptura probat, non sit necesse alios credere. Deinde conciliorum auctoritatem Scripturae auctoritate vinci. E quibus fit, citra haeresis crimen non credi Transsubstantiationem aut Characterem aut similia. And in his letter to Hess he adds : Neque ad Transsubstantiationem tantum aut Characterem, sed ad omnia ejus generis, quibus vulgo divini juris titulus praetexitur, pertinebat axioma.

In this way he now gained so deep an insight into the errors and the corruptions of the Roman Church,[53] that he gradually began to recognise the necessity of separating himself there-

—Videbam,—passim humanis decretis auctoritati sacrarum literarum derogari, neque conferri modo, sed et anteferri humana divinis: articulos fidei dici jam non modo, quae SS. Patrum conciliis decreta sunt, aut Pontifices sanxerunt, sed et quidquid Thomas, quidquid Scotus argutantur, et in iis non modo incerta multa pro certis defendi, sed et male Christiana pro piis tradi.

[53] Contra malignum Jo. Eckii judicium Lutheri defensio (in Sept. 1519) iv. (in Löscher iii. 877): Dictum est, *canones hodie et reservationes casuum prorsus nihil esse, nisi laqueos avaritiae*, non suo vitio, sed Romanensium tyrannorum. Impudentissima enim avaritia est Romanae Curiae: si dederis pecuniam, canones et omnia venalia habes. v. et vi. (p. 879): *Consilia evangelica non sunt supra, sed infra praecepta*, h. e. consilia sunt quaedam viae et compendia facilius et felicius implendi mandata Dei.—Facilius enim continet, qui viduus aut virgo est, separatus a sexu, quam copulatus cum sexu, qui concupiscentiae aliquid cedit. VII. (p. 880): Confessio illa, quae nunc agitur occulte in aurem, nullo potest jure divino probari, nec ita fiebat primitus, sed publica illa, quam Christus Matth. 18 docet.—Non tamen damno istam occultam, nisi quod doleo, ipsam esse in carnificinam quandam redactam, ut cogantur homines confiteri, et scrupulos facere de iis, in quibus nullum est peccatum, aut veniale tantum.—Non est in Ecclesia negotium, quod aeque ut istud confessionis et poenitentiae indigeat reformatione. Nam hic omnes leges quaestus, vis, tyrannis, error, pericula, et infinita mala omnium animarum et totius Ecclesiae grassantur pleno impetu, quod Pontifices parum curant, et sophistis animarum tortoribus relinquunt. VIII. p. 881. Neque enim Romana Curia alia re magis nocuit Ecclesiae Christi, quam multitudine et varietate legum suarum, quae mihi videntur esse novissima et omnium maxima persecutio, ut in qua irretitae conscientiae pereant irrecuperabiliter, ut turpissimum quaestum sileam, qui legibus istis alitur. XV. p. 887: Valde vellem scire, ex quo loco Scripturae tradita sit potestas Papae Sanctos canonisandi? Deinde, quae necessitas Sanctos canonisandi? Tandem, quae utilitas Sanctos canonisandi? Sermon on the venerable Sacrament of the holy true body of Christ printed at the end of November in Löscher iii. 902. Walch xix. 522: "Es ist aber bey mir für gut angesehen, dass die Kirche in einem gemeinen Concilio wiederum verordnete, dass man allen Menschen beyde Gestalt gebe, wie den Priestern. Nicht darum dass eine Gestalt nicht gnug ist, so doch wohl allein des Glaubens Begierde gnug ist;—sondern dass es zimlich und fein wäre, so des Sacraments Gestalt und Forme oder Zeichen nicht stücklich eines Theils, sondern ganz geben würde, gleichwie ich von der Taufe gesagt, dass es füglicher wäre ins Wasser zu tauchen, denn damit begiessen, um der Ganze und Vollkommenheit willen des Zeichens. Sintemal dieses Sacrament bedeutet eine ganze Vereinigung, unvertheilete Gemeinschaft der Heiligen (wie wir hören werden), welche übel und unfüglich wird angezeiget mit einem Stücke oder Theil des Sacraments,

from.[54] He felt himself summoned as the soldier of God to war against the wiles and deceit of the devil, by which the

Auch ist nicht so grosse Fahr mit dem Kelch, als man achtet, dieweil das Volk selten zu diesem Sacrament gehet, sonderlich dieweil Christus, der alle zukünftige Fahr wohl gewusst, doch hat wollen beyde Gestalt einsetzen, fur alle seine Christen zu brauchen." On account of this passage Duke George complained to the elector about Luther, that he taught the whole Hussite doctrine, and maintained an alliance with the Hussites dd. 27 Dec. 1519 in Löscher iii. 920. The Bishop of Misnia, by a prescript of the 24th Jan. 1520, prohibited this sermon, and charged his clergy to defend the church's usages (T. i. Jen. f. 460 b.) On the other hand, Luther wrote in February, Antwort auf den Zeddel, so unter des Officials zu Stolpen Siegel ausgegangen (Walch xix. 564), and towards the end of the year 1520 publisht an enlarged Latin edition: Ad schedulam inhibitionis sub nomine Episcopi Misnensis editam super sermone de sacramento Eucharistiae D. Mart. Lutheri responsio (T. i. Jen. f. 460.) Meanwhile Luther was going astray with regard to purgatory also, see his letter to Spalatin of the 7th Nov. 1519 (de Wette i. 367): Breviter, quanquam ego scio, purgatorium esse apud nos, nescio tamen, si apud omnes Christianos sit. Hoc certum est, neminem esse haereticum, qui non credit esse purgatorium, neo est articulus fidei, cum Graeci illud non credentes nunquam sint habiti ob hoc pro haereticis, nisi apud novissimos haereticantissimos haereticantes. He had also given up the doctrine of seven sacraments: he wrote to Spalatin on the 18th Dec. 1519 (de Wette i. 378) De aliis sacramentis non est, quod tu vel ullus hominum ex me speret aut expectet ullum sermonem, donec docear, ex quo loco queam illa probare. Non enim ullum mihi reliquum est sacramentum, quod sacramentum sit, nisi ubi expressa detur promissio divina, quae fidem exerceat, cum sine verbo promittentis et fide suscipientis nihil possit nobis esse cum Deo negotii. Quae autem de sacramentis illis septem fabulati illi sunt, alio tempore audies.

[54] At first he deceived himself on this point, by drawing a distinction between the Roman Church and the Roman Curia, compare his letter of dedication to Radhemius and Carlstadt at the beginning of the Comm. in Ep. ad Galatas Sept. 1519 (T. i. Jen. 369. in de Wette i. 333): Quare et ego horum theologorum laicorum (Principum Germaniae) exemplo pulcherrimo longissime, latissime, profundissime, distinguo inter Romanam Ecclesiam et Romanam Curiam. Illam scio purissimum esse thalamum Christi, matrem Ecclesiarum, dominam mundi, sed spiritu, i.e. vitiorum, non rerum mundi, sponsam Christi, filiam Dei, terrorem inferni.—Haec vero ex fructibus suis cognoscitur. Non quod magni faciendum sit, res nostras et jura diripi, cum fixum sit in coelo, Christianos in hac vita pressuram, Nimbrotos et robustos venatores pati:—sed quod omnibus lachrymis sit miseria major, haec a fratribus et patribus in fratres et filios fieri,—quae a Turca vix fierent.—*Nullo modo ergo Romanae Ecclesiae resistere licet: at Romanae Curiae longe majore pietate resisterent Reges, Principes et quicunque possent, quam ipsis Turcis.*

Church was corrupted :[55] and together with this character which he maintained immoveably, he assumed the unconquerable courage, the rock-like trustfulness, and the cheerful confidence, with which he steadfastly pursued his aim from this time forth through every danger.

So soon as the election of Charles V. to the empire was decided by the influence of Frederick the Wise, counteracting the Pope's wishes (28. June 1519); the Curia had no motives of interest to withhold them from proceeding in Luther's case. Accordingly, when Eck betook himself to Rome in 1520, to carry on his work there with the help of the Dominicans, Luther might certainly foresee a sentence of excommunication. However, Frederick the Wise, supported also by Erasmus's opinion,[56] remained determined to protect the most revered

[55] Luther to the Christian nobles of the German nation 1520 (Walch x. 298): "Wir müssen gewiss seyn, dass wir in dieser Sach nicht mit menschen, sondern mit den Fürsten der Höllen handeln, die wol mügen mit Krieg und Blutvergiessen die Welt erfüllen, aber sie lassen sich damit nicht überwinden. Man muss sie mit einem Verzag leiblicher Gewalt, in demüthigem Vertrauen Gottes die Sach angreifen, und mit ernstlichem Gebet Hülfe bey Gott suchen, und nichts anders in die Augen bilden, denn der elenden Christenheit Jammer und Noth. —Wo nicht in Gottesfurcht und Demuth gehandelt wird, haben die Päpste und Römer bisher mügen durch Teufels Hälfe die Könige in einander wirren: sie mügens auch noch wol thun, so wir ohn Gottes Hülfe mit unser Macht und Kunst fahren."

[56] Compare note 32 above. Erasmus wrote from Louvain, 1 Nov. 1519, to Albert, Elector of Mayence, a letter, ubi, as Luther expresses himself to John Lange 16 Jan. 1520 (de Wette i. 396), egregie me tutatur, ita tamen ut nihil minus quam me tutari videatur, sicut solet pro dexteritate sua. This letter was soon after publisht, much to the chagrin of Erasmus, undoubtedly by Ulrich of Hutten, who lived then at the court of Mayence; it has a place in the Leyden edition of the Opp. Erasmi. T. iii. T. i. p. 515. He represents in strong lines the corruptions of the church, and then proceeds: Haec, opinor, moverunt animum Lutheri, ut primum auderet se quorundam intolerabili impudentiae opponere. Quid enim aliud suspicer de eo, qui nec honores ambit, nec pecuniam cupit? De articulis, quos objiciunt Luthero, in praesentia non disputo, tantum de modo et occasione disputo. Ausus est Lutherus de indulgentiis dubitare, sed de quibus alii prius nimis impudenter asseveraverant:—ausus est immoderatius loqui de potestate Romani Pontificis, sed de qua isti nimis immoderate prius scripserant:—ausus est Thomae decreta contemnere, sed quae Dominicani pene praeferunt Evangeliis: ausus est in materia confessionis scrupulos aliquos discutere, sed in qua monachi sine fine illaqueant hominum conscientias; ausus est ex parte negligere scholastica decreta, sed qui-

teacher of his rising university[57] against unjust violence. But Luther had already found in other parts of his German Father-

bus illi nimium tribuunt, et in quibus ipsi nihilominus inter se dissentiunt, postremo quae subinde mutant, pro veteribus rescissis inducentes nova. Discruciabat hoc pias mentes, cum audirent in scholis fere nullum sermonem de doctrina evangelica; sacros illos ab Ecclesia jam olim probatos auctores haberi pro antiquatis; immo in sacris concionibus minimum audiri de Christo; de potestate Pontificis, de opinionibus recentium fere omnia; totam orationem jam palam quaestum, adulationem, ambitionem, ac fucum prae se ferre. His imputandum opinor, etiamsi quae intemperantius scripsit Lutherus. Then he speaks with zeal against the propensity of theologians immediately to denounce as heresy every peculiarity of doctrine.

[57] Compare the Chronicon Citicense of the cotemporary Pauli Langi, Benedictin in the monastery of Bosau, in Pistorii Scriptt. rerum Germanic. 1, 188: Witebergae anno quo haec scribo dominicae incarnationis 1520 ob florentissimum ac famatissimum theologiae et omnigenae sapientiae studium feruntur mille quingentique studentes existere, fama eruditissimorum virorum Martini Lutheri Augustinensis, et Andreae Carolostadii Archidiaconi,—necnon Philippi Melanchthonis rhetoris, sacraeque theosophiae Baccalaurei, graece et latine peritissimi, allecti et adunati. Et memorati quidem integerrimi, doctissimique duo illi hierophantes, Martinus ut luminare majus, Andreas ut luminare minus hujus Academiae, theologiae studium et divini verbi triticum absque omni palearum *i.e.* secularis philosophiae syllogismorumve mixtura purissime tractant, et edocent sacram scripturam, et potissimum Christi Evangelium, Paulum Apostolum habentes pro archetypo et fundamento, cum ipso literarum studio timorem Dei, et cunctarum virtutum semina verbo, exemplo et calamo in discipulorum pectora spargentes. Neque enim in hac almiflua sapientiae palaestra fatuus ille Peripateticorum princeps Aristoteles, vel impius Porphyrius, aut certe ille blasphemus Averroes, et similes orthodoxae fidei spretores et irrisores cathedram ullam habent vel audientiam. Frederick the Wise replied to Valentine v. Teutleben at Rome, who had written to him about the unfavourable opinion of him there prevailing, on the 1st of April 1520 (T. 2. Jen. fol. 256), that he left the truth of the Lutheran doctrines to be decided there, but that Luther had offered to give account of himself, and submit to instruction. Adfirmant multi, D. Mart. Lutherum —invitum ad has controversias de Papatu descendisse, videlicet eo pertractum a D. Eckio.—Et cum nunc Germania floreat ingeniis, et multis doctrina et sapientia praestantibus viris,—cumque etiam nunc vulgo Laici sapere incipiant, et studio cognoscendae Scripturae teneantur: multi judicant valde metuendum esse, si neglectis aequissimis conditionibus a D. Luthero oblatis, sine legitima cognitione, tantum ecclesiasticis censuris feriatur, ne hae contentiones et certamina multo magis exasperentur, ut postea non ita facile ad otium et compositiones res deduci posset. *Nam Lutheri doctrina ita jam passim in plurimorum animis in Germania et alibi infixa radices egit*, ut si non veris ac firmis argumentis et perspicuis testimoniis Scripturae revincatur, sed solo

land most determined friends:[58] several knights offered him refuge and protection against persecution.[59] Thus he was pos-

ecclesiasticae potestatis terrore ad eum opprimendum procedatur non videatur res sic abitura, quin in Germania acerrimas offensiones et horribiles ac exitiales tumultus excitatura sit, unde nec ad sanctissimum dominum Pontificem, nec aliis quidquam utilitatis redire poterit.

[58] Jo. Botzhemus Abstemius, doctor and canon at Constance, wrote to Luther 3. March 1520 (Joh. v. Botzheim und s. Freunde, von K. Walchner. Schafhausen 1836. s. 107): Postquam orbi, aut saltem potiori orbis parti, h. e. bonis et vere Christianis amicus factus es, meus quoque amicus eris, velis, nolis. Quae scribis, ita mihi probantur, ut nulla proinde re gaudeam, ac fato meo propitio, quo factum, ut hoc tempore viverem, quo non humanae solum literae, sed et divinae pristinum nitorem recuperant caet. Caspar Hedio, preacher at Basle, 23. June 1520 (Kappen's Nachlese ii. 433): Video, doctrinam tuam ex Deo esse, carissime vir, dissolvi non potest, in dies efficacior, quotidie multos lucrifacit Christo, abducit a vitiis, asserit verae pietati.—Libellis vernaculis plurimum prodes, hisce enim vulgi judicium formatur, quod certe sequax est et tractabile, agnoscit fucum, cupit admoneri, intelligit beneficium, quae est gratitudinis pars. Cessandum ergo non est, ὦ σώτερ, sed totis viribus conandum, ut jugum Christi facile et commodum nobis redeat. Tu dux esto, nos individui milites erimus, si modo nostra opera quippiam possit prodesse, sive in concionibus publicis, quibus praesum jam, enarrans Evangelium Matthaei, sive in privatis colloquiis civium Basiliensium, denique in literis amicorum. In June 1520 Hutten even broke off his feudal dependence upon the elector Albert, by which he had been hitherto debarred from declaring himself openly on Luther's side. Now he encouraged him with letters (the first letter of the 4th June 1520 in Hutten's werken von Münch iii. 575), he issued several works to defend Luther, and make Rome odious, and began from this time forth to publish German works in this spirit, to work upon the people; these were in part translations of his own Latin works (these last are collected in Münch's edition, Th. 5). Ranke's deutsche Gesch. im Zeitalter d. Ref. 1, 415. However Hutten's violent intentions did not suit Luther. He wrote to Spalatin, sending at the same time Hutten's letters and works, 16. Jan. 1521 (de Wette 1, 543): Quid Huttenus petat, vides. Nollem vi et caede pro Evangelio certari: ita scripsi ad hominem. Verbo victus est mundus, verbo servata est Ecclesia, etiam verbo reparabitur.

[59] So early as January 1520 Franz of Sickingen invited Luther to go to him, see Hutten's letter to Melanchthon 20. Jan. (in Kappen's Nachlese ii. 425. Münch iii. 337): At nunc scribere Luthero ipse heros jubet, si quid in causa sua patiatur adversi, nec melius aliunde remedium sit, ad se ut veniat, effecturum pro eo quod possit.—Lutherum amat Franciscus, primum quia bonus sibi ut ceteris videtur, et ob id invisus illis, deinde quia eum ex Comitibus de Solmis quidam commendavit literis. Afterwards Sickingen repeated this invitation in a letter of his own to Luther 3 Nov. 1520 (in Walch. xv. 1948). The Franconian knight, Sylvester of Schaumburg, offered Luther protection in

sest of the outward means for expressing in his works, his present acquaintance with the state of the Church, and its relation to Christian truth. This he did with the most unrestrained boldness in the work An den christlichen adel deutscher nation von des christlichen standes Besserung (June 1520)[20] with refe-

a letter of 11. June 1520 (Walch xv. 1942) and exhorted him not to take refuge with the Bohemians. " Denn ich und sonst meines Versehens hundert von Adel, die ich (ob Gott will) aufbringen will, euch, redlich zuhalten, und gegen euere Widerwärtigen vor Gefahr schützen wollen, so lange, bis eure Wohlmeynung durch gemeine christliche Beruffung und Versammlung, oder unverdächtige, verständige Rechtsprecher, unwidertrieben und unwiderlegt, oder ihr besser unterrichtet würdet." F. v. Sickingens Thaten, Plane, Freunde u. Ausgang durch E. Münch (Stuttg. u. Tübingen. 3 Bde 1827—29. 8.) i. 166. v. Bucholtz Gesch. der Regierung Ferdinands 1. Bd. 2. (Wien 1831) S. 77.

[60] Walch x. 296. Introduction: Gnad und Stärke von Gott zuvor, Allerdurchläuchtigster, gnädigste liebe Herren. Es ist nicht aus lauter Fürwitz noch Frevel geschehen, dass ich einiger armer Mensch mich unterstanden, für Euere höhen Wurden zu reden: die Noth und Beschwerung, die alle Stände der Christenheit, zuvor Deutschlands druckt, nicht allein mich, sondern jedermann bewegt hat, vielmal zu schreien und Hülfe begehren, hat mich auch itzt gezwungen zu schreien und rufen, ob gott jemand den Geist geben wollt, seine Hand zu reichen der elenden Nation. Es ist oft durch Concilia etwas fürgewandt: aber durch etlicher Menschen List behendiglich verhindert und immer ärger worden, welcher Tuck und Bosheit ich itzt, Gott helfe mir, durchleuchten gedenk, auf dass sie erkannt, hinfurt nicht mehr so hinderlich und schädlich seyn möchten. Gott hat uns ein junges edles Blut zum Häupt geben, damit viel Herzen zu grosser guter Hoffnung erwecket. Daneben will sichs ziemen, das unser dazu thun, und der Zeit und Gnade nützlich brauchen." Then after an exhortation to enter upon the work not trusting in their own power or reason, but in humble trust in God alone: " Die Romanisten haben drey Mauren mit grosser Behendigkeit um sich gezogen, damit sie sich bisher beschützt, dass sie niemand hat mügen reformiren, dadurch die ganze Christenheit greulich gefallen sind. Zum ersten, wenn man hat auf sie gedrungen mit weltlicher Gewalt, haben sie gesetzt und gesagt, weltliche Gewalt habe nicht Recht uber sie, sondern wiederum, Geistlich sey über die Weltliche. Zum andern, hat man sie mit der heiligen Schrift wollt strafen, setzen sie dagegen, es gebühre die Schrift niemand auszulegen, denn dem Papst. Zum dritten, dräuet man ihnen mit einem Concilio, so ertichten sie, es müge niemand ein Concilium berufen, denn der Papst." Against the first wall; the distinction between the spiritual and secular state is nought: denn alle Christen sind wahrhaftig geistlichs Stands, und ist unter ihnen kein Unterschied, denn des Amts halben allein, wie Paulus 1 Cor. 12 sagt, dass wir allesampt ein Körper sind, doch ein jeglich Glied sein eigen Werk hat, damit es dem andern dienet.—Wir werden allesammt durch

rence to the external constitution of the Church, and in the

die Tauf zu Priestern geweihet wie St Peter 1 Peter 2 sagt.—Darum ist des Bischofs Weihen nichts anders, denn als wenn er an Statt und Person der ganzen Sammlung einen aus dem Haufen nehme, die alle gleiche Gewalt haben, und ihm befehl, dieselben Gewalt für die andern auszurichten.—Gleichwie nun die, so man itzt Geistlich heisst,—sind von den andern Christen nicht weiter noch würdiger gescheiden, denn dass sie das Wort Gottes und die Sacrament sollen handeln, das ist ihr Werk und Amt: Also hat die weltliche Oberkeit das Schwert und die Ruthen in der Hand, die Bösen damit zu straffen, die Frommen zu schätzen.—Sie soll ihr Amt lassen frey gehen unverhindert durch den ganzen Korper der Christenheit, niemand angesehen, sie treffe Papst, Bischove, Pfaffen, Münche, Nonnen, oder was es ist." Against the other walls: "Christus sagt Johann. 6 dass alle Christen sollen gelehret werden von Gott. So mag es ja geschehen, dass der Papst und die seinen böse sind, und nicht rechte Christen, noch von Gott gelehret sind, rechten Verstand haben; wiederum ein geringer Mensch den rechten Verstand haben: warum sollte man ihm denn nicht folgen? hat nicht der Papst vielmal geirret? Wer wollt der Christenheit helfen, so der Papst irret, wo nicht einem andern mehr denn ihm gegläubt wurde, der die Schrift fur sich hätte."—"Die dritte Mauer fället von ihr selbs, wo diese ersten zwo fallen. Denn wo der Papst wider die Schrift handelt, sind wir schuldig der Schrift beyzustehen, ihn strafen und zwingen nach dem Wort Christi. Matth. 18. Sündiget dein Bruder wider dich,—so sage es der Gemeine.—Soll ich ihn denn verklagen für der Gemeine, so muss ich sie ja zusammenbringen.—Auch das berühmteste Concilium Nicänum hat der Bischof zu Rom weder berufen noch bestätiget, sondern der Kaiser Constantinus, und nach ihm viel ander Kaiser desselben gleichen gethan, das doch die allerchristlichsten Concilia gewesen sind.—Darum, wo es die Noth fordert, und der Papst ärgerlich der Christenheit ist, soll dazu thun wer am ersten kann, als ein treu Glied des ganzen Körpers, dass ein recht frey Concilium werde, welchs niemand so wol vermag, als das weltlich Schwert.—Wovon in den Conciliis zu handeln.—Zum ersten, ists greulich und erschrecklich anzusehen, dass der öberst in der Christenheit, der sich Christi Vicarium, und St. Peters Nachfolger rühmet, so weltlich und prächtlich fähret, dass ihn darinnen kein König, kein Kaiser mag erlangen und gleich werden.—Zum andern, wozu ist das Volk nütze in der Christenheit, das da heisset die Cärdinal? Das will ich dir sagen: Welsch-und Deutschland haben viel reicher Klöster, Stift, Leben und Pfarr: die hat man nicht gewusst bas gen Rom zu bringen, denn dass man Cardinal macht, und denselbigen die Bisthum, Klöster, Prälaturn zu eigen gebe, und Gottesdienst also zu Boden stiesse.—Ich rath aber, dass man der Cärdinal weniger mache, oder lass sie den Papst von seinem Gute nähren: ihr wäre übrig gnug an 12, und ein iglicher hatte des Jahrs tausend Gülden einzukommen.—Zum dritten, wenn man des Papstes Hof liess das hunderte Theil bleiben, und thät ab neun und neunzig Theil, er wäre dennoch gross gnug Antwort zu geben in des Glaubens Sachen." After a representation of the manifold oppressions of the Church by the Pope follows advice for the amendment of the state of

Christianity. "Zum ersten, dass ein iglicher Fürst, Adel, Stadt in ihren Unterthanen frisch an verbiet, die Annaten gen Rom zu geben, und sie gar abthue—Zum andern, dieweil der Papst mit seinen römischen Practicken, Commenden, Adjutorien, Reservation, Gratiis expectativis, Papsts Monat, Incorporation, Union, Pension, Palliis, Canzleyregeln, und dergleichen Büberey alle deutsche Stift ohn Gewalt und Recht zu sich reisst, und dieselben zu Rom Fremden, die nichts in deutschen Landen dafür thun, giebt und verkäuft, damit er die Ordinarien beraubt ihres Rechten, macht aus den Bischofen nur Ziffern und Olgötzen;—so soll hie der chrislich Adel sich gegen ihn setzen, als wider einen gemeinen Feind und Zustörer der Christenheit,—und *den Ordinarien* ihr Recht und Amt wiederstatten.—Zum dritten, dass ein kaiserlich Gesetz ausgehe, keinen *Bischofmantel*, auch keine *Bestätigung* irgend einer Dignitäten für an aus Rom zu holen: sondern dass man die Ordnung des allerheiligsten und berühmsten Concilii Nicäni wieder aufricht, darinnen gesetzt ist, dass ein Bischof soll bestätiget werden von den andern zween nähesten, oder von dem Erzbischof.—Doch dass der Papst nicht klage, er werde seiner Oberkeit beraubt, sollt verordnet werden, dass, wo die Primaten oder Erzbischofe nicht möchten ein Sach ausrichten, oder unter ihnen sich ein Hader erhüb, dass alsdann dieselb dem Papst würde fürgetragen.—4. Dass verordnet werde, dass kein weltlich Sach gen Rom gezogen werde, sondern dieselben alle der weltlichen Gewalt lassen.—Denn des Papstes Amt soll seyn, dass er der Allergelehrtest in der Schrift, und wahrhaftig, nicht mit Namen, der Allerheiligst, regiere die Sachen, die den Glauben und heiliges Leben der Christen betreffen,—Dabey müsst man auch verbieten in allen Stiften die gräulich Schinderey der Official, dass sie nicht mehr denn des Glaubens Sache und guter Sitten sich annehmen; was Geld, Gut, und Leib, oder Ehre anbetrift, den weltlichen Richtern lassen.—5. Dass keine Reservation mehr gelte, und kein Lehen mehr behaftet werde zu Rom.—6. Dass auch abgethan werden die Casus reservati.—7. Dass der römish Stuhl die Officia abthue, das Gewürm und Schwürm zu Rom wenigere, auf dass des Papstes Gesind müge von des Papsts eigen Gut ernähret werden.—8. Dass die schweren, greulichen Eide aufgehaben würden, so die Bischofen dem Papst zu thun gezwungen.—9. Dass der Papst über den Kaiser kein Gewalt habe, ohn dass er ihn auf dem Altar salbe und kröne, wie ein Bischof einen König krönt: und je nicht der teufelische Hoffart hinfurt zugelassen werde, dass der Kaiser des Papsts Füsse küsse, oder zu seinen Füssen sitze, oder, wie man sagt, ihm den Stegreif halte, und den Zaum seines Maulpferds, wenn er aufsitzt zu reiten: noch viel weniger dem Papst Hulde und treue Unterthänigkeit schwöre, wie die Päpste unverschamt fürnehmen zu fodern, als hätten sie Recht dazu.—Solchs überschwenglichs, öberhomütigs, überfrevelichs Fürnehmen des Papsts hat der Teufel erdacht, darunter mit der Zeit den Endechrist einzuführen, und den Papst uber Gott zu erheben, wie denn schon Viel thun und gethan haben.—10. Dass sich der Papst enthalt, die Hand aus der Suppen ziehe, sich keines Titels unterwinde des Königreichs zu Neapel und Sicilien.—11. Dass das Füssküssen des Papsts auch nicht mehr geschehe. Es ist ein unchristlich, ja endechristisch Exempel, dass ein armer sündiger Mensch ihm lässet seine Füsse küssen von dem, der hundertmal besser ist, denn

er.—Derselben gross ärgerlichen Hoffart ist auch das ein hässlich Stück, dass der Papst—sich von Menschen, als ein Abgott, mit unerhörter Pracht tragen lässet.—Welch Christenherz mag oder soll das mit Lust sehen, dass der Papst, wenn er sich will lassen communicirn, stille sitzt, als ein gnad Jungherr, und lässet ihm das Sacrament von einem knienden gebeugten Cardinal mit einem gülden Rohr reichen (See vol. ii. part ii. § 61, note 6), gerad als wäre das heilig Sacrament nicht wirdig, dass ein Papst, ein armer stinkender Sünder, aufstünde, seinem Gott ein Ehr thät.—12. Dass man die Wallfahrten gen Rom abthäte, oder Niemand von eigener Fürwits oder Andacht wallen liesse, er würde denn zuvor von seinem Pfarrherr, Stadt- oder Oberherrn erkannt, gnugsam und redlich Ursach haben. Dass sage ich nicht darum, dass Wallfahrten böse sey, sondern dass sie zu dieser Zeit ubel gerathen. Denn sie zu Rom kein gut Exempel, sondern eitel Aergerniss sehen.—Und ob schon diese Sach nicht wäre, so ist doch noch da ein fürtrefflichere, nämlich die, dass die einfältigen Menschen dadurch verführt werden in einen falschem Wahn.—Denn sie meynen, dass solch Wallen sey ein köstlich gut Werk, das doch nicht wahr ist.—Darnach kommen wir auf den grossen Haufen, die da viel geloben, und doch wenig halten. Zürnet nicht, lieben Herrn, ich meyn es warlich gut, es ist die bitter und süsse Wahrheit, und ist, dass man je nicht mehr Bettelklöster bauen lasse: hilf Gott, ihr ist schon viel zu viel, ja wollt Gott, sie wären alle abe, oder je auf zween oder drey Orten gehaufet. Es hat nichts guts gethan, es thut auch nimmermehr gut, irre laufen auf dem Land. Darum ist mein Rath, man schlage zehn, oder wie viel ihr noth ist, auf einen Haufen, und mach eines draus, das gnugsam versorget, nicht betteln dürfe.—Und das man sie uberhebe Predigens und Beichtens, es wäre denn, dass sie von Bischofen, Pfarren, Gemeine oder Oberkeit dazu berufen und begehret würden. Ist doch aus solchem Predigen und Beichten nicht mehr denn eitel Hass und Neid zwischen Pfaffen und Mönchen, gross Aergerniss und Hinderniss des gemeinen Volks erwachsen.—Dabey sollten auch aufgehabenwerden so mancherley Secten und Unterscheid einerley Ordens.—Es müsst auch dem Papst verboten werden, mehr solcher Orden aufzusetzen oder bestätigen, ja befohlen werden, etliche abzuthun und in weniger Zahl zu zwingen.—Es wäre, meines Bedenkens, ein nöthige Ordnung,—dass Stift und Klöster wiederum würden auf die Weise verordnet, wie sie waren im Anfang bey den Aposteln, und ein lange Zeit hernach, da sie alle frey waren, einem jedermann drinnen zu bleiben, so lange es ihn gelüstet.—14. Wir sehen auch wie die Priesterschaft gefallen, und mancher armer Pfaff mit Weib und Kind uberladen, sein Gewissen beschweret, da doch Niemand zu thut ihnen zu helfen, ob ihnen fast wol zu helfen wäre. Lässt Papst und Bischofe hie gehen, was da gehet, verderben was verdirbt, so will ich erretten mein Gewissen, und das Maul frey aufthun, es verdriess Papst, Bischofe, oder wen es will.—Ich lass hie anstehen Papst, Bischofe, Stift, Pfaffen und Münche, die Gott nicht eingesetzt hat, Haben sie ihnen selbs Bürden aufgelegt, so tragen sie sie auch. Ich will reden von dem Pfarrstand, den Gott eingesetzt hat, der ein Gemein mit Predigen und Sacramenten regieren muss:—denselben sollt durch ein christlich Concilium nachgelassen werden Freiheit, ehelich zu werden, zu ver-

meiden Fährlichkeit und Sünde. Denn dieweil sie Gott selbs nicht verbunden hat, so soll und mag sie Niemand verbinden.—Man findet manchen frommen Pfarherr, dem sonst Niemand kein Tadel geben mag, denn dass er gebrechlich ist, und mit einem Weib zu schanden worden. Welche doch beyde also gesinnet sind in ihres Herzens Grund, dass sie gerne immer wollten bey einander bleiben in rechter ehlicher Treu. Wenn sie nur das möchten mit gutem Gewissen thun, ob sie auch gleich die Schande müssten öffentlich tragen, die zwey sind gewislich für Gott ehelich. Und hie sage ich, dass, wo sie so gesinnet sind, und also in ein Leben kommen, dass sie nur ihr Gewissen frisch erretten: er nehme sie zum ehelichen Weib, behalt sie und lebe sonst redlich mit ihr, wie ein ehelich Mann, unangesehen, ob das der Papst will oder nicht will, es sey wider geistlich oder fleischlich Gesetz. Es liegt mehr an deiner Seelen Seligkeit, denn an den tyrannischen, eigengeweltigen, frevelichen Gesetzen, die zur Seligkeit nicht noth sind, noch von Gott geboten."—15. Against the reservations of the heads of many religious houses, by virtue of which their subordinates could only receive from them absolution in cases of deadly sin. The consequence of which was that they were often not confest at all. 16. "Es wäre auch noth, dass die Jahrtag, Begängniss, Seelmessen gar abgethan, oder je gar geringer würden, darum dass wir offentlich sehen für Augen, dass nicht mehr, denn ein Spott draus worden ist,—und nur auf Geld, Fressen und Saufen gericht sind.—17. Man müsst auch abthun etlich Pöne oder Strafe des geistlichen Rechts, sonderlich das Interdict, welchs ohn allen Zweifel der böse Geist erdacht hat.—Den Bann müsst man nicht ehe brauchen, denn wo die Schrift weiset zu brauchen, das ist, wider die so nicht recht gläuben, oder in offentlichen Sünden leben, nicht ums zeitlich Gut.—Die andern Strafen und Pönen, Suspension, Irregularität, Aggravation, Reaggravation, Deposition, Blixen, Donnern, Vermaledeien, Verdammen, und was der Fündlin mehr sind, sollt man zehn Ellen tief begraben in die Erden, dass auch ihr Name und Gedächtniss nicht mehr auf Erden wäre.—18. Dass man alle Fest abthät, und allein den Sonntag behielt. Wollt man aber je unser Frauen, und der grossen Heiligen Fest halten, dass sie all auf den Sonntag würden verlegt, oder nur des Morgens zur Messe gehalten, darnach liess den ganzen Tag Werkeltag seyn. Ursach, denn als nu der Misbrauch mit Saufen, Spielen, Müssiggang, und allerley Sünde gehet, so erzürnen wir mehr Gott auf die heiligen Tag, denn auf die andern.—Und zuvor sollte man die Kirchweihe ganz austilgen, sintemal sie nicht anders sind, denn rechte Tabern, Jahrmarkt und Spielhöfe.—19. Dass die Grad oder Glied würden geändert, in welchen der ehelich Stand wird verboten, als da sind Gevatterschaften, der vierte und dritte Grad; dass, wo der Papst zu Rom drinnen mag dispensiren ums Geld, und schändlichen verkäuft, dass auch daselbs müg ein iglicher Pfarrherr dispensiren um sonst und der Seelen Seligkeit. Ja wollt Gott, dass alles, was man zu Rom muss kaufen,—dass ein iglicher Pfarrherr dasselb ohn Geld möcht thun und lassen, als da sind Ablass, Ablassbrief, Butterbrief, Messbrief, und was Confessionalia oder Buberey mehr sind zu Rom.—Dahin gehöret auch, dass die Fasten würden frey gelassen einem Jedermann, und allerley Speise frey gemacht, wie das Evangelium giebet.—20. Dass die wilden Capellen

und Feldkirchen würden zu Boden verstöret, als da sind, da die neuen Wallfahrten hingehen.—21. Es ist wol der grössten Noth eine, dass alle Betteley abgethan würde in aller Christenheit.—Es künnt ja ein igliche Stadt die ihren ernähren.—22. Es ist auch zu besorgen, dass die viel Messen, so auf Stift und Klöster gestift sind, nicht allein wenig nütz sind, sondern grossen Zorn Gottes erwecken: derhalben es nützlich wäre, derselben nicht mehr stiften, sondern die gestiften viel abthun.—Es müsst aber auch nicht mehr seyn, dass ein Person mehr denn eine Thümerei und Pfründ hätte.—23. Die Brüderschaften, item Ablass, Ablassbrief, Butterbrief, Messbrief, Dispensation und was des Dings gleich ist, nur alles ersäuft und umbracht.—Lieber, du hast in der Taufe ein Bruderschaft mit Christo, allen Engeln, Heiligen und Christen auf Erden angefangen: halt dieselben, und thue ihr gnug, so hastu gnug Bruderschaften.—Zuvor sollt man verjagen aus deutschen Landen die päpstlichen Botschaften mit ihren Facultäten, die sie uns um gross Geld verkäufen, das doch lauter Büberey ist. Als da sind, dass sie Geld nehmen, und machen unrecht Gut gut, lösen auf die Eide, Gelübd und Bund, zureissen damit, und lernen zureissen Treue und Glaube, unternander zugesagt, sprechen, der Papst habs Gewalt.—Wenn kein ander böser Tück wäre, der da bewähret, dass der Papst der recht Endechrist sey, so wäre eben dieses Stück genugsam, das zu bewähren.—24. Es ist hohe Zeit, dass wir auch einmal ernstlich und mit Wahrheit der Böhemen Sache fürnehmen, sie mit uns, und uns mit ihnen zu vereinigen.—Zum ersten müssen wir warlich die Wahrheit bekennen,—dass Johannes Huss und Hieronymus von Prag zu Costnitz wider päpstlich, christlich, kaiserlich Geleit und Eid sind verbrannt, damit wider Gottes Gebot geschehen.—Ich will hie Johannes Huss Artikel nicht richten, noch sein Irrthum verfechten, wiewol mein Verstand noch nichts irriges bey ihm funden hat.—Das will ich nur sagen, er sey ein Ketzer, wie böse er immer möcht seyn, so hat man ihn mit Unrecht und wider Gott verbrennet, und soll die Böhemen nicht dringen solchs zu billigen.—So sollt man die Ketzer mit Schriften, nicht mit Feuer uberwinden, wie die alten Väter gethan haben. Wenn es Kunst wäre, mit Feuer Ketzer uberwinden, so wären die Henker die gelehrtesten Doctores auf Erden." Pious and understanding bishops and learned men should be sent to the Bohemians, to get information as to the faith of the people, and attempt an union of all sects. The Bohemians should then immediately elect an archbishop of Prague, who should provide that they might walk upright in the faith and the word of God, without wishing to thrust upon them all Roman doctrines and usages. "Wenn ich wüsste, dass die Pikarden keinen Irrthum hetten im Sacrament des Altars, denn dass sie gläubten, es sey warhaftig Brot und Wein natürlich da, doch darunter warhaftig Fleisch und Blut Christi: wollt ich sie nicht verwerfen, sondern unter den Bischof zu Praga lassen kommen. Denn es ist nicht ein Artikel des Glaubens, dass Brot und Wein (nicht) wesentlich und natürlich sey im Sacrament, welchs ein Wahn ist St. Thomae und des Papsts, sondern das ist ein Artikel des Glaubens, dass in dem natürlichen Brote und Wein warhaftig natürlich Fleisch und Blut Christi sey. So sollt man dulden beyder Seiten Wahn, bis dass sie eines würden, dieweil kein Fährlichkeit daran liegt, du gläubst, dass Brot da sey oder nicht.

Denn wir müssen vielerley Weise und Orden leiden, die ohn Schaden des Glaubens sind. Wo sie aber anders gläubten, wollt ich sie lieber draussen wissen, doch sie unterweisen die Wahrheit.—Die zeitlichen Güter, die der Kirchen gewesen sind, sollten nicht aufs strengest wiedergefodert werden.—25. Die Universitäten dürften auch wohl einer guten starken Reformation.—Was sind die Universitäten,—denn—gymnasia epheborum et graecae gloriae, darinnen ein frey Leben geführt, wenig der heiligen Schrift und christlicher Glaub gelehret wird, und allein der blind heidnisch Meister Aristoteles regiert, auch weiter denn Christus?—Lehret doch der elende Mensch in seinem besten Buch de Anima, dass die Seel sterblich sey mit dem Körper, wiewol Viel mit vergebenen Worten ihn haben wollt erretten.—Desselbigen gleichen das Buch Ethicorum, ärger denn kein Buch, stracks der Gnaden Gottes und christlichen Tugenden entgegen ist, das doch auch der besten eines wird gerechnet.—Das möchte ich gerne leiden, dass Aristotelis Bücher von der Logica, Rhetorica, Poetica behalten, oder sie in ein ander kurze Form bracht, nützlich gelesen würden, junge Leute zu uben, wol reden und predigen. Aber die Comment und Secten müssten abgethan, und gleichwie Ciceronis Rhetorica ohne Comment und Secten, so auch Aristotelis Logica einförmig, ohne solch gross Comment gelesen werden. „Aber jetzt lehret man weder reden, noch predigen daraus, und ist ganz ein Disputation und Muderey daraus worden.—Die Aerzte lasse ich ihre Facultäten reformiren, die Juristen und Theologen nimm ich für mich, und sag zum ersten, dass es gut wäre, das geistlich Recht, von dem ersten Buchstaben bis an den letzten, würd zu Grund ausgetilget, sonderlich die Decretalen.—Das weltlich Recht, hilf Gott, wie ist auch das eine Wildniss worden! wiewol es viel besser, künstlicher und redlicher ist, denn das Geistlich,—so ist sein doch auch viel zu viel worden.—Meine lieben Theologen haben sich aus der Mühe und Erbeit gesetzt, lassen die Biblien wol ruhen, und lesen Sententias. Ich meine, Sententiae sollten der Anfang seyn der jungen Theologen, und die Biblia den Doctoribus bleiben: so ists umkehret, die Biblia ist das erst, die führet mit dem Baccalariat dahin, und Sententiae sind das letzt, die bleiben mit dem Doctorat ewiglich.—Die Bücher müsst man auch wenigern, und erlesen die besten. Denn viel Bücher machen nicht gelehrt, viel lesen auch nicht: sondern gut Ding, und oft lesen, wie wenig sein ist, das macht gelehrt in der Schrift und fromm dazu.—Für allen Dingen sollt in den hohen und niedern Schulen die fürnehmest und gemeinest Lection seyn die heilige Schrift, und den jungen Knaben das Evangelium. Und wollt Gott, ein igliche Stadt hätte noch ein Maidlinschulen, darinnen des Tages die Maidlin ein Stunde das Evangelium höreten."—26. The Pope had unjustly deprived the Greek Emperor of the Roman empire, and given it over to the Germans, but only with a view to bring them under the yoke. "So geb der Papst her Rom und alles was er hat vom Kaiserthum, lass unser Land frey von seinem unerträglichen Schätzen und Schinden, geb wieder unser Freiheit, Gewalt, Gut, Ehre, Leib und Seele, und las ein Kaiserthum seyn, wie einem Kaiserthum gebühret, auf dass seinen Worten und Fürgeben gnug geschehe."—27. On secular faults. Against too costly clothing; excessive use of foreign spices, traffic in tolls, gluttony and drunkenness,

Praeludium de captivitate babylonica Ecclesiae (Oct. 1520),[61] with reference to the Catholic doctrine of sacraments.

common brothels.—Conclusion: "Ich acht auch wol, dass ich hoch gesungen hab, viel Dings fürgeben, dass unmüglich wird angesehen, viel Stück zu scharf angriffen: wie soll ich ihm aber thun? Ich bin es schüldig zu sagen: könnte ich, so wollt ich auch also thun. Es ist mir lieber, die Welt zürne mit mir, denn Gott: man wird mir je nicht mehr, denn das Leben können nehmen. Ich hab bisher vielmal Fried angeboten meinen Widersachern, aber, als ich sehe, Gott hat mich durch sie zwungen, das Maul immer weiter aufzuthun.—Wiewol auch ich weiss, so mein Sach recht ist, dass sie auf Erden muss verdammt, und allein von Christo im Himmel gerechtfertiget werden.—Darum lass nur frisch einhergehen, es sey Papst, Bischofe, Pfaff, Münch oder Gelehrten: sie sind das rechte Volk, die da sollen die Wahrheit verfolgen, wie sie allezeit gethan haben. Gott gebe uns allen einen christlichen Verstand, und sonderlich dem christlichen Adel deutscher Nation einen rechten geistlichen Muth, der armen Kirchen das Beste zu thun, Amen."

[61] T. ii. Jen. f. 259 ss. Fol. 260. b. Principio neganda, mihi sunt *septem Sacramenta*, et tantum *tria* pro tempore ponenda, baptismus, poenitentia, panis, et haec omnia esse per Romanam Curiam nobis in miserabilem captivitatem ducta, Ecclesiamque sua tota libertate spoliatam. Quamquam, si usu scripturae loqui velim, non nisi unum sacramentum habeam, et tria signa sacramentalia. Fol. 262. b. Concludo itaque, negare *utramque speciem* laicis, esse impium et tyrannicum, nec in manu ullius Angeli, nedum Papae et Concilii cujuscunque.—*Prima ergo captivitas* hujus Sacramenti est quoad ejus substantiam seu integritatem. quam nobis abstulit Romana tyrannis. Non quod peccent in Christum, qui una specie utuntur:—sed quod illi peccant, qui hoc arbitrio volentibus uti prohibent utramque dari: culpa non est in laicis sed sacerdotibus.—Itaque non hoc ago, ut vi rapiatur utraque species, quasi necessitate praecepti ad eam cogamur, sed conscientiam instruo, ut patiatur quisque tyrannidem Romanam, sciens sibi raptum per vim jus suum in Sacramento propter peccatum suum. Tantum hoc volo, ne quis Romanam tyrannidem justificet, quasi recte fecerit, unam speciem laicis prohibens, sed detestemur eam, nec consentiamus ei. Tamen feramus eam non aliter, ac si apud Turcam essemus captivi, ubi neutra specie liceret uti.—*Altera captivitas* ejusdem Sacramenti mitior est, quod ad conscientiam spectat, sed quam multo omnium periculosissimum sit tangere, nedum damnare. Hic Viglephista, et sexcentis nominibus haereticus ero. Quid tum? Postquam Romanus Episcopus Episcopus esse desiit, et tyrannus factus est, non formido ejus universa decreta, cujus scio non esse potestatem, articulos novos fidei condendi, nec Concilii quidem generalis. Dedit mihi quondam, cum theologiam scholasticam haurirem, occasionem cogitandi D. Cardinalis Cameracensis libro Sententiarum IV. acutissime disputans, multo probabilius esse, et minus superfluorum miraculorum poni, si in altari verus panis verumque vinum, non autem sola accidentia esse adstruerentur, nisi Ecclesia determinasset contrarium. Postea videns,

quae esset Ecclesia, quae hoc determinasset, nempe Thomistica h. e. Aristotelica, audacior factus sum, et qui inter saxum et sacrum haerebam, tandem stabilivi conscientiam meam sententia priore, esse videlicet verum panem verumque vinum, in quibus Christi vera caro verusque sanguis non aliter nec minus sit, quam illi sub accidentibus suis ponunt. Quod feci, quia vidi Thomistarum opiniones, sive probentur a Papa, sive a Concilio, manere opiniones, nec fieri articulos fidei, etiamsi Angelus de coelo aliud statueret. Nam quod sine Scripturis asseritur, aut revelatione probata, opinari licet, credi non est necesse.—Permitto itaque, qui volet, utramque opinionem tenere; hoc solum nunc ago, ut scrupulos conscientiarum de medio tollam, ne quis se reum haereseos metuat, si in altari verum panem verumque vinum esse crediderit. Sed liberum esse sibi sciat citra periculum salutis alterutrum imaginari, opinari et credere, cum sit hic nulla necessitas fidei. Ego tamen meam nunc prosequor sententiam. —Est autem meae sententiae ratio magna imprimis illa, quod *verbis divinis non est ulla facienda vis*,—sed quantum fieri potest, in simplissima significatione servanda sunt, et nisi manifesta circumstantia cogat, extra grammaticam et propriam accipienda non sunt, ne detur adversariis occasio, universam Scripturam eludendi.—Fol. 264, b. Tertia captivitas ejusdem Sacramenti est longe impiissimus ille abusus, quo factum est, ut fere nihil sit hodie in Ecclesia receptius ac magis persuasum, quam *Missam esse opus bonum et sacrificium*. Qui abusus deinde inundavit infinitos alios abusus, donec fide sacramenti penitus extincta meras nundinas, cauponationes et quaestuarios quosdam contractus e divino Sacramento fecerint. Hinc participationes, fraternitates, suffragia, merita, anniversaria, memoriae, et id genus negotiorum in Ecclesia venduntur, emuntur, paciscuntur, componuntur; pendetque in his universa alimonia sacerdotum et monachorum.—Fol. 265. b. Est itaque Missa secundum substantiam suam proprie nihil aliud, quam verba Christi praedicta: *Accipite et manducate* etc. ac si dicat: ecce o homo peccator et damnatus, ex mera gratuitaque charitate, qua diligo te, sic volente misericordiarum Patre, his verbis promitto tibi, ante omne meritum et votum tuum, remissionem omnium peccatorum tuorum, et vitam aeternam. Et ut certissimus de hac mea promissione irrevocabili sis, corpus meum tradam, et sanguinem fundam; morte ipsa hanc promissionem confirmaturus, et utrumque tibi in signum et memoriale ejusdem promissionis relicturus. Quod cum frequentaveris, mei memor sis, hanc meam in te charitatem et largitatem praedices et laudes, et gratias agas. Ex quibus vides, ad Missam digne habendam aliud non requiri, quam *fidem*, quae huic promissioni fideliter nitatur, Christum in his suis verbis veracem credat, et sibi haec immensa bona esse donata non dubitet. Ad hanc fidem mox sequetur sua sponte dulcissimus affectus cordis, quo dilatatur et impinguatur spiritus hominis (haec est *charitas*, per Spiritum sanctum in fide Christi donata), ut in Christum, tam largum et benignum testatorem, rapiatur, fiatque penitus alius et novus homo.—Quin quod deploramus, in hac captivitate omni studio cavetur hodie, ne verba illa Christi ullus laicus audiat, quasi sacratiora, quam ut vulgo tradi debeant.—Neque enim Deus aliter cum hominibus unquam egit, aut agit, quam *verbo promissionis*. Rursus nec nos cum Deo unquam agere

aliter possumus quam *fide in verbum promissionis* ejus. Opera ille nihil curat, nec eis indiget.—Fol. 268. Unde manifestus et impius error est, *Missam pro peccatis, pro satisfactionibus, pro defunctis aut quibuscunque necessitatibus suis aut aliorum offerre seu applicare.* Quod facillime intelligis esse evidentissime verum, si firmiter teneas, Missam esse promissionem divinam, quae nulli prodesse, nulli applicari, nulli suffragari, nulli communicari potest, nisi ipsi credenti soli propria fide.—Fol. 270. b. De Sacramento baptismi. Ubi virtutem baptismi in parvulis non potuit Satan extinguere, praevaluit tamen, ut in omnibus adultis extingueret, ut jam fere nemo sit, qui sese baptisatum recordetur, nedum glorietur, tot repertis aliis viis remittendorum peccatorum et in coelum veniendi. Praebuit his opinionibus occasionem verbum illud periculosum divi Hieronymi, sive male positum, sive male intellectum, quo poenitentiam appellat secundam post naufragium tabulam, quasi baptismus non sit poenitentia. Hinc enim, ubi in peccatum lapsi fuerint, de primâ tabula seu nave desperantes velut amissa, secundae tantum incipiunt niti et fidere tabulae i.e. poenitentiae. Hinc nata sunt votorum, religionum, operum, satisfactionum, peregrinationum, indulgentiarum, sectarum infinita illa onera, et de iis maria illa librorum, quaestionum, opinionum, traditionum humanarum, quos totus mundus jam non capit, ut incomparabiliter pejus habeat Ecclesiam Dei ea tyrannis, quam unquam habuit Synagogam aut ullam nationem sub coelo.—Fol. 272. b. Baptismus neminem justificat, nec ulli prodest, sed fides in verbum promissionis, cui additur baptismus.—Fol. 273. b. Nunquam fit baptismus irritus, donec desperans redire ad salutem nolueris: aberrare quidem poteris ad tempus a signo, sed non ideo irritum est signum. Ita semel es baptisatus sacramentaliter, sed semper baptisandus fide; semper moriendum, semperque vivendum. Baptismus totum corpus absorbuit, et rursus edidit: ita res baptismi totam vitam tuam cum corpore et animâ absorbere debet, et reddere in novissimo die indutam stola claritatis et immortalitatis.—Hanc gloriam libertatis nostrae, et hanc scientiam baptismi esse hodie captivam, cui possumus referre acceptum, quam uni tyrannidi Romani Pontificis!—Ipse solum id agit, ut suis decretis et juribus opprimat, et in potestatis suae tyrannidem captivos illaqueet. Obsecro, quo jure—Papa super nos constituit leges? Quis dedit ei potestatem captivandae hujus nostrae libertatis per baptismum nobis donatae? Unum, ut dixi, nobis in tota vita agendum est propositum, ut baptisemur i.e. mortificemur et vivamus per fidem Christi, quam et unice doctam oportuit, maxime a summo Pastore. At nunc, tacita fide, infinitis legibus operum et ceremoniarum extincta est Ecclesia, ablata virtus et scientia baptismi, impedita fides Christi. Dico itaque: *neque Papa, neque Episcopus, neque ullus hominum habet jus unius syllabae constituendae super christianum hominem, nisi id fiat ejusdem consensu:* quidquid aliter fit, tyrannico spiritu fit. Ideo orationes, jejunia, donationes, et quaecunque tandem Papa in universis suis decretis, tam multis quam iniquis, statuit et exigit, prorsus nullo jure exigit et statuit, peccatque in libertatem Ecclesiae toties, quoties aliquid horum attentaverit. — Fol. 274. b. Unum hic addo, quod utinam cunctis queam persuadere, i.e, *ut vota prorsus omnia tollerentur* aut vitarentur, sive sint religionum, sive peregrinationum, sive quorumcun-

que operum, maneremusque in libertate religiosissima et operosissima baptismi. Dici non potest, quantum detrahat baptismo, et obscure. scientiam libertatis christianae opinio illa votorum plus nimio celebrist Ut interim taceam infanda etiam eaque infinita pericula animarum, quae vovendi ista libido, inconsultaque temeritas quotidie auget.—Fol. 275. Ego sane non prohibuerim nec repugnaverim, si quis privatim arbitrio suo quippiam velit vovere, ne vota penitus contemnam aut damnem, sed publicum vitae genus hinc statui et confirmari, omnino dissuaserim. Fol. 275. b. Quare consulo primum magnatibus Ecclesiarum, ut omnia ista vota seu vitas votariorum tollant, vel non probent et exfollant.—Nulli suadeo, imo omnibus dissuadeo ingressum cujuscunque religionis aut sacerdotii, nisi sit ea scientia praemunitus, ut intelligat, opera quantumlibet sacra et ardua religiosorum et sacerdotum in oculis Dei prorsus nihil distare ab operibus rustici in agro laborantis aut mulieris in domo sua curantis; sed sola fide omnia apud eum mensurari.—Ex his duos insignes errores Romani Pontificis cognoscimus. Prior, quod dispensat in votis, facitque id, quasi solus prae omnibus Christianis habeat auctoritatem.—Si enim votum dispensari potest, quilibet frater cum proximo, et ipse secum dispensare potest.—Posterior, quod rursus decernit, matrimonium dirimi, si alter altero etiam invito monasterium ingrediatur nondum consummato matrimonio. Fol. 276. b. De Sacramento poenitentiae: Primum hujus Sacramenti et capitale malum est, quod Sacramentum ipsum in totum aboleverunt, ne vestigio quidem ejus relicto. Nam cum et ipsum, sicut et alia duo, constet verbo promissionis divinae et fide nostra, utrumque subverterunt. Nam verbum promissionis, ubi Christus dicit Matth. 16. Quodcunque ligaveris etc.,—quibus provocatur fides poenitentium pro remissione peccatorum impetranda, suae tyrannidi aptaverunt. Universis enim suis libris, studiis, sermonibus non hoc egerunt, ut docerent, quid Christianis in his verbis promissum esset, quid credere deberent, et quantum consolationis haberent, sed quam late, longe, profunde ipsi potentia et violentia tyrannisarent.— Non hoc contenta Babylonia nostra fidem quoque adeo extinxit, ut impudenti fronte eam negaret necessariam esse in Sacramento isto, imo antichristica impietate definiret, haeresim esse, si fidem necessariam quis esse assereret.—Obliteratis itaque ac subversis, promissione et fide, videamus, quid substituerint in locum earum. Tres partes dederunt poenitentiae, contritionem, confessionem, satisfactionem, sed sic, ut in singulis si quid boni inesset tollerent, et in eisdem quoque suam libidinem et tyrannidem constituerent. He repeats here what he had already taught in the Sermon on Indulgence and Grace (see note 13 above), Resolutiones disput. concl. 26. 7. (note 22). Sermon on the Sacrament of Penance (note 36). Then he treats one after another of the other Sacraments, and shows that they are not founded on the word of God, but inventions of men. With regard to marriage he inveighs fol. 280 against arbitrary impediments to marriage, and fol. 281 against separation without dissolution of the marriage. Fol. 284 de Sacramento extremae unctionis. With regard to the principal passage in support of it James v. 14: Ego autem dico, si uspiam deliratum est, hoc loco praecipue deliratum est. Omitto enim, quod hanc epistolam non esse Apostoli Jacobi, nec apostolico spiritu dignam, multi valde probabiliter asserant, licet consue-

The Bull of condemnation[62] against Luther which was prepared in Rome on the 15th June 1520, appeared yet the more the organ of personal hatred, from the fact that Dr Eck was entrusted

tudine auctoritatem, cujuscunque sit, obtinuerit. Tamen si etiam esset Apostoli Jacobi, dicerem, non licere Apostolum sua auctoritate sacramentum instituere, i. e. divinam promissionem cum adjuncto signo dare. Hoc enim ad Christum solum pertinebat.—Nusquam autem legitur in Evangelio unctionis istius extremae sacramentum. Sed missa faciamus, et ista Apostoli, sive quisque fuerit epistolae auctor, ipsa videamus verba, et simul videbimus, quam nihil ea observaverint, qui sacramenta auxerunt.—Cur faciunt ipsi extremam et singularem unctionem ex ea, quam Apostolus voluit esse generalem?—Absolute dicit: *si quis infirmatur*, non dicit: *si quis moritur*.—Apostolus in hoc ungi et orari praecipit, ut infirmus sanetur et allevietur:—illi contra dicunt, non esse dandam unctionem, nisi discessuris h. e. ut non sanentur et allevientur.—Ulterius si unctio ista sacramentum est, debet sine dubio esse, ut dicunt, efficax signum ejus, quod signat et promittit. At sanitatem et restitutionem infirmi promittit:—quis autem non videt, hanc promissionem in paucis, imo nullis impleri?—Quare hanc unctionem eandem ego esse arbitror, quae Marci VI de Apostolis scribitur: *et ungebant oleo multos aegrotos, et sanabant:* ritum scilicet quendam primitivae Ecclesiae, quo miracula faciebant super infirmis, qui jamdudum deficit.—Jacobus—promissionem sanitatis et remissionis peccatorum non tribuit unctioni, sed orationi fidei.—Prorsus non est dubium, si hodie quoque talis oratio fieret super infirmum, i. e. a senioribus, gravioribus et sanctis viris, plena fide, sanari quotquot vellemus. Fides enim quid non posset?—Fol. 285. b. Sunt praeterea nonnulla alia, quae inter sacramenta videantur censeri posse, nempe omnia illa, quibus facta est promissio divina, qualia sunt oratio, verbum, crux.—Proprie tamen ea sacramenta vocari visum est, quae annexis signis promissa sunt. Quo fit, ut, si rigide loqui volumus, tantum duo sint in Ecclesia Dei sacramenta, Baptismus et Panis, cum in his solis et institutum divinitus signum et promissionem remissionis peccatorum videamus. Nam poenitentiae sacramentum, quod ego his duobus accensui, signo visibili et divinitus instituto caret, et aliud non esse dixi, quam viam ac reditum ad baptismum. Conclusion Fol.286: Auditum audio, paratas esse denuo in me bullas et diras papisticas, quibus ad revocationem urgear, aut haereticus declarer. Quae si vera sunt hunc libellum volo partem esse revocationis meae futurae, ne suam tyrannidem frustra inflatam querantur. Reliquam partem propediem editurus sum talem Christo propitio, qualem hactenus non viderit nec audierit Romana sedes, obedientiam meam abunde testaturus in nomine Domini nostri Jesu Christi, Amen.

[62] Exurge, Domine in Raynaldus ann. 1520. no. 51. and elsewhere. At the end of this year Hutten publisht it with some bitter comments: they may be found with the Bull T. I. Jen. fol. 474. Huttens Werke von Münch IV., 1. Luther's works from which 41 articles were condemned as heretical, were to be burnt, Luther and his adherents were to recant within 60 days, or else suffer according to the

existing laws against heretics. Compare the letter of a Roman in Jan. 1521 in Riederers Nachrichten zur Kirchen, Gelehrten u. Büchergeschichte 1, 179: Scias, neminem Romae esse, si saltem sapiat, qui non certo certius sciat, et cognoscat, Martinum in plurimis veritatem dicere: verum boni ob tyrannidis metum dissimulant, mali vero, quia veritatem audire coguntur, insaniunt. Inde illorum oritur indignatio pariter et metus, valde enim timent, ne res latius serpat. Haec causa fuit, cur Bulla tam atrox emanaverit, multis bonis et prudentibus viris reclamantibus, qui suadebant, maturius consulendum, et Martino potius modestia et rationibus, quam detestationibus occurrendum esse.—Sed vicit indignatio et metus: asserebant enim factionis ejusce principes, non decere Rom. Pont. unicuique vilissimo homunculo rationem reddere debere, sed potius contra pertinaces vi utendum esse, ne ceteri quoque similia auderent Adducebant Jo. Hus et discipulum ejus *Hieronymum*, quorum poenam multos a simili hucusque temeritate deterruisse ajebant. Nisi igitur Martinus eadem via coërceretur, procul dubio multos similia ausuros. Fuere autem consilii hujus principaliores Cardinalis Cajetanus, parum Germanis favens, quia, ut ipse putabat, non tam honorifice, ut decebat, ab iis susceptus et muneratus fuisset.—Compertum igitur se habere dicebat, nisi igne et gladio Germani compescerentur, omnino jugum Rom. Ecclesiae excussuros. Accedebat Sylvester ille Prierias, et tota Praedicatorum factio, praecipue Capnionis inimici, qui nimiam Pontificis bonitatem incusabant, asserentes, si pridem Capnionis ausibus via regali obviasset, nunquam Martinum talia fuisse ausurum, hacque occasione sententiam contra libellum *Capnionis* extorserunt, quamvis paulo ante Pontifex quosdam exhortatus fuisset, ut Talmut imprimerent, ac ideo privilegiis exornasset.—Colonienses quoque ac Lovanienses, nec non plerique alii theologi Germani clanculum quotidie causam sollicitabant, omnimodam victoriam promittentes, uti tantum Romana signa (h. e. bullae plumbatae terribiles) fulsissent, sed et Principes quosdam Germanos talia quoque procurasse dicunt.—Super omnia vero mercator ille Fuckerus, qui plurimum ob pecunias Romae potest, utpote quem numorum regem vocare solent, Pontificem et suae factionis homines exacerbavit, non tantum invidia ductus, sed etiam de quaestu suo ac beneficiorum mercatura sollicitus, plurimorum Principum favorem Pontifici promittens, ubi vim contra Martinum intentaret, ac ejusce rei causa Eckium illum suum Romam misit, non ineptum Curiae Rom. instrumentum, si temulentia abesset: nam temeritate, audacia, mendaciis, simulatione, adulatione et caeteris vitiis Curiae aptis egregie pollet. Verum sola obstabat ebrietas, Italis, ut nosti, perquam odiosa, sed et hanc favor et potentia Fuckeri conciliavit, et in virtutem convertit, nec defuere, qui illi applauderent, nil magis Germanos temulentos, quam temulentum decere legatum, asserentes, temeritatemque temeritate retundendam esse dicentes. Cumque collega sibi quaereretur similis, ad Alexandrum tandem deventum est, egregium profecto Oratorum par, et causae perquam conveniens, impudentiaque, temeritate et vitae flagitiis simile. Nemo enim bonus, imo nemo sanae mentis Germanae nationis tale onus suscepisset, et si qui erant, qui forsitan libenter suscepissent, timore tamen et periculi magnitudine deterrebantur. Fuit impedimento sub initium Alexandro genus judaicum, sed et illud cum ebrietate Eckii compensatum fuit.—Omnes igitur nervos Pontifex cum suis in-

with the publication of it,[63] and arbitrarily extended its application to several of Luther's friends distinguisht by name.[64] In Germany the Bull was received with an almost universal antipathy, in some places with resistance.[65] The elector Frederick

tendet, ut Lutherum perdat, ac ejus doctrinam, tanquam Rom. Curiae, non Christianis, perniciosam extinguat, et, ni fallor, in regio isto vestro conventu (Diet of Worms) nil potius, quam de Luthero, tractabitur, qui nobis plus obesse videtur, quam Turcus. Sollicitabitur igitur aetas Caesaris minis, precibus, blanditiisque fictis. Sollicitabuntur Germani laudibus majorum, muneribus et promissis.—Quod si minus haec succedent, Caesarem deponemus, populos a subjectione debita liberabimus: alium, qui nobis placet, in locum suum eligemus, seditionem inter Germanos, quemadmodum nunc inter Hispanos, concitabimus; Gallum, Anglum et omnes terrae Reges ad arma convocabimus, ac nihil praetermittemus, quod antecessores nostri contra Caesares et Reges non infeliciter facere consueverunt: tantum ut voti compotes evadere valeamus, nihil pensi apud nos erit, non Christus, neque fides, pietas, honestas, probitas, dummodo tyrannis nostra sit salva.

[63] See Walch XV, 1675. J. B. Riederers Beytrag zu den Reformationisurkunden betr. die Händel, welche D. Eck bey Publication der päpstl. Bulle wider den sel. D. Luther i. J. 1520 erreget hat, aus grösstentheils ungedruckten Nachrichten herausgegeben. Altdorf 1762. 4. (under the new title Geschichte der durch Publ. d. päpstl. Bulle wider D. M. L. i. J. 1520 erregten Unruhen. Altdorf u. Nürnberg 1776. 4.) Supplemental matter may be seen in Riederers Nachrichten, 1, 167. 318. 438. 11, 54. 179. 321. On the haughtiness of Eck's demeanour see Erasmi responsio nervosa ad Albertum Pium ann. 1529 in v. d. Hardt hist. lit. reform. 1, 169: Plus invidiae conflavit pontificio nomini Cajetani libellus nimis officiose scriptus, quam Lutheri convicia. Nec parum offecit ejus opinioni διπλωματοφόρος ille (Eck), tam insolenter se gerens, doctis ac magis (*magnis ?*) etiam minitans, et omnia suis fumis complens. Dixit apud me: *Pontifex Romanus tot duces, tot comites saepe dejecit, facile dejiciet tres pediculosos grammatistas.* Idem alias dixit: *Pontifex potest dicere Caesari Carolo: tu es cerdo.* Utrum hoc est tueri pontificii nominis dignitatem, an sinistre praedicando in odium pertrahere? Hujus collega (Jerome Aleander) dixit apud me: *bene inveniemus illum ducem Federicum;* idque prorsus eo vultu, quo solent tetrici literatores pueris minari virgas. Even Pallavicini hist. Conc. Trid. lib. 1. cap. 20 blames the choice of Eck for the publication of the Bull.

[64] To Carlstadt and Dolscius in Wittenberg, John Sylvius Egranus, pastor in Zwickau, Bernhard Adelmann v. Adelmannsfelden, canon of Augsburg, Bilibald Pirkheimer and Lazarus Spengler at Nurenberg.

[65] Compare Miltitz's letter to the elector Frederick d. Leipzic Wednesday after Michaelmas 1520. (at the end of Tentzels hist. Bericht v. d. Ref. Lutheri herausgeg. v. Cyprian Th. 1. S. 439): "Erhub mich ken Leipzk zu reiten, also fund ich Doctorem Echium mit einem grossem Geschrey und Pochen, underliess nicht, bat ihn zu Gast, zu erfahren, was sein Fürnehmen und Wille wäre. He traugt flugs und

leichtfertig, hub an von seinen Befehlen zu reden, wie he Doctorem Martinum lernen wulde, wit sihrn spitzen Worten saget, dass he hätt die bäbestliche Bulle zu Meissen am XXIten Tage Sept., zu Mersburg am XXV., zu Brandenburg am XXIX. publiciren und anschlagen lassen. —Nicht angesehen das Geleit und seine Bulle haben gute fromme Kinder itzo die Michaelis an 10 Orten angeschlagen, welches ich Ew. Churf. Gn. och ein Copia zuschicke, und dorneben gedraut, dass Echius hat mussen ins Closter zum Paulern fliegen, und darf sich nicht schauen lassen.—Sie haben ein Lied von ihm gemacht, und singens uf der Gassen. He ist hoch bekommert, der Muth und das Pochen ist ihm geleget, man schribt ihm alle Tage sintz briff in Closter, und sagen ihm Leibes und Guts ab. Es sind och über 50 Studenten von Wittenberg do, die sich unnütz machen uf ihn.—Ich hab Echio gesaget, dass he Unrecht gethan hat, die Bulle zu publiciren, dieweile die Sache in einer gütlichen friedlichen Handlung mit ihm gestanden ; sullt billig mir vor geschrieben haben, was ich in der Sachen gehandelt hätt, zu forsteien. Schweig he stille, und ersoftzte, dass ihm led dobey ist. Ich kanns Ew. Churf. Gn. nicht schreiben, wie grausam man wider ihn ist. Ich hab gross Sorg, der Salvoconduct wird nicht helfen, he wird derschlagen." Soon after he wrote (ibid. S. 453): "Eckius ist zu Leipzig entrunnen in der Nacht uf Freiburg zu, und die Stadtknecht zu Leipzig reiten mit den Bullen im Land um." At Erfurt a handbill appeared (see Riederers Eine überaus seltene Reformatiosurkunde, intimatio Erphurdiana pro M. Luther Altkorf 1761, also in the Neuen Beyträgen von theolog. Sachen 1761. S. 520): Conclusum est, optimi lectores, longa post consilia impia et haeretica ab impiis quibusdam Scribis et Pharisaeis—contra M. Lutherum, theologum acutissimum ; ita ut jam inspirante diabolo affigendae sint literae publico conspectui, quibus praefati Luciferiani nuntii etiam excommunicando dictum Martinum ultra Tartara detrudere conantur. Nos vero almae Universitatis Magistri, Baccalaurii, theologicae veritatis professores—docemus et profitemur praesentium tenore, Martinum—bene et prorsus christiane hucusque scripsisse. Quamobrem vos omnes et singuli, nostrae dictae Universitatis gremiales, qui veritatem Christi—amatis,—consurgite, agite animosius in verbo Christi,—defendendo, pugiles resistite, reclamate, immo manibus pedibusque rabidissimis illius Martini praedicti obtrectatoribus—repugnate. Verum quo pacto repugnandum sit, animadvertite. Quam primum tyrannica illa et plus quam diabolica excommunicatio papistica, licet injustissima, adversus innocentem Martinum et ejus adhaerentes valvis nostris affixa fuerit, turmatim—accedite, has ipsas daemonisticas excommunicationes in minimas particulas dilacerantes, discerpite, in altisissimis veritatis zelatorem, Christum inquam, confidentes.—Insuper et exhortamur in domino Jesu Christo,—quatenus illam impiam et haereticam, Ecciana factione excogitatam bullam Papisticam—variis depingatis coloribus etiam nominatim scriptis perstringatis :—decernentes, omnes illos insectandos, qui maxima ducti impudentia—de publico suggestu clamarunt Lutherum haereticum fore, Hussitarumque erroris protestatorem, uti mentitus est impius Eccius, et Augustinus Alfeldianus, Pharisaeorum duces caet. Even the University of Ingoldstadt hesitated about the publication of the Bull, and did not adopt it till after repeated summons from Eck, see Winter's

the wise, to whom it was presented at Cologne in the beginning of November,[66] confirmed in his intention by an interview with Erasmus,[67] persisted in his demand for an impartial investigation,

Gesch. d. Evangel. Lehre in Baiern (München) 1809) i., 54 ff. Many Bishops likewise, and among them especially the Bishop of Freisingen hesitated for sometime, ibid. S. 58.

[66] With regard to the transactions of the two Papal legates Marinus Caracciolus and Jerome Aleander with the elector compare the account of the eye-witness, Henrici Zutphaniensis brevis commemoratio rerum Colonia gestarum in causa Lutheri 1520 in T. ii. Jen. p. 314 b. (compare on this point Frick in Seckendorfs Historie des Lutherthums. S. 280. 290. 310) and Spalatini annales Reformationis herausgeg. von Cyprian. S. 11 ss.

[67] With regard to this see the annales. p. 28. ss. of the eye-witness Spalatin. Erasmus being askt for his opinion by the elector, declared: Lutherus peccavit in duobus, nempe quod tetigit coronam Pontificis et ventres monachorum. Erasmus gave Spalatin some axiomata on the point; he soon askt for them back again; but not long after they appeared in print (T. ii. Jen. fol. 314): Fons rei malus est, odium bonarum literarum, et affectatio tyrannidis. Modus agendi fonti respondet clamoribus, conjurationibus, acerbis odiis, virulentis scriptis. Personae, per quas res agitur, suspectae.—Quod Pontificis facilitate quidam abutuntur, notum est.—Res ad majus discrimen spectat, quam quidam existimant. Bullae saevitia probos omnes offendit, ut indigna mitissimo Christi vicario.—Lutherus videtur omnibus aequis aequum petere, cum offerat se disputationi publicae, et submittat se judicibus non suspectis. —Lutherus nihil ambit, ideo minus suspectus.—Videtur in rem Pontificis, ut res per graves et non suspectos viros maturo consilio componatur: ita optime consuletur Pontificis dignitati. Qui hactenus scripserunt contra Lutherum, improbantur etiam a theologis, qui alias Luthero adversantur. Mundus sitit veritatem evangelicam et fatali quodam desiderio videtur huc ferri. Unde forte adeo non oportet odiose resisti. About the same time (not 1519) Erasmus gave the Emperor and several peers of the realm an opinion upon Luther's case (v. d. Hardt. hist. lit. ref. 1, 104), in which he also proposes impartial arbitrators from different nations, or a general council for the settlement of the question. This opinion, in consequence of a manuscript observation of Vadianus, has been attributed by many writers to Zwingli (Zwingli's Leben v. Usteri. S. 375. Wirz neuere helvet. Kirchengeschich. 1, 185), and is accordingly adopted into Zvinglii opp. ed Schuler et Schulthess iii. 1: However, this is certainly an error. The whole style is that of Erasmus: it agrees with his proposals elsewhere (compare Erasmi ep. ad Peutingerum d. 9. Nov. 1520. Ed. Lugd. iii. 1, 590, note 94 below): At the conclusion, the author had written a summis principibus et profanis et ecclesiasticis invitatus, which harmonizes with Erasmus only. The conjecture in Zvinglii opp. l. c. p. 2 is equally erroneous, that the Apologia Christi Dom. nostri pro M. Luthero ad urbem Romam, which likewise belongs to this period (see Kapps

Miltitz's fresh attempt at a reconciliation at Lichtenberg (11th Oct. 1520)[68] had for its only result, that Luther sent to the Pope a letter full of bitter truth,[69] together with his work de libertate christiana; in which he unfolded with lofty enthusiasm the long forgotten fundamental doctrines of Christianity.[70] But when the

Nachlese ii. 480), is also to be attributed to Zwingli, because it is found in one edition at the end of this Consilium. It is by Hutten (Kapp ibid. s. 497).

[68] See on this point Miltitz's letter to the Elector of the 14th Oct., publisht by Cyprian after Tentzel's hist. Bericht s. 449 in Walch xv. 949; and Luther's letter to Spalatin in de Wette 1, 496.

[69] After his conference with Miltitz, antedated the 6th. Sept., de Wette 1, 497. E. g. Quare, optime Leo, his me literis rogo expurgatum admittas, tibique persuadeas, me nihil unquam de persona tua mali cogitasse: deinde me talem esse, qui tibi optima velim contingere in aeternum.—Sedem autem tuam, quae Curia Romana dicitur, quam neque tu neque ullus hominum potest negare corruptiorem esse quavis Babylone et Sodoma,—sane detestatus sum, indigneque tuli, sub tuo nomine et praetextu Romanae Ecclesiae ludi Christi populum: atque ita restiti, resistamque, dum spiritus fidei in me vixerit.—Facta est e Rom. Ecclesia, quondam omnium sanctissima, spelunca latronum licentiosissima, lupanar omnium impudentissimum, regnum peccati, mortis et inferni, ut ad malitiam quod accedat, jam cogitari non possit, ne Antichristus quidem si venerit. Interim tu, Leo, sicut agnus in medio luporum sedes, sicut Daniel in medio leonum, et cum Ezechiele inter scorpiones habitas. Quid his monstris unus opponas? Adde tibi eruditissimos et optimos Cardinales tres aut quatuor, quid hi inter tantos? ante veneno omnibus pereundum vobis, quam de remedio statuere praesumeretis. Actum est de Romana Curia, pervenit in eam ira Dei usque in finem.—Palinodiam ut canam, b. P., non est quod ullus praesumat, nisi malit adhuc majore turbine causam involvere. Deinde leges interpretandi verbi Dei non patior, cum oporteat verbum Dei esse non alligatum, quod libertatem docet omnium aliorum. His duobus salvis nihil est, quod non facere et pati possim, ac libentissime velim. Contentiones odi, neminem provocabo, sed provocari rursus nolo: provocatus autem Christo magistro elinguis non ero. Poterit enim T. B. brevi et facili verbo, contentionibus istis ad se vocatis et extinctis, silentium et pacem utrinque mandare, id quod semper audire desideravi. When Miltitz sent a copy of this letter to Wilib. Pirkheimer, he wrote to him (Erfurt, Friday after Martinmas 1520, in Riederers Nachrichten 1, 170): "Es gehet uber uns Geistlichen, Gott weiss wo es naus will: mir ist noch lieb, dass ich nicht also hart ferbunden bin geistlich zu werden, dass ich noch mag zurücktreten."

[70] T. I. Jen. fol. 435. b. (Luther had publisht before in 1520 a shorter work in German, "Sermon von der Freyheit eines Christenmenschen," in Walch xix. 1206): Constat, nullam prorsus rerum externarum, quocunque censeantur nomine, aliquid habere momenti ad justitiam aut libertatem Christianam;—animam posse omnibus rebus

publication of the Bull was still continued, he declared it a work of antichrist,[71] renewed his appeal to a general council, and at

carere excepto verbo Dei, sine quo nullis prorsus rebus est illi consulendum.—Quaeres autem: quodnam est verbum hoc, aut qua arte utendum est eo, cum tam multa sint verba Dei? Respondeo: Apostolus Paulus Rom. 1 id explicat, scil. Evangelium Dei de Filio suo incarnato, passo, resuscitato, et glorificato per Spiritum sanctificatorem.—Fides sola est salutaris et efficax usus verbi Dei.—Verum haec fides subsistere prorsus non potest cum operibus, h. e. si per opera, quaecunque sunt, simul justificari praesumas.—Quare cujuslibet Christiani prima cura esse debet, ut posita operum opinione solam fidem magis ac magis roboret.—Haec est christiana illa libertas, fides nostra, quae facit, non ut otiosi simus, aut male vivamus, sed ne cuiquam opus sit lege aut operibus ad justitiam et salutem. Haec prima fidei virtus esto, alteram quoque videamus. Fidei enim et hoc officium est, ut eum, cui credit, omnium piissima et summa colat opinione.—Tertia fidei gratia incomparabilis est haec, quod animam copulat cum Christo, sicut sponsam cum sponso.—Sequitur et omnia eorum communia fieri tam bona quam mala: fiet, ut Christi sint peccata, mors et infernus, animae vero gratia, vita et salus.—Bona opera non faciunt bonum virum, sed bonus vir facit bona opera; ita ut semper oporteat ipsam substantiam seu personam esse bonam ante omnia opera bona, et opera bona sequi et provenire ex bona persona.

[71] At first Luther declared the genuineness of the Bull to be incredible in his work "Von den neuen Eckischen Bullen und Lügen," in Walch xv. 1674. Here he says with reference to Huss, s. 1683: "Ich sage zum ersten, dass ich leider zu Leipzig in der Disputation nicht hatte gelesen Johann Huss, ich wollte sonst nicht etliche, sondern alle Artikel, zu Costnitz verdammt, gehalten haben; wie ich sie denn noch jetzt halte, nachdem ich desselben Johann Huss, hochverständigen, edles christliches Büchlein, desgleichen in vierhundert Jahren nicht ist geschrieben, habe gelesen, welches auch nun durch göttlichen Rath in Druck ausgangen, die Warhheit zu bezeugen, und alle die in öffentliche Schande zu setzen, die es verdammt haben. Es sind nicht Johannis Huss Artikel, sondern Christi, Pauli, Augustini, aufs allerstärkste gegründet, und unwiderstösslich bewähret, wie das alle müssen bekennen, die dasselbe lesen. Ach wollte Gott, ich wäre sein würdig, auch um solcher Artikel willen verbrennt, zurissen, zutrieben werden aufs allerschmählichste, wie es Doctor Lügener selbst erdenken könnte, und dass eines tausend Hälse kostete, sie müssten alle heran." Early in November appeared the work adversus execrabilem Antichristi bullam. T. ii. Jen. fol. 286. b. in January 1521: Assertio omnium articulorum M. Lutheri per bullam Leonis X. novissimam damnatorum, T. ii. Jen. fol. 292, which letter he soon afterwards publisht in German also: "Grund und Ursach aller Artikel, so durch die römische Bulle unrechtlich verdammt worden," in Walch xv. 1752 (he gives his opinion on this point against Spalatin, 21 Jan. in de Wette i. 545: vernacula Assertio melior est, quam sit latina.)

length on the 10th December 1520[72] formally abjured the Papal see, and at the same time publicly burnt the Bull, together with the books of the Papal law.[73] A fresh Bull of the 3d January 1521,[74] pronounced upon Luther and his adherents sentence of excommunication, with all the penalties enforced against heretics, and of interdict upon their place of residence; the Papal legate Aleander, at the diet of Worms, called in the secular arm to the execution of the decree.[75] But so greatly were circumstances

[72] On the 17th Nov. 1520. T. ii. Jen. fol. 257. First he recites his former appeal (see note 30) then he renews it by appealing ad futurum Concilium a praedicto Leone, primum tanquam ab iniquo, temerario, tyrannicoque judice, in hoc quod me non convictum nec ostensis causis aut informationibus mera potestate judicat. Secundo tanquam ab erroneo, indurato, per Scripturas sanctas damnato haeretico et apostata, in hoc quod mihi mandat fidem catholicam in Sacramentis necessariam abnegare. Tertio tanquam ab hoste, adversario, Antichristo, oppressore totius sacrae Scripturae, in hoc quod propriis, meris, nudisque verbis suis agit contra verba divinae Scripturae sibi adducta. Quarto tanquam a blasphemo, superbo contemptore Ecclesiae Dei, et legitimi Concilii.—Quocirca oro suppliciter—Carolum Imp., Electores Imperii, —et quidquid est christiani magistratus totius Germaniae, velint pro redimenda catholica veritate,—pro libertate et jure legitimi Concilii, mihi meaeque appellationi adhaerere, Papae incredibilem insaniam aversari, tyrannidi ejus impiissimae resistere, aut saltem quiescere, et bullae ejusmodi executionem omittere et differre, donec legitime vocatus, per aequos judices auditus, et Scripturis dignisque documentis convictus fuero. See Carlstadt's Appeal of the 19th Oct. 1520, in the Unschuldigen Nachrichten 1719. S. 5 ff.

[73] See Exustionis antichristianarum decretalium acta. T. ii. Jen. fol. 320. He threw the Bull into the fire with the words: quia tu conturbasti sanctum Domini, ideoque te conturbet ignis aeternus. And declared to his hearers on the next day in the College: nisi toto corde dissentiatis a regno Papali, non potestis assequi vestrarum animarum salutem. Soon after appeared Luther's work: Quare Pontificis Romani et discipulorum ejus libri a Doctore M. Luthero combusti sint, Latin and German, T. ii. Jen. fol. 316 b. Walch xv. 1927.

[74] In Bzovius ad h. a. Pfaff hist. theol. literaria. T. ii. p. 55. Gerdesii hist. reform. T. ii. Monum. p. 15.

[75] With regard to the previous negotiations between the Emperor and the Pope, see Ranke's deutsche Gesch. im Zeitalter d. Ref. i. 470. With reference to Aleander and his hatred of the Germans, see the notices of the cotemporary Jacobus Ziegler in Schelhornii amoenitates hist. eccl. et liter. ii. 351. His speech before the diet of the Empire is abridged in Seckendorf comm. de Lutheranismo p. 149, compare especially the Geschichte der Nunciatur Hier. Aleanders auf dem Reichstage zu Worms 1521, in Münters vermischten Beyträgen zur Kirchengeschichte, Copenh. 1798. S. 48 ff. with extracts from Aleander's despatches to Rome.

altered by the prevailing excitement, that the diet determined first to hear the men condemned by the Pope, and at the same time drew up 101 grievances against the Roman see.[76] Luther proceeded with the Emperor's safe conduct[77] to Worms,[78] welcomed everywhere on the way with great respect and sympathy; here he testified before the Emperor and the Empire, 18. April 1521, that he could not recant.[79] His heaven-sent courage

[76] In Kapp's Nachlese iii. 240. Walch xv. 2058.

[77] In the imperial letters T. ii. Jen. fol. 411. b. to the great mortification of the nuncio Luther was styled: Honorabilis, dilecte, devote.

[78] The letters in which he exprest his readiness to go to Worms, furnish noble examples of his heaven-sent courage, in de Wette i. 534, 548, 573 ff. From Frankfort he wrote to Spalatin, who was then at Worms, 14. April, S. 586: Venimus, mi Spalatine, etsi non uno morbo me Satan impedire molitus sit. Tota enim hac via ab Isenaco usque huc langui (compare Myconii hist. reform. publisht by Cyprian S. 38), et adhuc langueo, incognitis mihi antehac modis. Sed et mandatum Caroli (the interim decree against the issue of Luther's books) esse in terrorem mei evulgatum intelligo. Verum Christus vivit, et intrabimus Wormatiam invitis omnibus portis inferni et potestatibus aëris.

[79] Acta Rev. Patris D. M. Lutheri coram S. Caesarea Majestate, Principibus Electoribus, et Imperii Ordinibus in Comitiis Principum Wormatiae, T. ii. Jen. fol. 411. b., in German of the same date, Walch xv. 2297. Besides there are two accounts by eye-witnesses; by Laz. Spengler, see Spengleriana, collected by M. M. Mayer, Nürnberg, 1830. 16. S. 13 ff., and Spalatin's Annalen S. 38 ff. Compare also Luther's own account in the Table Talk, Walch xxii. 2026. There is nothing extraordinary in the fact that Luther when required unconditionally to revoke the contents of his works, askt for a time of consideration till the day following. He was not prepared for such a requisition, but only for an investigation and defence of his statements; the emperor's letter of summons stands thus: conclusimus propter doctrinam et libros—abs te editos scrutinium de te sumere. But it is clear that he could not unconditionally refuse the unexpected recantation required of him, with reference to the whole tenor of his works, which even then contained many matters of personal interest; and so he naturally perceived the necessity of solemn consideration, whether he could recall anything. His answer on the next day was (Acta fol. 413): Rogo, Serenissima Majestas Vestra et Dominationes Vestrae dignentur animum advertere, libros meos non esse omnes ejusdem generis. Sunt enim aliqui, in quibus pietatem fidei et morum adeo simpliciter et evangelice tractavi, ut ipsimet adversarii cogantur eos confiteri utiles, innoxios, et plane dignos lectione christiana. Si itaque hos revocare inciperem, obsecro quid facerem, nisi quod unus ex omnibus mortalibus eam veritatem damnarem, quam amici et inimici pariter confitentur? Alterum genus est, quod in Papatum et doctrinam Papistarum invehitur tanquam in eos, qui suis et doctrinis et exemplis pessimis orbem christianum utroque malo, et spiritus et corporis, vastaverint. Si igitur

made a deep impression: but the existing constitution was too powerful: after he had been dismissed in safety the Ban of the empire[80] was past against him and his adherents on the 26th of May. In order to protect him therefrom, the elector had him

et hos revocavero, nihil aliud praestitero, quam ut tyrannidi robur adjecero, et tantae impietati jam non fenestras, sed valvas aperuero:— praesertim si jactatum fuerit, id a me factum auctoritateSerenissimae Majestatis Vestrae, totiusque Romani Imperii. Tertium genus eorum est, quos in aliquos privatos et singulares (ut vocant) personas scripsi, eos scilicet, qui et tyrannidem Romanam tueri et pietatem a me doctam labefactare moliti sunt. In hos confiteor me fuisse acerbiorem, quam pro religione aut professione deceat. Neque enim me sanctum aliquem facio, neque de vita mea, sed de doctrina Christi disputo. Neque hos revocare integrum est mihi, quod ea revocatione iterum futurum sit, ut tyrannis et impietas meo patrocinio regnent et saeviant in populum Dei violentius, quam unquam regnaverint. Then he demanded an examination of his doctrine: paratissimus enim ero, si edoctus fuero, quemcunque errorem revocare, eroque primus, qui libellos meos in ignem projiciam. When it was now indicated to him, that here there would be no disputation, but that he had only to declare simply whether he would recant or not; he replied: Quando ergo Scr. Majestas Vestra, Dominationesque Vestrae simplex responsum petunt, dabo illud neque cornutum, neque dentatum, in hunc modum: Nisi convictus fuero testimoniis Scripturarum, aut ratione evidente (nam neque Papae, neque Conciliis solis credo, cum constet eos errasse saepius, et sibi ipsis contradixisse); victus sum Scripturis a me adductis, captaque est conscientia in verbis Dei, revocare neque possum, neque volo quidquam, cum contra conscientiam agere neque tutum sit neque integrum. Hie stehe ich, ich kann nicht anders, Gott helf mir, Amen."

[80] Foreign princes also were presst for the suppression of the Lutheran heresy, see the letter of Emmanuel, king of Portugal, to the elector Frederick dd. XI. Kal Maji 1521 edited by Cyprian in Tentzel's hist. Bericht Th. 2. S. 213, and the letter of Henry king of England, to the Emperor, 20. May 1521 ibid. S. 222. One principal motive was the league concluded on the 8th of May between the Emperor and the Pope against France, the 16th article of which was intended against the new heresy, see Dumont iv. iii. Suppl. p. 98. The so called edict of Worms (to be seen in German in Walch xv. 2264, in Latin in Gerdesii hist. Reform. ii. Monum. p. 34), dated the 8th of May, but not actually issued till the 26th (see the Emperor's letter with which the edict was sent to the princes in Neudecker's Urkunden aus der Reformationszeit S. 1.) was drawn up by Aleander, Pallavicini lib. i. c. 28. Münter's Beyträge zur K. G. S. 101. Much discontent was caused at Rome by the observance of the safe conduct. Compare Franc. Vettori much in the confidence of Leo X (Ranke's Fürsten u. Völker von Südeuropa im 16ten u. 17ten Jahrh. Bd. 2 S. 87): Carlò, si excusò di non poter procedere piu oltre rispetto al salvocondotto, ma la verità fu che conoscendo, che il Papa temeva molto di questa dottrina

seized on his return home, and secretly conveyed to the Wartburg.[81] But Providence took his cause more effectually under the Divine protection: when it crippled the execution of the sentence of annihilation, by the war in which the emperor was

di Luthero, lo volle tenere con questo freno. *Alphonsus Valdesius* writes to Peter Martyr from Worms 15. May 1521 after a short account of the foregoing events (Petri Martyris epistolae Amstelod. 1670 p. 412:) Habes hujus tragoediae ut quidam volunt finem, ut egomet mihi persuadeo, non finem sed initium. Nam video Germanorum animos graviter in sedem Romanam concitatos, nec video Caesaris edicta magni ponderis apud eos futura, quum post editionem Lutheri libri passim per vicos et plateas impune vendantur. Hinc facile conjectare poteris, quid absente Caesare futurum sit. Erasmus, on the other hand, wrote to Peter Barbirius 26. June 1521 (Lib. xv. Ep. 4): Lutheri tragoedia peracta est apud nos, atque utinam nunquam prodisset in theatrum: tantum hoc verentur quidam, ne cupide vitata Scylla deferamur in Charybdim, et hac victoria quidam crudelius abutantur, quam expediat rei Christianae.

[81] Luther to Spalatin 14. May in de Wette ii. 5. Spalatins annales S. 50. Matthesius' third sermon, at the end. Many believed that Luther had been murdered by the Pope's creatures, and the Nuntii at Worms were accordingly in danger of death. Pallavicini i. 28, 4. Münter's Beyträge zur K. G. S. 100. Compare the outpouring of Albert Dürer, who had heard at Antwerp of Luther's disappearance, in his journal of his tour in Murr's Journal zur Kunstgeschichte u. zur allgem. Literatur Th. 7 S. 88: He had heard of 10 horsemen, "die fürten verrätherlich den verkauften frommen mit dem heiligen Geist erleuchteten Mann hinweg, der do war ein Nachfolger des wahren christlichen Glaubens, und lebt er noch, oder haben sie ihn gemördert, das ich nit weiss, so hat er das gelitten umb der christlichen Wahrheit willen, und umb dass er gestrafft hat das unchristliche Papsthumb, das do strebte wider Christus Freylassung mit seiner grossen Beschwerung der menschlichen Gesetz, und auch darumb dass wir unsers Bluts und Schweiss, also beraubt und ausgezogen werden, und dasselb so schandlich vom müssiggehenden Volk lesterlich verzehrt wird und die durstigen kranken Menschen darum Hungers sterben, und sonderlich ist mir noch das schwerest, dass uns Gott vielleicht noch unter ihrer falschen blinden Lehr will lassen bleiben, die doch die Menschen, die sie Vätter nennen, erdicht und aufgesetzt haben, dadurch uns das köstlich Wort an viel Enden fälschlich ausgelegt wird, oder gar nicht fürgehalten. Ach Gott vom Himmel, erbarm dich unser, o Herr Jesu Christe, bitt für dein Volk, erlös uns zur rechten Zeit. O Gott, ist Luther todt, wer wird uns hinfür das heilig Evangelium so klar furtragen? Ach Gott, was hett er uns noch in 10 oder 20 Jahrn schreiben mögen! O ihr alle fromme Christenmenschen, helft mir fleissig beweinen diesen Gottgeistigen Menschen, und Gott bitten, dass er uns ein andern erleuchten Mann send. O Erasme Roterodame, wo wiltu bleiben? sieh, was vermag die ungerecht Tyranney der weltlichen Gewalt, der

immediately afterwards entangled with France. Only in the dominions of the emperor, his brother Ferdinand, the elector of Brandenburg, the duke of Bavaria, the duke George of Saxony, and certain ecclesiastical princes was the edict of Worms carried into execution, so as to furnish martyrs for the new doctrine, and thereby increase the enthusiasm in its favour. In the rest of the German dominions the edict was not observed, partly because the Princes were favourably inclined to Luther's cause, partly because they were withheld through fear of rebellion.[82] At Wittenberg the alteration of the constitution of the church according to the new principles was forthwith commenced,[83] and

Macht der Finsterniss? Hör du Ritter Christi, reut hervor neben dem Herrn Christum, beschütz die Wahrheit, erlang der Märterer Kron, du bist doch sonst ein altes Menniken. Ich hab von dir gehört, dass du dir selbst noch 2 Jahr zugeben hast, die du noch tügest (taugest), etwas zu thun, dieselben leg wohl an, dem Evangelio und dem wahren christlichen Glauben zu gut" &c.

[82] There was a rising of the students at Erfurt against certain priests, who had declared John Draconitis, a friend of Luther, to be under ban, see Luther's letters to Spalatin and Melanchthon in May (de Wette ii. 5—7.) and Strobel's Neue Beyträge iv. 1. 16. ff. At Constance the townsmen hindered the execution of the edict of Worms by threats, see John of Botzheim and his friends by K. Walchner, Schaffhausen 1836. S. 25. 110.

[83] The brethren of Luther's order, the Augustins, began the work in October see John Aurifaber's notice of this in 1 ten Eisleb. Th. S. 179. Walch xv. 2335. The elector considered the abolition of the Mass to be precipitate, and constituted a commission of enquiry (see the Acts in T. ii. Jen. fol. 471 ss. Seckendorf p. 214, most fully in Melanchtonis opp. ed. Bretschneider i. 456 ss.). Meanwhile in Nov. 1521 appeared Luther's works on the abuse of the Mass (Walch xvii. 1304) and Judicium de votis monasticis (T. ii. Jen. fol. 477. b.), in the last, after long hesitation on the point (see the correspondence with Melanchthon of 1. Aug. 1521 in de Wette ii. 34 ff.), he demonstrates the invalidity of monastic vows. Then followed Synodi Augustinianorum (those of Misnia and Thüringia, which met at Wittenberg at the end of the year 1521) de libertate Monachorum sententia (T. ii. Jen. fol. 470. b.): Primo permittimus omnibus vel manere in monastica, vel *deserere monasticen;* quando qui in Christo sunt, nec Judaei, nec Graeci, nec Monachi, nec Laici sunt, et votum contra Evangelium, non votum, sed impietas est. Secundo, quia christiana libertas Spiritus libertas est, quae nec in esca, nec in habitu posita est; placet, ut interim *veste et vulgatis ritibus Monachorum utantur*, qui in nostris congregationibus vivunt, ut omnibus omnia fiamus Pauli exemplo 1 Cor. 9. Tertio, sed ita *moderemur ceremonias*, tum utendo, tum abrogando, necubi vel fides cujusquam laedatur, vel in caritatem pecce-

Melanchthon supplied the new church with the first systema-

tur. Non est enim regnum Dei esca et potus, sed justitia, pax et gaudium in Spiritu sancto. Quarto, *mendicitatem* interdicimus, quam toties vetuit Scriptura, I Thes. 3. *cum silentio operantes manducent panem suum.* Interdicimus et *Missis votivis*, quando et ab omni specie mala abstinere nos Apostolus voluit. Quinto, quantum fieri potest, in Congregationibus nostris *deligantur qui sint apti ad docendum verbum Dei*, publice aut privatim: *reliqui victum parent fratribus opera manuaria*, quae forma fuit veterum Monasteriorum. Sexto, quia moderari ceremonias et ritus omnes pro ratione temporum ac personarum visum est, volumus, ut Superioribus suis pareant Fratres ex caritate, ut sine scandalo privatim et publice agamus, et per omnia hoc praestemus, ne blasphemetur bonum nostrum, Amen. As these decrees gave offence to many, a chapter assembled at Grimma at Whitsuntide 1522, issued an explanation and justification of them, see in Kapp's Nachlese ii. 536. Many priests in Saxony entered the married state: So did a certain James Seidler, who was thrown into prison for this reason by command of duke George; the men of Wittenberg interceded for him with the Bishop of Misnia (letters of the 18th July 1521 in Kapp's Nachlese ii. 464, and in Phil. Melanchonis opp. ed. Bretschneider i. 418). Carlstadt wrote De coelibatu, monachatu et viduitate (Preface 29. June 1521 4.), to prove the non-obligation of priest's-celibacy and monastic vows. The marriage of Bartholomew Bernhardi of Feldkirch, provost at Kemberg, made the deepest impression, (compare Luther to Melanchthon dd. 26. May 1521 in de Wette ii. 9.), he has in consequence been often erroneously considered as the first married pastor (see J. G. Kapp epistola: Barth. Bern. Feldkirchius, Pastorum, qui tempore Reformationis matrimonium inierunt, neutiquam, ut vulgo creditur, primus. Baruth. 1792. 4.). The elector Albert as archbishop of Magdeburg wisht to call him to account for this. Feldkirch replied with an Apologia Pastoris Cembergensis, qui nuper suae Ecclesiae consensu uxorem duxit, 1522. 8. probably composed by Melanchthon (also T. ii. Jen fol. 438. b. Melanchthonis opp. ed. Bretschneider i. 421.: On this point see Veesenmeyer in the Theol. Studien u. Krit. 1831. 1, 125). But shortly before Luther had written to the Elector Albert, with reference to the renewal of the abuse of indulgences in Halle, and to the married priests: his letter, together with the Elector's answer, show how the moral strength of the two parties bears an inverse proportion to their external power. However Luther, in obedience to the will of his liege lord, still withheld his work "Wider den Abgott zu Halle," which was ready for the press; he wrote to the Elector 1. Dec. 1521 (de Wette ii. 112). E.g. "Es hat itzt E. K. F. G. zu Halle wieder aufgericht den Abgott, der die armen, einfältigen Christen umb Geld und Seele bringet.—Es denkt vielleicht E. K. F. G., ich sey nu von dem Plan, will nu fur mir sicher seyn, und durch die Kais. Maj. den Münch wohl dämpfen.—E. K. F. G. wollten eindenken seyn des Anfangs, welch ein greulich Feur aus dem kleinen, verachten Funklin worden ist, da alle Welt so sicher fur war, und meinet, der einige arme Bettler wäre dem Papst unmesslich

tic statement of its doctrines (loci communes rerum theologicarum).[84]

It was no cause for wonder that the new and unaccustomed freedom made many men giddy. In Wittenberg a party was formed since the beginning of December, which wisht like the Taborites to restore suddenly and by force the original simplicity of divine worship. A body of students and townsmen began to hinder the celebration of Mass, and the chanting of hours, and threatened the barefooted friars.[85] Not long after Carlstadt

zu geringe, und nehme unmuglich Ding fur. Noch hat Gott das Urtheil troffen, dem Papst mit alle den Seinen ubrig genug zu schaffen gegeben, wider und uber aller Welt Meinung das Spiel dahin gefuhrt, dass dem Papst schwerlich wiederzubringen ist, wird auch täglich ärger mit ihm, dass man Gottes Werk hierin zu greifen vermag. Derselbig Gott lebet noch, da zweifel nur niemand an, kann auch die Kunst, dass er einem Cardinal von Mainz widerstehe, wenn gleich vier Kaiser ob ihm hielten. Er hat auch sonder Lust, die hohen Cedern zu brechen, und die hochmuthigen, verstockten Pharaones zu demuthigen.—E. K. F. G. denken nur nicht, dass Luther todt sey: er wird auf den Gott, der den Papst demuthiget hat, so frey und frohlich pochen, und ein Spiel mit dem Cardinal von Menz anfahen, dass sich nicht viel versehen. Thut, lieben Bischofen, zusamen, Jungherrn muget ihr bleiben, diesen Geist sollet ihr noch nicht schweigen noch täuben; widerfähret euch aber ein Schimpf daraus, dess ihr euch itzt nicht versehet, so will ich euch hiemit verwarnet haben." Then he lays before him two demands, to abolish the idol, and to leave the priests who had entered the married state, in peace. "Hierauf bitte und warte ich E. K. F. G. richtige, schleunige Antwort, inwendig 14 Tagen, denn nach bestimmten 14 Tagen wird mein Buchlin wider den Abgott zu Halle ausgehen, wo nicht komet eine gemeine Antwort." The Elector replied 21. Dec. (Walch. xix. 66): Lieber Herr Doctor, ich hab euern Brief—empfangen und gelesen, und zu Gnaden und allem guten angenommen, versehe mich aber gänzlich, die Ursach sey längst abgestellt, so euch zu solchem Schreiben bewegt hat. Und will mich, ob Gott will, dergestalt halten und erzeigen, als einem frommen Geistlichen und christlichen Fürsten zustehet, als weit mir Gott Gnade, Stärke und Vernunft verleihet; darum ich auch treulich bitte, und lassen bitten will. Denn ich von mir selbst nichts vermag, und bekenne mich, dass ich bin nöthig der Gnaden Gottes; wie ich denn ein armer sündiger Mensch bin, der sündigen und irren kann, und täglich sündiget und irret, leugne ich nicht.

[84] Three similar editions appeared in 1521, one in 4to., two in 8vo. This first edition was again reprinted in H. v. d. Hardt hist. lit. Reform. p. iv. p. 28 seq. denuo ed. J. Chr. Gu. Augusti. Lips. 1821. 8. G. Th. Strobel's Litterärgeschichte von Ph. M. locis theologicis Altdorf u. Nürnberg 1776. 8.

[85] See the letters of the Senate of the Academy to the Elector of the

joined in these proceedings.[86] But in the last days of December, some fanatics from Zwickau increast this party, and brought the doctrines of an internal word, of a visible kingdom of Christ upon earth, and of the denial of infant baptism into circulation.[87]

3rd and 5th December, in Melancth. opp. ed. Bretschneider i. 487 seq.: where also the acts which follow are most complete.

[86] Carlstadt gave notice on the Sunday before Christmas, in the Cathedral Church (Bretschneider i. 512): "dass er auf das künftige Fest circumcisionis domini—offenbarlichen communiciren jedermann, wer da wolle (and so without confession), sub utraque specie panis et vini, und davor ein kurz Sermon thun, und wolle schlechts sprechen die Consecration, und die andern . . . (namely, the other portions of the Mass service) alle aussen lassen. Solle auch nicht willens seyn Kasel, Alben oder Chorrock zu genannter Mess auzuziehen."

[87] Compare on this point Spalatin's account in Schneider's Bibliothek der Kirchengesch. ii. iii., partly printed also in Bretschneider i. 533, seq. On the former proceedings in Zwickau see Leben, Schriften und Lehren Thomae Müntzers von Strobel. Nürnberg 1795. s. 12 ff. Hildebrand Archiv merkw. Urkunden u. Nachrichten für die Parochialgeschichte Jahrg. 1833 s. 1. On the whole subject J. Hast Gesch. der Wiedertäufer. Münster 1836. 8. s. 20. Melancthon gives the following account to the Electoral Commissaries v. Einsiedeln and Spalatin at Lichtenberg (Schneider ii. 117. Bretschneider i. 533): "Es seind in die Jo. Evangelistae (27 Dec:) zu mir zu Wittenberg kumen Claus Storck mit zweyen seiner Gesellen, mir angezeigt, wie sich etlich Empörung erhoben zu Zwickau, und sonderlich von wegen baptismi parvulorum und fidei alienae, und sich auf Doctorem Martinum berufen. Hab darnach insonderheit gehört einen unter den dreien, genannt Marcus Thomae, der mir gesagt, wie dass er, dergleichen auch Storck, sonderliche und gewisse und offenbare Gespräch mit Gott habe, doch nyndert auch nicht predige, denn wo und was ihm Gott heisse!" Melanchthon was so struck, that he wrote to the Elector on the same day (Bretschneider i. 513): Non ignorat Cels. V., quam multae variae et periculosae dissensiones de verbo Dei in urbe C. V. Zwiccavia excitatae sint. Sunt et illic in vincula conjecti, qui nescio quae novarunt. Ex horum motuum auctoribus huc advolarunt tres viri, duo lanifices, literarum rudes, literatus tertius est. Audivi eos. Mira sunt, quae de sese predicant; missos se clara voce Dei ad docendum, esse sibi cum Deo familiaria colloquia, videre futura, breviter, viros esse propheticos et apostolicos. Quibus ego quomodo commovear, non facile dixerim. Magnis rationibus adducor certe, ut contemni eos nolim. Nam esse in eis spiritus quosdam multis argumentis adparet, sed de quibus judicare praeter *Martinum* nemo facile possit. Proinde cum vertatur hic evangelii periculum, ecclesiae gloria et pax, modis omnibus efficiendum est, ut his hominibus *Martini* copia fiat. Ad hunc enim provocant. At his interview with the Electoral Commissaries on the 1st January, Melancthon was more self possest, he says (Schneider ii. 119 Bretschn. i. 534): "Mich hat nicht sonderlich bewegt, was sie von göttlichen

Only the Reformer himself, in whom discretion, enthusiasm, and

Gesprächen sagen, uud dergleichen. Denn solches in seinem Werth stehet, und nichts daran gelegen, anders denn, dass durch solchen Schein weitere Beschwerungen möchten vorgenommen werden. Diese Quaestiones aber de baptismo haben mich meines Bedünkens billig bewegt." (A little before: Es haben Augustinus und derselbigen Zeit viele andere mehr viel disputirt de baptismo parvulorum, und wenig ausgerichtet," &c.). On the day following, the Elector had an intimation conveyed to Melancthon and Amsdorf by the Commissaries, that it was advisable they should not mix with the people; for it " wäre zu besorgen, ihr Vorgeben wäre mehr eine Verführung, denn ein Bestand in Wahrheit, weil sie von den Hauptsachern der Empörung und Aufruhr zu Zwickau seyn sollten, und zu fürchten,—sie möchten zu Wittenberg auch Empörung anrichten." Amongst the articles thus agitated at Zwickau, was the Baptism of infant children : " als nämlich, dass etliche zweifeln, ob der Glaube der Pathen dem Kind zu der Tauf behülflich; etliche vermeinten, ohne den Glauben selig zu werden. Etliche geben an, als wäre die göttliche Schrift zur Lehre der Menschen unkräftig : denn der Mensch müsst allein durch den Geist gelernet werden. Denn hätt Gott den Menschen mit Geschrift wollen gelernt haben, so hätt er uns vom Himmel herab ein Biblien gesandt. Item für die Todten wäre nicht zu bitten, und andere grausame Unart, die der Stadt Zwickau einen unchristlichen Pickardischen Namen machten." Upon this Melancthon declared still more composedly : " dass an dem Artikel von der Tauf der Kinder nichts sonderliches liege, und dass besser sey, dass man davon nicht weiter handle, denn dass man viel davon zweifele :" this only was dangerous, " das die Leut zu Empörung geneight, und zu Wittenberg auch Aufruhr möchten erregen." The elector, at the request of Melancthon, had a general promise made, that these persons, if they did not begin with sedition, should not be put down by force. So now the prophets of Zwickau, namely the two cloth-weavers, Nicholas Storch and Marcus Thomae, and two students, Marcus Stübner and Martin Cellarius continued to work at Wittenberg, and won over Carlstadt especially to their side : He also married in January 1522 (see the notice of his marriage 6. Jan, in Bretschneider i. 538). With regard to their doctrines see Camerarius de vita Melanchth. ed. Strobel p. 46. They rejected the existing Church, and said, " ex illa discedendo hanc institui oportere. Et quibus hoc persuaderetur et placeret, eos denuo baptismo initiandos esse.—Nihil recte et debito modo fieri gerique uspiam perhibebant, quod summa rerum esset penes malos.—Atque decrevisse Deum extinguere istud genus et sufficere alterum innocentia justitiaque et sanctitate praeditum. Ad cujus exordium atque incrementa docebant necessariam esse curam et diligentiam in procreanda sobole. Et ideo neminem ducere uxorem debere, ex qua non sciret se liberos pios, et gratos aeterno Deo, et ad communionem regni coelestis electos susceptorum esse. Id autem non aliter quam ipso Deo patefaciente sciri posse. Et jactabatur praecipuum donum Dei in illis coetibus praedictionis eventuum futurorum, et arcanorum judicii, cujus eximiae et salu-

taris rei in veritate nomen est graecum Prophetia. Compertum autem est, multis horum per quietem somni mirabilia visa, et species quasdam vigilantibus etiam aliquibus, sed paucis, oblatas esse. Cognitum etiam est, fuisse in coetu isto foeminas vaticinantes.—Et hoc erat in legibus istorum, ne quis in otio liberali bonis artibus et literis operam daret, neu aliunde scientiae cognitionisque facultatem quaereret, quam ab aeterni Dei benignitate, cui adjumentis humanis nihil esset opus. According to the Zeitung aus Wittenberg written in the middle of January (Strobels Miscellanean v. 127) Marcus Stubner said; "Martinus hab maistentails recht, aber nicht in allen Stücken, es werd noch ein Ander uber ihn kummen, mit einem höhern Gaist &c. Item wie der Türk kürzlich soll Teutschland einnehmen &c. Item wie all Pfaffen sollen erschlagen werden, ob sie schun Weiber nehmen &c. Item dass in kurzem, ungefährlich 5. 6. 7. Jahren soll ein solch Enderung in der Welt weren, dass kain unfrummer oder böss Sünder solle lebend uber pleiben &c. Denn werd ein Eingang, eins Taufs, eins Glauben &c. Die Kinder, die man itz tauf, ee sie Vernunft haben, sey kein Tauf." At Wittenberg the sect only workt directly in secret (minus libere et aperte Camerar.), in general only indirectly by the preachers devoted to their cause Carlstadt, and the former Benedictin Gabriel Didymus, who advanced with rapid strides. With regard to these disturbances compare the Zeitung aus Wittenberg quoted above. Something was now conceded to the innovations, but the innovators proceeded still farther, see Beyer's Schreiben an Einsiedel v. 25. Jan. (Bretschn. i. 540): "Ich lass euch wissen, dass sich die Universität mit dem Rath vereinigt hat, dass man in der Pfarrkirchen, dahin wir alle gehören, auf die Weise Messe halten soll. Erstlich wird gehalten der Gesang mit dem Introitu, Gloria, et in terra, Episteln, Evangelio und Sanctus; darnach predigt man, darnach hebt man die Messe an, wie sie Gott unser Herr Jesus in coena ausgesetzt hat. Da spricht der Prister öffentlich verba consecrationis zu teutsch, und vermahnt das Volk, wer mit Sünden beschwert und nach der Gnade Gottes durstig, dem wolle man des Herrn Leichnam und Blut reichen. Wenn man communicirt hat, so singt man Agnus Dei, Carmen und Benedicamus Domino. Der Canon hat sich verkehrt. Hinfürder sollen wir kein Bettler, Mönch oder andere leiden. Die Armen soll man versorgen aus dem gemein Beutel.—Die Bilde wollen sie auch in der Pfarr nicht leiden, und mit der Zeit abethun, haben starke Schrift darwider geführt." Carlstadt and Didymus continually preacht against the adherents of the Old State (Bretschn. i. 548), they taught for instance (p. 548), dass die Gemeine wohl Macht habe, in Nachlässigkeit der Oberkeit aus einem Mitleiden und Liebe Ichts (etwas) vorzunehmen," and thereby effected (p. 550), that in the beginning of February the images were suddenly carried off, choppt in pieces and burnt. Carlstadt made yet more alterations in the celebration of the Lord's supper, whereupon in the parish church (p. 552) "einer sust, der andre so, ohne Ordnung und Messgewand Mess gehalten haben." By this, fresh investigations and threats and orders from the elector were drawn forth; meanwhile the innovation was partially submitted to. The Council advertised on the 12th Febr. (p. 553): "Der Bilde halben haben wir beschlossen auf dem Rathhaus, dass sie sollen durch die

energy were united in such an extraordinary manner,[88] could protect his work from sinking into an empty fanaticism. He

Obrigkeit, welcher allein es anstehet, eignet und gebühret, abgethan werden." On the contrary, in the Mass (p. 554) the Weise, Kleidung und Gesang" were to remain as before. Carlstadt now promised (p. 557) that he would refrain from this style of preaching for the future. Didymus left Wittemberg. Still, great disunion remained, (p. 560). This picture is filled up by the account of M. Sebast. Fröschel, who came to Wittenberg in 1522, in the dedication to the elector Augustus before his tract on the Priesthood, Wittenb. 1565. 4. (fortges. Sammlung v. alten u. neuen theol. Sachen 1731. s. 691). He charges Carlstadt Didymus, and M. George More, the master of the boys' school, with having ruined the boys' school, and says they would gladly have made an end of the University also. " Diese drey—haben fürgeben, —man soll nicht studiren, auch keine Schule—halten, auch niemand promoviren,—denn solches hett Christus selber verboten Matth. 23 mit diesen Worten: Ihr sollt euch nicht Rabbi noch Meister nennen lassen;—dass also zur selben Zeit viel feiner ingenia von hinnen sind hinweggezogen, das Studiren verlassen, die Land und Leuten hätten können nütze seyn.—D. Carlstadt der war allhie zu den Bürgern in ihre Häuser gangen, und sie gefragt, wie sie den oder jenen Spruch in diesem oder jenem Propheten verstünden. Und wenn sich die einfältigen Bürger seines Fragens verwunderten, und zu ihm sprachen: Herr Doctor, wie kommt ihr damit her, dass ihr Gelehrte und Doctores der heil. Schrift uns arme, albere, ungelehrte Leute also fraget, dass wir euch solches sagen sollen, ihr sollts uns billig sagen; da hat ihnen D. Carlstadt geantwortet, dass ihnen Gott solches verborgen habe, wie denn der Herr Christus selber spricht Matth. 11 u. Luc. 10:—Ich preise dich Vater u. Herr Himmels u. der Erden, dass du solches verborgen hast den Weisen und Klugen, und hasts offenbaret den Unmündigen.—Dazu fingen nicht allein an die drey Personen die Schule zu stürmen, sondern auch die Kirchen und Bilder in der Kirchen, dass sie dieselbigen Bilder aus der Kirchen wurfen, und gaben für, man sollte auch keinen gelehrten Mann zu Predigern, zu Priestern in der Kirchen annehmen noch leiden, sondern eitel Layen und Handwerksleute, die nur allein lesen künten, als ich auch derselbigen etliche wohl gekannt habe, die sie dazu wollten vociren und berufen."

[88] Compare his opinion with regard to the fanatics, addresst to Melanchthon 13. Jan. 1522. (de Wette ii., 125); Venio ad Prophetas, ac primum non probo tuam timiditatem, cum et majori tam spiritu quam eruditione polleas, quam ego. Ac primum, cum testimonium perhibeant de se ipsis, non statim audiendi sunt; sed juxta consilium Joannis, spiritus probandi. Habetis consilium Gamalielis differendi: nihil enim adhuc audio ab eis dici et fieri, quod Satanas non queat praestare vel aemulari. Then follows advice as to how the Prophets were to be proved, and a defence of infant baptism and the Augustinian doctrine that the fides aliena of the sponsors availed for the children. He writes to Spalatin on the 17th Jan. (l. c. 135): Tu quoque cura, ne Princeps noster manus cruentet in prophetis illis novis Cygnaeis.

suddenly came forth from his concealment, in March 1522;[89] his powerful preaching scared the false prophets, and quieted

There is also a fragment of a letter to the men of Wittemberg, probably in Febr. (not Dec. 1521 as in de Wette ii. 118): "Man hat diese Neuerung eingeführet mit den Messen, Bilden, Sacrament angreifen, und andern liederlichen Dingen, daran nichts gelegen ist, den Glauben und Liebe fahren lassen; gleich als hätte alle Welt, die umher liegt, dieser Ding einen grossen Verstand, das doch nicht ist, und gemacht, dass viel fromer Leute hinan gereizt, welch des Teufels rechte Werk ist. Es wäre wohl ein gut Ding, dass man solche Sachen anfing, wenn wir alle zugleich Glauben hätten, und der ganzen Gemein wohlgefiel, dermassen, dass sich niemand dran ärgerte. Das wird aber nimmermehr geschehen. Wir können nicht alle also gelehrt seyn, als Carlstad. Darum müssen wir den Schwachen nachgeben; sonst wirst du, der stark ist, sehr laufen, und der Schwach, der dir gleicher Schritt nicht folgen kann, untergehen. Gott hat euch das Wort rein gegeben, und denen zu Wittenberg gross Gnad gethan. Dennoch spüre ich bey euch gar keine Liebe u. s. w."

[89] On the way he wrote to the elector, who had warned him against this course (Melanchth. epist. ed. Bretschneider i, 559) on the 5th March (de Wette ii. 139) from Borna, e.g.: "Das weiss ich je von mir wohl, wenn diese Sach zu Leipzig also stünde, wie zu Wittemberg so wollte ich doch hinein reiten, wenns gleich (E. K. F. G. verzeihe mir mein närrisch Reden) neun Tage eitel Herzog Georgen regnete, und ein jeglicher wäre neunfach wüthender, denn dieser ist.—Solchs sey E. K. F. G. geschrieben, der Meinung, dass E. K. F. G. wisse, ich kome gen Wittenberg in gar viel einem höhern Schutz, denn des Kurfürsten. Ich habs auch nicht im Sinn, von E. K. F. G. Schutz begehren. Ja, ich halt, ich wolle E. K. F. G. mehr schützen, denn sie mich schützen könnte. Dazu wenn ich wüsste, dass mich E. K. F. G. könnte und wollte schützen, so wollt ich nicht komen. Dieser Sachen soll, noch kann kein Schwert rathen oder helfen; Gott muss hie allein schaffen ohn alles menschlich Sorgen und Zuthun. Darumd wer am meisten gläubt, der wird hie am meisten schützen. Dieweil ich denn nu spür, dass E. K. F. G. noch gar schwach ist im Glauben, kann ich keinerleywege E. K. F. G. für den Mann ansehen, der mich schützen oder retten könnte. Dass nu auch E. K. F. G. begehrt zu wissen, was sie thun solle in dieser Sachen, sintemal sie es acht, sie habe viel zu wenig gethan: antworte ich unterthäniglich. E. K. F. G. hat schon allzuviel gethan, und sollt gar nichts thun. Denn Gott will und kann nicht leiden E. K. F. G. oder mein Sorgen und Treiben. Er wills ihm gelassen haben, dess und kein anderes; da mag sich E. K. F. G. nach richten.—Für den Menschen soll E. K. F. G. also sich halten: nämlich der Oberkeit, als ein Kurfürst, gehorsam seyn, und Kaiserl. Maj. lassen walten in E. K. F. G. Städten und Ländern, an Leib und Gut, wie sichs gebührt, nach Reichsordnung, und ja nicht wehren noch widersetzen, noch Widersatz oder irgend ein Hinderniss begehren, der Gewalt, so sie mich fahen oder tödten will. Denn die Gewalt soll niemand brechen noch widerstehen, denn alleine der, der sie eingesetzt

men's minds.[90] Soon after he offered to his German Fatherland the precious fruit that had grown in his retirement at the Wart-

hat; sonst ists Empörung, und wider Gott u. s. w." On Luther's meeting at an inn in Jena with some Swiss travelling to Wittemberg, see the truthful hearty account of one of them, John Kessler, in the original in J. J. Bernet's Joh. Kessler genannt Ahenarius, Bürger und Reformator zu St. Gallen. St. Gallen 1826. 8. S. 27.

[90] Luther arrived at Wittemberg on Friday the 7th of March, and preacht every day from the Sunday Invocavit to Reminiscere (9th—16th March) against the inconsiderate innovations: "Acht Sermon D. M. L. von ihm geprediget zu Wittenberg in der Fasten, darin kürzlich begriefen von den Messen, Bildnissen, beyderley Gestalt des Sacraments, von den Speisen und heimlichen Beicht," in two different editions Walch xx., 1 ff. and 62 ff. Luther wrote to Gaspar Güttel, prior of Augustins at Eisleben, 30 March (de Wette ii. 177): Ego Carolstadium offendi, quod ordinationes suas cassavi, licet doctrinam non damnarim, nisi quod displicet in solis ceremoniis et externis faciebus laborasse eum, neglecta interim vera doctrina christiana h. e. fide et charitate. Nam sua inepta docendi ratione eo populum perduxerat, ut sese christianum arbitraretur per has res nihili, si utraque specie communicaret, si tangeret (received the Sacrament in his hand), si non confiteretur, si imagines frangeret. Fröschel (see note 87) Fortg. Samml. 1731 S. 694: Als nun D. Carlstadt sahe, dass seine Anschläge zu nichte wurden, da zog er non Wittenberg aus der Stadt, nicht weit davon auf ein Dorf Segren genannt, daselbst kauft er ihm ein Bauergut, und war ein Bauer,—und die andern Bauern hiessen ihn nur Naber Enders (Nachbar Andreas).—Das litte Naber Enders nur so lange, bis ihm zu viel wolt werden,—und kroch wieder zum Kreuz. —Also krochen die andern zween, als Frater Gabriel u. M. More auch wieder zum Kreuz &c." At first Luther refused to see the prophets of Zwickau; at length he admitted Marcus Stübner, Martin Cellarius, and a third to his presence (Camerarius in vita Melanchth. § 15): Audivit Lutherus placide narrantem Marcum sua. Cum dicendi finem fecisset, nihil contra illa adeo absurda et futilia disserendum ratus Lutherus hoc modo monuit: viderent, quid agerent. *Nihil eorum, quae commemorassent, sacris literis niti, commentaque esse cogitationum curiosarum, aut etiam fallacis et fraudulenti spiritus deliras et perniciosas subjectiones.* Ibi Cellarius et voce et gestibus vesanis, cum et solum pedibus, et propositam mensulam manibus feriret, exclamare et indignari, ausum esse Lutherum suspicari tale aliquid de divino homine. At Marcus paulo sedatior, ut scias, inquit, Luthere, me spiritu Dei praeditum esse, ego, quid in animo tuo conceperis, sum indicaturus, idque est: *te incipere inclinari ad haec, ut meam doctrinam veram esse credas.* Cum Lutherus, ut ipse postea dixit, istam dedita opera sententiam cogitando esset complexus: *increpet te Deus, Satana.* Post haec plus verborum faciendum Lutherus non putavit, et minantes gloriantesque eos dimisit.—Eo die oppido illi excesserunt, et Chembergo—literas plenas maledictis et execrationibus ad Lutherum miserunt. Compare Luther's short mention of this interview to Spalatin

burg, his translation of the New Testament,[91] which furnisht every man of the people with the means of becoming certain of his faith, and of being able to give a reason for it.[92]

and Lange 12 April (de Wette ii. 179. 181). Nicholas Storch also afterwards appeared before him, see Luther to Spalatin 4. Sept. 1522. (l. c. 245).

[91] The first edition appeared in Sept. 1522, the second so early as December, and so every year original editions and reprints. In 1523 followed the first part of the Old Testament, the Books of Moses; in 1524 the second part, the rest of the historical books, and the third part Job, the Psalter and the writings of Solomon; in 1532 the fourth part, the Prophets, some of which had already appeared before by themselves. The first entire edition of the Bible with the Apocrypha appeared in 1534. Compare G. W. Panzer's Entwurf einer vollständigen Gesch. der deutschen Bibelübersetzung Luther's. 2te Aufl. Nürnberg 1791. 8. Lücke's kurzgefasste Gesch. d. luther. Bibelübersetzung in der Zeitschrift für gebildete Christen der evangel. Kirche 3tes Heft (Elberfeld 1823) S. 1. K. A. Weidemann's Gesch. der deutschen Bibelübersetzung Luthers. Leipzig 1834. 8. D. H. Schott's Gesch. der deutschen Bibel-Uebersetzung D. M. Luthers, u. der fortdauernde Werth derselben Leipzig 1835. 8. (vgl. Jen. A. L. Z. März 1836. S. 321). Grotesend über D. M. Luthers Verdienste um die Ausbildung der hochteutschen Schriftsprache i. d. Abhandlungen des Frankfurter Gelehrten-Vereins für teutsche Sprache. St. 1 (Frankf. 1818) S. 24 ff.

[92] Cochlaeus de actis et scriptis M. Lutheri ad ann. 1522 fol. 50. b.: mirum in modum multiplicabatur per chalcographos novum Testamentum Lutheri, ut etiam sutores, et mulieres, et quilibet idiotae, qui theutonicas literas utcunque didicerant, novum illud Testamentum, tanquam fontem omnis veritatis, avidissime legerent, quicunque Lutherani erant, illudque saepe legendo memoriae commendarent, in sinu secum portantes codicem. Ex quo tantam intra paucos menses sibi doctrinam arrogabant, ut non solum cum laicis partis catholicae, verum etiam cum sacerdotibus et monachis, atque adeo etiam cum Magistris et sacrae theologiae Doctoribus disputare de fide et Evangelio non erubescerent. Quin immo repertae sunt mulierculae, quae propositis thematis editisque libellis theutonicis ausae fuerint ultro provocare, et quidem procacissime insultantes, ignorantiamque improperantes et contemptui habentes viros, non modo laicos atque privatos homines, verum etiam quoslibet Doctores et Licentiatos totius facultatis theologicae, ac totas etiam Universitates, id quod de Argula, nobili quadam muliere, compertum habetur (compare Lipowsky Argula v. Grumbach geb. Freiien v. Stauffen. München 1811. 4. de Wette ii. 558).—Cum igitur mobile vulgus ubique magis intentum sit et avidum ad res novas late divulgandas, quam ad res consuetas in suo statu conservandas; factum est, ut turba Lutherana longe plus operae impenderit discendis sacris literis ita translatis, quam impendit populus Catholicorum, ubi Laici eam curam potissime in sacerdotes et Monachos rejiciebant. Unde contigit nonnunquam, a laicis Lutheranis plures scripturae locos ex tempore

Hadrian VI., a pious and earnest man,[93] who mounted the papal throne after Leo X. († 1. Dec. 1521), thought that the more sincerely he acknowledged and promised to redress the errors which had crept into the external constitution of the church, so much the more decidedly he might venture to claim the execution of the existing law of heresy against Luther's doc-

citari in colloquiis, quam citarentur a presbyteris et Monachis catholicis. At jam dudum persuaserat Lutherus turbis suis, nullis dictis habendam esse fidem, nisi quae ex sacris literis proferrentur. Idcirco reputabantur Catholici ab illis ignari scripturarum, etiamsi eruditissimi essent theologi. Quinetiam palam aliquando coram multitudine contradicebant eis Laici aliqui, tanquam mera pro concione dixerint mendacia aut figmenta hominum. Accedebant et alia incommoda. Nam cum antiqui theologi multis retro annis peritiam linguarum et politiores literas neglexissent; Lutherus mox ab initio per Philippum Melancthonen, et per Zuinglium, Oecolampadiumque et Bucerum (antequam ab eo in nonnullis articulis dissentire coepissent) totam vere juventutem, eloquentiae literis linguarumque studio deditam, ac ingenio ex acutis et expolitis Erasmi Roterdami opusculis pulcherrime excultam, in partem suam traxit. Juvenes vero et ingenio, alacres, et laborum patientes mox in sacris literis (quibus Lutherus unicum tribuebat sensum, et eum solummodo literalem) ita profecerunt literaliter, ut vel XXX annorum theologi tam prompti in citandis scripturae locis non viderentur, quam erant illi. Qui et de peritia linguarum et de styli elegantia superbientes, mox quoslibet veteris farinae theologos non solum contemnere, verum etiam provocare coeperunt, maxime, quando ad populum verba faciebant. Quod si quis novitatibus eorum contradiceret, mox praetendebant lectionem graecam vel hebraicam, aut aliquem ex vetustissimis auctoribus, et confestim plenis convitiorum plaustris invehebantur in graecarum et hebraicarum literarum ignaros theologos, quos odiose sophistas, asinos, porcos, animalia ventris, et inutilia pondera terrae vocitabant, superaddentes etiam ronchos et cachinnos immodestissime. Ac unum Lutherum, velut verum theologum populo commendantes, ejus adversarios velut ignaros, immo hostes veritatis, et ob alimoniam sibi praecisam aut imminutam Luthero invidentes, invidiosissime traducebant.

[93] He had taught the fallibility of the Pope in his Comm. in libr. quartum Sententiarum (reprinted, Romae 1522 fol). Quaest. de sacra confirm. certum est, quod (Pontifex) possit errare in iis, quae tangunt fidem, haeresim per suam determinationem aut decretalem asserendo: On the other hand Luther's doctrines appeared preposterous to him, the strict scholastic theologian, and so he said with regard to Luther's propositions condemned by the theologians of Louvain, in a letter which he wrote to them while yet cardinal (C. Burmanni Hadrianus VI. sive Analecta historica de Hadr. VI. Traj. ad. Rhen. 1727. 4. p. 447): qui sane tam rudes ac palpabiles haereses mihi prae se ferre videntur, ut ne discipulus quidem theologiae, ac prima ejus limina ingressus, ita labi merito potuisset.—Miror valde, quod homo tam mani-

trinal errors. But the public declarations which he caused to be made with this end in view, at the diet of Nuremberg (Dec. 1522),[94] produced no other effect than a fresh and importunate

feste, tamque pertinaciter in fide errans, et suas haereses somniaque diffundens, impune errare, et alios in perniciosissimos errores trahere impune sinitur. Hence must have risen his notion that the redress of external abuses in the Church would put an end to Luther's success. This opinion would necessarily be strengthened by the letter of Wilibald Pirkheimer addrest to him (Pirckheymeri opp. ed. Conr. Ritterhusius p. 372. Gerdesii hist. Evangelii renovati i. Monum. p. 170), according to which the pride and deceitfulness of the Dominicans and their hatred of the advance of literature were the cause of all. Ludovicus Vives in his advice (Opp. ii. 834. Burmannus p. 456) recommended the new Pope to call a general council, with a view to remove the perplexity of all Europe. Hadrian's correspondence with Erasmus is worthy of especial notice (Burmannus p. 493 seq. but here the letters are not all given, see Danz analecta critica de Hadriano VI. P. ii. Jenae 1814. 4. p. 9.) He challenges him to write against Luther. Erasmus declines this as useless: he complains that he has been erroneously considered as the originator of the heresy; he expresses his aversion to it, but points out the perverse proceedings of Luther's adversaries (Burmannus p. 501: centum locos colligam ex Paulinis epistolis qui congruunt cum his quae damnata sunt in Lutheri libris), and renews his former proposal (see note 67) to let the question be adjusted by impartial arbitrators from different nations, Paul Sarpi (Histoire du Concile de Trent, traduite par Courayer i. 41 seq.) gives an account of the Pope's deliberations with the Cardinals as to the means to be adopted, from a diary of Franc. Chieregati (p. 50): but it is not probable that Cardinal Cajetan, who had written shortly before in thomistic style upon indulgence, should have advised him to decree according to the earlier doctrine, that indulgence only availed for the remission of church-penalties. See Pallavicini lib. ii. c. 4.

[94] The Legate Franc. Chieregati first had a short form of instruction read before the diet, without delivering it in writing; in the beginning of the year 1523 he first produced the second, with an open avowal, from which many persons thought that it had been first composed in Nuremberg (see the account of the Saxon envoy Hans von der Planitz to the Elector, in Luther's works, 2ter deutscher Jen. Theil. Bl. 206 b). It was sent after him, as soon as it was acknowledged that the public feeling in Germany required more substantial declarations. These last instructions Luther soon after publisht in German with a comment (Sleidan lib. iv. init.), in the original in Raynald. ann. 1522 no. 66 and Goldast constitutt. imperial. i. 450. After drawing out the reasons with which the Legate was to urge the princes to suppress the Lutheran heresy, they proceed: Item dices, nos ingenue fateri, quod Deus hanc persecutionem Ecclesiae suae inferre permittit propter peccata hominum, maxime sacerdotum et Ecclesiae Praelatorum.—Scimus, in hac sancta sede aliquot jam annis multa abominanda fuisse, abusus in spiritualibus, excessus in mandatis, et omnia denique in per-

claim for the redress of the grievances of the German nation

versum mutata: nec mirum, si aegritudo a capite in membra a summis Pontificibus in alios inferiores Praelatos descenderit. Omnes nos, i.e. Praelati et ecclesiastici declinavimus unusquisque in vias suas, nec fuit jam diu, qui faceret bonum, non fuit usque ad unum: quamobrem necesse est, ut omnes demus gloriam Deo, et humiliemus animas nostras ei, videatque unusquisque nostrum unde ceciderit, et se potius quilibet judicet, quam a Deo in virga furoris sui judicari velit. Qua in re quod ad nos attinet, polliceberis nos omnem operam adhibituros, ut primum Curia haec, unde forte hoc malum processit, reformetur; ut sicut inde corruptio in omnes inferiores emanavit, ita etiam ab eadem sanitas et reformatio omnium emanet.—Quanquam nemo mirari debebit si non statim omnia errata et abusus omnes per nos emendatos viderit: inveteratus nimium morbus est, nec simplex, sed varius et multiplex; pedetentim in ejus cura procedendum est, et prius gravioribus magisque periculosis occurrendum, ne omnia pariter reformari volentes omnia perturbemus.—Quod autem ultimis literis suis scribis, questos fuisse Principes istos, quod Concordatis eorum per hanc sedem derogatum sit; dices, nos de his, quae ante nos facta fuere, culpari nec posse, nec debere, nobisque ejusmodi derogationes, etiam dum in minoribus essemus, semper displicusse. Proinde nobis certissimam sententiam esse, etiamsi ipsi non requirerent, illis nostri Pontificatus tempore penitus abstinere, partim, unicuique jus suum servemus, partim quia aequitas et humanitas exposcit, ut inclytam nationem nostram non solum non offendamus, sed etiam peculiares ei favores impendamus. De processibus vero, quos a *Rota* avocari, et ad partes remitti postulant, dices, nos cupere eis in hoc gratificari quantum honeste possimus; sed propter absentiam auditorum ab urbe pestis gratia, non posse nos de qualitate et habitudine ipsorum processuum ad praesens informari; reversis vero illis—facturos in gratiam dictorum Principum quidquid rationabiliter poterimus.—Item quia intelleximus, in Germania esse multos bonos et doctos viros pauperes, aliqua etiam praeclara ingenia, quae ex indignitate apostolicarum provisionum, histrionibus et stabulariis potius quam viris doctis fieri solitarum, a sedis hujus devotione aversa; cupimus, ut inquiras, quinam illi sint, eorumque nomina ad nos transmittas, ut occurrente beneficiorum Germanicorum vacatione, illos proprio motu providere possimus. Scimus enim, quantum Dei honori, et animarum saluti ac aedificationi obfuerit, quod jam diu beneficia ecclesiastica, maxime curam et regimen animarum habentia, data fuerunt hominibus indignis. Pirkheimer wrote on this point to Erasmus (Strobel's vermischte Beyträge zur Gesch. d. Literatur Nürnberg 1775 s. 165): Pollicetur multa, quae utinam velit, et quum velit, possit, et quum possit, re exequatur, quod multis impossibile videtur. In the letter to the German princes which the Legate brought with him (Raynald 1522 no. 60 and Lutheri opp. t. ii. Jen. lat. fol. 536. b.), he complains, that the edict of Worms was not observed, and exhorts them to carry it into execution, with a reference to the treatment of earlier heretics, e.g. Huss at Constance. In order to produce a greater impression, he suggests the political dangers of the Lutheran heresy: An

already repeated so often before.[95] In return for the earliest

putatis, alio tendere istos iniquitatis filios, quam ut libertatis nomine omni obedientia sublata, quod cuique libuerit faciendi licentiam inducant! An ullius pensi jussa et leges vestras habituros creditis, qui sacros canones et Patrum decreta—non solum vilipendunt, sed etiam diabolica rabie lacerare et comburere non verentur! An denique vestris cervicibus parsuros, qui non tangendos christos Domini contemerare, caedere, trucidare ausi sunt? In vos, in vestras res, domos, uxores, liberos, ditiones, dominatus, templa, quae colitis, haec miseranda calamitas tendit, nisi mature obviam eatis! At the same time he addresst a violent letter to the Elector Frederick (Raynald l. c. no. 73 ss.); and besides this letters to the council at Bamberg (which Luther publisht with notes t. ii. Jen. lat. fol. 538. b.), Breslau (see Fibigers eingerissenes Lutherthum), Constance (Füssli's Beyträge zur Reformationsgesch. iv. 223), to Henry, Duke of Mecklinburg (Riederers Nachrichten iv. 202), and undoubtedly to other separate states which were not divulged.

[95] The answer of the States to the Pope may be seen in Latin in Goldast Constitutt. imperial. i. 452, in German in F. Hortleder v. d. Ursachen des deutschen Krieges i. 9, and Walch xv. 2550 (compare Ranke deutschen Gesch. im Zeitalter d. Ref. ii. 52 ff.: Quod sedis Apostolicae sententia in Lutherum lata, simulque Sacrae Caesareae Majestatis edictum non sit debitae executioni demandatum, non sine maximis, urgentissimisque rationibus, utputa ne pejora inde causarentur etc., hactenus praetermissum est. Majori namque populi parti jam pridem persuasum est, et modo Lutheranis libris ac dogmatibus populorum opinio sic informata, ut jam pro comperto habeant, Nationi Germanicae a Curia Romana per certos abusus multa et magna gravamina et incommoda illata esse: ob id, si pro executione Apostolicae sedis sententiae, vel Imperatoriae Majestatis edicti quidpiam acerbius attentatum esset, mox popularis multitudo sibi hanc suspicionem animo concepisset, ac si talia fiebant pro evertenda evangelica veritate, et sustinendis manutenendisque malis abusibus impietatibusque. Unde indubie nihil aliud quam gravissimi tumultus populares, intestinaque bella speranda essent, quemadmodum ex multis ac variis rerum argumentis Principes aliique Ordines jam plane didicere et cognovere. Oportunioribus itaque remediis his malis, in hac potissimum temporum difficultate, succurrendum esse existimant. Then the pope's promises were greatly praised. Nam nisi istiusmodi abusus et gravamina, simulque *certi Articuli, quos saeculares Principes juxta haec specialiter designatos scriptis exhibebunt*, fideliter reformentur, vera pax et concordia inter ecclesiasticos saecularesque Ordines, hujusque tumultus et errorum extirpatio per Germaniam minime speranda est. Then they pray for the abolition of the annates, asserting, Principes Germaniae in solutionem Annatarum ad aliquot annos sedi Apostolicae solvendarum ea lege ac conditione consensisse, ut illa in oppugnationem perfidissimi Turcae, et defensionem fidei Catholicae converterentur. But that time had been long past, and this purpose was never accomplisht. They propose as the best means of allaying all disturbances, quod Beatitudo Pontificis,

efforts for reform at Rome, Hadrian was rewarded with hatred, resistance, and an early death (14 Sept. 1523).[96] His successor, Clement VII., immediately returned to the old Papal course, and demanded by his Cardinal Legate Campegius at the diet of

accedente ad haec Sacrae Caesareae Majestatis consensu, liberum Christianum Concilium ad locum convenientem in Natione Germanica, quanto ocius et celerius quoad fieri possit, videlicet vel in Argentoratum, vel Moguntiam, Coloniam Agrippinam, vel ad civitatem Metensem, vel alium convenientem locum in Germania indiceret: nec ultra unius anni spatium (si possibile foret) haec Concilii convocatio et designatio differretur, et quod in tali Concilio eis qui interesse deberent Ecclesiastici vel laicalis ordinis, non obstantibus quibuscunque juramentis et obligationibus libere liceret loqui et consulere pro gloria summi Dei, et salute animarum, proque republica christiana, absque aliquo impedimento: quinimo quilibet ad haec debeat esse obnoxius etc. Till this could be brought about a check should be placed upon innovating letters and sermons. The Legate in his reply (Goldast l. c. 455) exprest himself as much dissatisfied with this answer, but he received a curt reply (l. c. 456): Quamvis Principes, et reliqui ordines Germanicae nationis iterum pro verbis verba dare potuissent, quum tamen aliis magis necessariis occupati essent, Pontificium oratorem priori responsione contentum esse jusserunt; donec gravamina nationis Germanicae summo Pontifici transmissa forent, ac inde manifestum fieret, num verba ejus tam blanda, facta etiam debita secutura essent. In the composition of the Gravamina, those of Worms (see note 76) were the groundwork, which had only to be brought into a more convenient form. They were to have been given to the Legate, as is expressly stated in the preface (in Georgi p. 366); and this would have been done, si non praeter omnium exspectationem abitionem suam hinc tantopere maturasset, ac inopinato ita decessisset (see the Peroratio in Georgi p. 500); so they had to be sent after him. Veesenmeyer (Kirchenhist. Archiv. f. 1824. iii. 87) erroneously asserts the contrary; for the statement in the peroratio, which is not the work of the first editor, but of the states, easily outweighs all other testimony. See these Gravamina in Goldast l. c. 456, J. F. Georgii Imperatorum nationis Germ. gravamina adv. sedem Romanam Francof. et Lips. 1725. 4. p. 365. On the many Latin and German editions of them see H. G. Franci de gravaminibus Norimbergensibus ab erroribus liberatis epist. ad J. E. Kappium Lips. 1731. 4.

[96] The opinion of the Roman clergy with regard to these avowals made to the Germans has been preserved in Pallavicini's hist. Conc. Trident. lib. ii. c. 6. § 8: Est pariter veritati consentanea ea ratio, quam Suavis asserit a Soderino Cardinale propositam Pontifici: emendationem Datariae, aliorumque ecclesiasticorum Romae Magistratuum, haereticorum conversioni parum esse conducibilem.—Quin ex eo quod ipsorum causa emendatum fuisset, plausum auctoritatemque apud populos sibi comparaturos fuisse.—Atque ita experimento compertum esse, moderatis concessionibus iratum quidem populum quandoque placari posse, perduellem non posse: adeoque perduellionis incendium non nisi vel terroris gelu, vel sanguinis pluvia restingui. With regard to the instructions of the Legate Cap. 7. § 9: Hujusmodi mandata, sicut

Nuremberg (Jan. 1524) the unconditional suppression of heresy.[97] The Legate only obtained an unsatisfactory decree for the observance of the edict of Worms, as far as possible,[98] and now en-

aperto declarant Adriani probitatem,—ita apud plerosque majorem in eo prudentiam circumspectionemque desiderabant. § 10. Experientia compertum est, non modo Romanum Pontificatum,—sed regimen modici Ordinis religiosi, quantumvis simplicis ac formae severioris, melius regi a quodam praedito mediocri probitate cum eximia prudentia conjuncta, quam a sanctimonia modicae prudentiae compote. Quapropter ut ipsa sanctitas in subditis conservetur, non tantum in sanctitate, quam in prudentia momenti est.

[97] When Campegius was required to make a declaration at the diet with regard to the Gravamina, he replied (Sleidanus lib. iv. ed. am Ende p. 226): In conventu Wormaciae Caesaris exiisse mandatum ejus rei, de communi ipsorum consilio promulgatum:—sibi igitur videri, priusquam aliud decernatur, de modo executionis deliberandum esse.—Quantum ad ipsorum postulata pertinet, an edita sint, ut Romam deferantur, omnino se nescire: tria solum exemplaria fuisse perlata Romam ad quosdam privatim: ex iis unum sibi contigisse: Pontifici autem et Cardinalium senatui non posse persuaderi, haec a Principibus ita fuisse decreta, sed existimare, privatos homines odio reipublicae Romanae in lucem emisisse: nullum etiam ejus rei se mandatum habere: neque tamen hoc sic accipiendum esse, quasi de eo potestatem non habeat agendi: sed in iis postulatis esse multa, quae et Pontificis, derogent auctoritati, et haeresin redoleant, et a se tractari non possint: alia vero, quae non adversentur Pontifici, quaeque nitantur aequitate, non se recusare, quominus de iis et cognoscat et agat: sed tamen sibi videri, moderatius multo posse proponi, si quid erga Pontificem habeant. Pirkheimer narrates that this Campegius, then at Nuremberg, cheated a poor mathematician out of a book and a globe, and refused to make him any indemnification because he was a Lutheran, in Strobels vermischten Beyträgen zur Gesch. der Literatur Nürnberg 1775. S. 98.

[98] The final decree of the diet 18. April 1524 in Lünigs Reichsarchiv P. gen. cont. 1. p. 445. Walch xv. 2674: the Emperor had expected that the states would with regard to the edict of Worms "gehorsamlich gelebt und nachkommen seyn, darzu dasselbe gehandhabt haben, und aber solches nicht beschehen, davon gemeiner Christenheit deutscher Nation nicht kleine Beschwerung erfolgt." On the repeated demand of the Emperor, the States determined, "demselben unserm Mandat gehorsamlich, wie sie sich dess schuldig, erkennen, so viel ihnen möglich, zu geleben, gemäss zu halten und nachzukommen." Libels were to be discontinued, a general council assembled as soon as possible, an abstract of the new doctrines to be prepared for its use, "was darin disputirlich gefunden," meanwhile, "das h. Evangelium und Gottes Wort nach rechtem wahren Verstand u. Auslegung der von gemeiner Kirchen angenommenen Lehrern ohn Aufruhr u. Aergerniss gepredigt u. gelehrt." But measures were to be taken with regard to the Gravamina at the next diet. But the electoral envoy, and the deputies of the estates, of counts, and gentlemen protested against this

deavoured by means of negotiations with separate states and persons to obtain something more.[99] He actually succeeded so far as to unite several states at Ratisbon (July 1524), in concluding a league for the execution of the edict of Worms, and in accepting from the legate a decree against certain isolated abuses, as the Reformation of the Church, which was to satisfy universal expectation.[100] However, the time for deception was past; even zealous Catholic princes were ashamed of supporting this sham-Reformation; and it soon became the laughing-stock of the people.[101]

decree (see the documents in Walch xv., 2696.) The Pope remonstrated against its want of decision to the emperor, and the kings of France and England (see letters of the 16th, 17th, and 22d May, in Raynald 1524, no. 15 ss.). The Emperor accordingly, in an edict from Burgos, 15. July (Cyprians Nützl. Urkunden hinter Tentzels Bericht Th. 2. S. 304), refused the demand for a council, and required "pei vermeidung Criminis laesae Majestatis, unser u. des Reichs Acht u. Aberacht" the observance of the edict of Worms.

[99] He desired especially to draw over Melancthon to his side. When in April and May he visited his fatherland, the Palatinate, the legate sent his secretary, Frederick Nausea to him, to win him by large promises. Melancthon stoutly refused every overture (see the account of Camerarius who was present at the time Vita. Melanchth. § 26. ed. Strobel p. 93). Melancthon was thereby induced to send the cardinal a letter, which has become known under the title De doctrina D. Lutheri ad amicum quendam (Mel. epistt. ed. Bretschneider i. 657), and begins with the important remark: Fallitur mundus, cum unum hoc agi a Luthero judicat, ut publicae caeremoniae aboleantur.—Verum non de caeremoniis dimicat Lutherus, majus quoddam docet, quid intersit inter hominum justitiam et Dei justitiam. The legate also tried to win Melancthon by means of Erasmus, see Erasmi ep. ad Mel. postr. Nonas Sept. 1525 in Bretschneider i. 672.

[100] Ranke's deutsche Gesch. im Zeitalter d. Ref. ii. 158. These were the Archduke Ferdinand, the Duke of Bavaria, the Archbishop of Saltzburg, the Bishops of Trent, Ratisbon, Bamberg, Spires, Strasburg, Augsburg, Constance, Basle, Freisingen, Passau, and Brescia. The documents of the league are in Walch xv., 2699, best in Strobels Miscellaneen ii. 118. The Constitutio ad removendos abusus et Ordinatio ad vitam Cleri reformandam, which belongs to it, issued by Campegius, may be seen in the Fasciculus rerum expetendarum et fugiendarum ed. E. Brown p. 422. Goldasti constitt. Imperial. iii. 478.

[101] Even the zealous Catholic Ortuinus Gratius says of it in his Fasciculus l. c.: quae sicuti pauca complectitur, ita etiam a paucis est recepta. Lampoons against it are mentioned by name in Strobels Miscellaneen ii. 134, where also some extracts are given from one of them, "Absaz oder Fehdschrift des höllischen Fürsten Lucifers, Doctor Martin Luther jetzt zugesandt."

Hadrian's honest avowal and fruitless labours, as well as the opposite policy of his successor, only increast the conviction, that a Reformation of the Church was necessary, but not to be expected from Rome. Thus there was a stronger inclination towards the amendment of the Church which had been already begun with success; already in almost every part of Germany it had its champions. Popular authors, such as Hans Sachs at Nuremberg,[102] John Eberlin of Günzburg,[103] Michael Stiefel from Esslingen,[104] and others,[105] recommended it. In many

[102] For instance by his Wittenbergische Nachtigal, probably in 1523. Disputacion zwischen einem Chorherren u. Schuhmacher, darin das Wort Gottes u. ein recht christlich Wesen verfochten wird. 1524. Dialog von den Scheinwerken der Geistlichen u. ihren Gelübden. 1524. See Hans Sachs, Beförderer der Reformation, von Veesenmeyer, in d. Kirchenhist Archiv f. 1826. iii. 249.

[103] In 1521 he left the Franciscan monastery at Ulm, and laboured in many places as a preacher of Reform. To the number of his works, which are distinguisht for their mildness, belong especially the 15 Bundsgenossen, Strobels Nachricht v. Joh. Eb. v. G. Leben u. Schriften im Altdorf. literar. Museum i. 363. Eighteen works of his are here enumerated. His work on the Reformation of the clerical order is reprinted in Strobel's Miscellaneen ii. 207.

[104] An Augustin monk at Essling, he wrote a poem, "Von der Christförmigen, rechtgegründten Lehre D. M. Luthers" and was engaged in a correspondence about it with Thomas Murner at Strasburg. He left his monastery in 1522, workt as an evangelical preacher in many places, wrote more in the cause of the Reformation, but degenerated at length into Apocalyptic dreams † 1567 at Jena, see the notice of M. Stiefels Leben u. Schriften in Strobels neuen Beyträgen i. 1.

[105] Thus Kettenbach, a bare-footed friar, wrote, "Practica practicirt aus der h. Bibel 1523. 4." See Altdorfisches literar. Museum ii., 51. In the year 1524 appeared: "Ain Sermon gepredigt vom Pauren zu Werdt bey Nürnberg von dem freyen Willen des Menschen, auch von Anrufung der Heiligen," composed by Diepold Peringer, a peasant from the district of Ulm, who had preacht publicly at Kitzingen and Nüremberg, and was probably also the author of the following works: "Des christl. Pauren getreuen Rath," u. "Ain schöne Auslegung über das göttlich Gebet Vater Unser, das uns Gott selbst geleret hat. Das hat betracht ein armer Bauer u. s. w." s. Riederers Nachrichten ii. 71.—Utz Rychsners (Urbanus Regius) Gespräch zwischen einem Pfaffen u. Weber: probably to the same author belongs also the dialogue betwixt a barefooted friar and a spoon-maker; both dialogues have been erroneously attributed to Hans Sachs, see Veesenmeyer in dem Kirchenhist Archiv. f. 1826. iii. 271.—Ain schöner Dialogus von einem Lanzknecht u. Predigermünich durch Wolfgang Zierer von Salzburg, s. Veesenmeyer in Illgens Zeitschrift f. d. hist. Theologie ii. 2, 257.

parts of northern Germany, and the adjacent countries, it obtained the ascendancy, in East Friesland since 1519,[106] in some towns of Pomerania,[107] and Livonia,[108] and in Silesia[109] since 1522, in Prussia[110] and Mecklinburg[111] since 1523; in Denmark and Sweden the number of converts was already considerable It met with especial success among the people in the free towns. Thus by the decision of the townsmen it prevailed at Frankort on Mayne in 1523,[112] in Swabian Halle,[113] and Magdeburg,[114] in

[106] Gittermanns Reformationsgeschichte v. Ostfriesland, in the Kirchenhist. Archiv. f. 1824. iii. 23.

[107] It was spread abroad in Treptow from 1520 by Bugenhagen, persecuted in 1521, see Johannes Bugenhagen v. Zietz, Leipz. 1829. s. 43. ff. Illgen's Zeitschr. f d. hist. Theol. v. i. 230. Dieselbe neue Folge i. iii. 139. Stettin received two preachers from Wittenberg, Seckendorf i. 240. b. Christian Ketelhodt preached at Stralsund from 1522, in April 1523 a general storm against images ensued, see Sastrowens Leben herausg. v. Mohnike i. 36. Joh. Berckmanns Stralsundische Chronik herausg. v. Mohnike u. Zober (Stralsund 1833) s. 33. 259. D. C. F. Fabricius die Acht u. Vierzig oder: die Einführung der Kirchenverbesserung in Stralsund. Stralsund 1837. 8.—(v. Medem's) Gesch. der Einführung der evangel. Lehre im Herzogth. Pommern. Greifswald 1837. 8. J. G. L. Kosegarten de lucis evangelicae in Pomerania exorientis adversariis. Gryphisw. 1830. 4.

[108] See § 15, note 5 below.

[109] Breslau set the example, it was followed by Frederick II., duke of Liegnitz, and George, Margrave of Brandenburg, as duke of Jägerndorf, see Rosenberg's Reform. Gesch. v. Schlesien Breslau 1767.

[110] See § 15, note 3 below.

[111] First at Rostock in 1523 by means of Joachim Schlüter (M. Joachim Schlüter erster evang. Prediger zu Rostock, ein Beitrag zur Reformationsgesch. geschr. durch Nicolaum Grysen 1593, neu herausgegeben v. K. F. L. Arndt. Lübeck 1832. 8), at Wismar by Henry Möllens in 1524, Seckendorf i. 295. a. Sculteti Annales Evangelii renovati ad ann. 1524. D. Schröders Kirchenhist.des evang. Meklenburg. Rostock 1788. 2 Theile 4.

[112] It had been preacht there ever since 1521, and been protected by certain noblemen in the neighbourhood. On the 5th March 1523, the senate had to issue an order to all the clergy, to preach the word of God pure and plain, Seckendorf i. 243. J. B. Ritter's Evang. Denkmahl der Stadt Frankf. a. M., od. ausführl. Bericht der daselbst organgenen Kirchenreform. Frankf. 1726. 4.

[113] By John Brenz, who was pastor in 1522, and discontinued the Mass in 1523, Seckendorf i. 242.

[114] The townsmen assembled on the 23rd June 1523 with 7 preachers, in the Augustin monastery, and drew up articles for the Council, in which they demanded a reformation. Then they prevailed on Nic. Amsdorf to undertake the arrangement of Church matters, Seckendorf

1524 in Ulm,[115] Strasburg,[116] Bremen[117] and Nuremberg.[118] But there were few towns in which it did not stir up a hazardous struggle against the old constitution of the Church.)[119]

i. 246. G. S. Rötger's Magdeburg. Reformationsgeschichte. 2te Aufl Magdeburg 1792. 8.

[115] Though the Franciscans John Eberlin (see note 103) Henry of Kettenbach (see Veesenmeyer's Beyträge zur Gesch. der Literatur u. Reform. Ulm. 1792. s. 79), and John Diepholt had preacht the Reformation before this time; it obtained greater consistency in 1524, when Conrad Sam was called in at the request of the townsmen. In the same year the Senate began its regulations for reform by a command to the clergy either to dismiss their concubines or to marry them, see Seckendorf i. 242.—The Reformation prevailed at Heilbronn also by means of Bernhard Lachmann, 1521, who was pastor there, see C. Jäger's Mittheilungen zur schwäb u. fränk. Reformationsgesch. B. 1. (Stuttgart 1828) S. 30 ff. In Kaufbeuern the signal for the introduction of reform was given by a tinman, 8. Sept. 1524, who interrupted the priest in a sermon of extravagant commendation of the Virgin Mary with the words "Pfaff du lügst" (Priest thou liest), s. Wagenseils Beitrag zur Gesch. der Reform. Leipz. 1830. S. 2.

[116] The efforts for reform which had been early undertaken, received a decided character from the year 1523, when Gaspar Hedio came to Strasburg as preacher at the Cathedral, Wolfgang Fabricius Capito as provost of the foundation of St Thomas, and Martin Bucer. The alteration in divine service was commenced in 1824 with the approval of the Senate, see A. Jung's Beiträge zu der Gesch. d. Reformation. 2te Abth. Gesch. der Reformat. der Kirche in Strasburg u. dem Elsasse. Strasb. u. Leipz. 1830. 8.

[117] Henry of Züthphen preacht the reformation here from 1522-1524 in the Anschariikirche, John Timann from 1524 in the church of St Martin: in 1525 the Mass was everywhere abolisht: see Pratje Bremen u. Verdische Bibliothek, B. 1. St. 2 S. 1. H. W. Rotermund vom Anfange der Reformation in Erzstifte Bremen u. Stifte Verden. Lüneburg 1825.

[118] Joh. Müllner's Reformationsgesch. der freyen Reichstadt Nürnberg. Nürnberg 1770. 8. The two Provosts George Besler at St Sebald, and Hector Pömer at St Laurence's, the Augustin prior Wolfgang Volprecht, and Andrew Osiander, from 1522 Preacher at St Lawrence's, began from the year 1522 to preach the Reformation: and the council protected them notwithstanding the remonstrances of the papal legate, and the emperor's stadtholder, at the diets of Nuremberg in 1523 and 24, see Altdorfisches literar. Museum ii. 26. In the year 1524 they abolisht the Mass and other popish usages, and the sentence pronounced against them by the Bishop of Bamberg remained without result, see Strobel's Miscellaneen iii. 45.

[119] For a characteristic account of this struggle see Ambrose Farrer's apology to the town-council of Constance A.D. 1523 (in Füssli's Beyträgen zur Reformationsgesch iv. 195): He shows how Luther's doctrine was misrepresented by his enemies: "Sie sagen,

Luther verwerfe alle äusserliche gute Werke, die Gott geboten, sie verschweigen aber darbey, dass er so getreulich lehret, aus was für einem Grund, nämlich dem gläubigen Herzen, alle gute fruchtbare Werke fliessen müssen, dass er also gern die Wurzel und den Baum zuerst gut machen möchte, damit die guten Werke als die Früchte nicht von aussenher angehängt, sondern von innen hinaus getrieben würden. Sie geben auch von ihm aus, er lehre leibliche Wollust, und dass man nicht mehr fasten solle, darum, dass er verwirft einige bestimmte Zeiten und Tage :—sie verschweigen aber boshaftig, dass er uns ernstlich zu täglicher Casteiung und Dämmung des Fleisches vermahne. Sie wenden weiter für, nach Luthers Lehre dörfte man nicht beten, da er doch allein das unnütze blabberen—verwirft, sintemal Christus selbst solches Lefzen-Geschwäz verwirft :—sie sagen aber nicht darbey, dass er uns lehret, wir sollen ohne Unterlass beten in Erhebung und Aufschwingung unseres Gemüthes zu Gott. Sie streuen aus, Luther lehre Geilheit des Fleisches, darum dass er die weitschweifende schandliche Unlauterkeit der Pfaffen mit dem Ehebies ein wenig zähmen, auch den gutherzigen Priestern, die wegen ihrer Blödigkeit zu schwach sind, sich zu rathen, durch ziemliche und von Christo und seinen Aposteln zugelassene Mittel gern beholfen seyn wollte ; sie verschweigen aber, dass er—alle Unlauterkeit verbeut,—da wir doch anjetzo solche für unsere geistliche Obern und Seelsorger haben,—welche in öffentlicher Hurerey, Schanden und Lastern—leben. Weiter schreyen sie, Luther wollte alle Oberkeit abschaffen, darum, dass er einiger Tyrannen grausames Regiment nicht gedulden will, die sich mit unseliger Kühnheit unterstehn, Gott dem herren in seine Herrlichkeit—zu fallen und einzugreifen, sintemal sie ihre Gewalt in unsere Seelen und Gewissen erstrecken wollen ;—sie sagen aber nicht darbey, dass wir nach Luthers Lehr nicht allein eine Oberkeit haben, sondern auch ihr wüterisches, grausames Regiment—in christlicher Geduld leiden und ertragen sollen, sofern allein die Seel und das Gewissen frey bleiben. Ueberdiess ziehen sie die Zweytracht und Aufruhr an, welche diese Lehr in der Welt erwecket hat und wissen nicht, dass das Wort Gottes von jewelten her Uneinigkeit Empörung zwischen Falsch-und Rechtglaubigen gemachet habe.—Dann wir haben christlich zu bedenken, dass, wie die Kirche zuerst mit Durchächtung und Blutvergiessen der Gläubigen angefangen und erbauet worden ist, sie auch jetzt, da sie zu Abfall und kläglicher Unordnung beynahe aller Dinge gekommen ist, wiederum nicht ohne grosse Unruhe und Empörung aufgerichtet, und in ihre alte Würdigkeit gesetzet werden müsse.—Item geben sie für, der Luther verwerfe alle Gottes Zierden, Taflen, Särge, Amblen, Kerzen, Orglen, Messgewande, etc. ; sie verhalten aber, dass er so trungendlich vermahnet, die lebendigen Tempel Gottes, wie Paulus saget, nemlich die Armen im Bau zu halten und zu zieren, damit sie nicht Mangel und Noth leiden.—Dessgleichen klagen sie, diese Lehre gereiche zu Schmach und Verkleinerung der unbefleckten ewig reinen Jungfrau Maria, und anderer Gottes Heiligen, darum dass man die Wallfahrten, Feldkirchen, das Kerzenbrennen und dergleichen nicht viel will gelten lassen ; sie geschweigen aber, dass man uns lehret die rechte Verehrung der Heiligen, nämlich dass wir die göttliche Gnad in den Heiligen erkennen, preisen und rühmen, — und also unser Herz in Zuversicht und

§ 2.

HISTORY OF THE REFORMATION IN SWITZERLAND DOWN TO 1525.

Since the gallant Swiss mercenaries had so often determined the fortune of war on the battle fields of northern Italy, the Pope and the kingdom of France especially, had vied with each

Hoffnung stärken, er werde uns solche Gnad auch wie ihnen, dieweil sie unsere Mitbrüder sind, väterlich verleihen und mittheilen, und zuletzt in ihre Fussstapfen richten, dass wir ihrem Glauben und tugendhaften Leben nachfolgen. Sie wollen auch uns dieses Honig darmit verbittern, dass Luther so gar räss, anfällig und beissend ist, seine Widersächer, und unter denselbigen auch die grossen Herren und Fürsten, geistliche und weltliche, mit frevler Kühnheit anbeisse, schelte und lästere, dass er brüderlicher Liebe und christlicher Bescheidenheit so gar vergesse, etc. Warlich hierinnen hat er mir oft misfallen, ich wollte auch jetzt noch niemand darzu anweisen, dass er sich hierinnen ihm gleichstellte: gleichwol habe ich darin seine gute christliche Lehre nicht verworfen, ich will auch über seine Person in diesem Stücke nicht urtheilen, dieweil ich seinen Geist und das heimliche Urtheil Gottes, damit durch diesen Mangel viele Leute von seiner Lehr abgezogen würden, nicht erkenne, darbey aber gedenke, dass er nicht seine eigene Sach, sondern das göttliche Wort verfechte; desswegen ihm vieles nachgesehen, und alles zu einem um Gott eiferenden Zorn ausgelegt werden mag.—Zuletzt unterstehen sie sich diese Lehre darmit argwänisch und verdächtig zu machen, sagende, man habe bisher mehr denn tausend Jahre einen durchgehenden gemeinen Verstand der heil. Schrift gehabt, und seyen die heil. Väter und Lehrer ganz einträchtig darinnen gewesen, jetzt aber komme Luther, stosse alles um, wolle einem besonderen Verstand haben nach seinem eigenen Kopf, also dass das Vorige alles mit einandern nichts taugen solle. Hierauf dient zur Antwort, dass er vor anderen aus nach der Vermahnung Pauli seinen Verstand also eingeschranket, und in das Wort Christi gezwungen habe, dass er selten nach eigenem Gutbedunken, sondern Schrift mit Schrift, welches das künstlichste Glossiren ist, vergleichet und erkläret.—Auch ist nicht wahr, dass die alten oder neuen Lehrer jetzo bisher in Tractirung der Schrift eins gewesen seyen, dann ich wollte in wenigen Tagen ein grosses Buch zusammentragen von solchen Artiklen, darinnen sie ganz spänig und zweyspältig gewesen sind.—Allein über den Luther, der das rechte Geschwär und Gebrechen der Kirchen angezeiget und berühret hat, führen sie ein Mordgeschrey, sie mögen sein Schreiben nicht ertragen, sie unterstehen sich seine Lehre allen Menschen widrig zu machen, sie verkehren seine Worte, sie messen ihm viele unerhörte Kertzerstücke zu, also dass alles, was jetzt ungereimtes von Gott und den Heiligen gesungen und gesaget wird, alle Lästerbücher und Ketzereyen dem Luther und den Lutherischen aufgebürdet werden, etc."

other in soliciting support from the 13 cantons.[1] Persons of influence were won over to either side by pensions. The Pope employed his spiritual powers also for the same purpose; and vouchsafed a courteous obsequiousness in ecclesiastical matters, in indulgences and church-benefices. The immediate consequence of the almost universal enlistment in foreign service was a deplorable demoralization; for the mercenaries on their return brought back with them licentiousness, wanton levity, and crimes of every kind, to their fatherland.[2] At the same time the clerical order was degraded by the unprincipled distribution of church-patronage.[3] But reverence towards Rome also decreast considerably, since men learnt to know her more generally by closer intercourse, and found such frequent cause of complaint against her.[4] Accordingly the Swiss Governments assumed more and more an independent bearing towards the Pope, as they became conscious of the obsequiousness imposed upon him by circumstances.[5] Thus the evil of foreign enlistment, which was per-

[1] Compare J. v. Müller's Schweizergeschichte Th. 5 Abth. 2 von Robert Glutz-Blozheim (Zürich 1816) S. 243 ff. Wirz neuere helvet KG. 1, 31 ff.

[2] Anshelm's Berner Chronik vi. 91, in the year 1521: "Wie dann vornach bishar alle Uebermäss, Ueppigkeit und Aendrung der Sitten. in ein schlechte, tapfere Eydgenossschaft us fremden Kriegen gebracht ist worden, also ist auch zu diser Zyt beschehen etc." Bullinger's Reformationsgeschichte i. 4. Glutz-Blozheim S. 504. Wirz i. 48. Niklaus Manuel von Grüneisen. Stuttg. u. Tübingen 1837. S. 27. Compare the poem "der alte u. der neue Eidgenosse," ibid. s. 461.

[3] Glutz-Blozheim s. 501. Hottingers Fortsetz. v. Müller u. Glutz Blotzheim vi. 282. Grüneisen s. 16.

[4] Grüneisen s. 26. Anshelm v. 481. When a papal legate appeared before the diet at Glaris in Jan. 1520: "da erklagten sich die Eydgenossen, ihre Pension wurd ihnen mit nüwer, unwährer Münz und zu Unzyt bezahlt, anders dann der Bund wyste. Auch so wäre nüt ze dulden, dass sie von Curtisanen betrübt wurdint, dass des Babsts Gardiknecht Pfründen erwurbint und die verkouftint; item, und dass die verwürkten Priester um Diebstahl, Todtschlag, Ketzery &c. dem Bischofen übergeben, usgelassen oder entrunnen wieder Mess hieltint, und andere priesterlicher Würdigkeit Aempter übtint. Ihnen söllte zugelassen werden, söliche ze strafen und abzewysen. Antwort der Legat, es wurde Besserung und Fürsehung beschehen, sölltint ein Zyt Geduld haben, und gemein Anligen der heil. Kilchen bedenken."

[5] When the Pope in 1518 required 12,000 men at arms from the confederates for an expedition against the Turks, they declared themselves ready on condition (Anshelm v. 341): "so wir nit uf sin söllten,

petually denounced by patriots as the ruin of Switzerland,[6] brought with it its own cure, by helping to prepare the ground for the reformation of the Church.

The brightest spot in Switzerland was Basle. Amongst other divines strongly attacht to antient learning, Thomas Wyttenbach of Biel,[7] taught at the university of this place from 1505, and Wolfgang Fabricius Capito a native of Alsatia from 1512—1520.[8] They opened to their hearers many clear views of isolated doctrines. But Erasmus especially, who settled at Basle for some time in 1516, gathered round him a circle of enthusiastic admirers of antient learning, and refined views in religion.[9]

To this circle Huldreich Zwingli united himself; he was born on the first of January 1484 at Wildhaus in the Grafschaft Toggenburg, and educated at the Universities of Vienna and

bis ander christliche Fürsten, Herren und Ständ, die uns vorgahn, uf sind, und wider den Türken ziehent." They promised 10,000 men, and added: "wo bäbstliche Heiligkeit noch meh bedörfe, wöllint wir ihr uf ihre Gefallen noch 2000 Pfaffen us unserer Eydgnossschaft auch nachlassen, dass die auch söllint ziehen, damit die Zahl der 12,000 erfüllt werde."

[6] Many persons advised, so early as the diet of Lucerne in 1495: "aller fremden Herren müssig zu gehn," Glutz Blotzheim s. 56. At Berne the Carthusian Franz Kolb, from 1512 Preacher at the Vinzenzen-Münster, was very zealous against foreign enlistment, and left the town from chagrin at the unsuccessfulness of his preaching, see the Reformers of Berne in the xvith cent. by G. J. Kuhn, Bern 1828 s. 344 ff.

[7] With regard to him see Kuhn s. 47 ff.

[8] With regard to him see Jung's Gesh. d. Reform. d. Kirche in Strassburg B. 1. S. 86 ff.

[9] To this circle of Erasmians, which is known by Zwingli's earlier correspondence, belonged Capito, Beatus Rhenanus, Henricus Glareanus, the Franciscan Conrad Pellicanus, Oswald Myconius in Basle, Joachim Vadianus Professor at Vienna, from 1518 at his native town of St Gall, Wilh. Nesen at Basle, afterwards at Paris, Joh. v. Botzheim, canon of Constance (see J.v.B. u. seine Freunde von K. Welchner, Schafhausen 1836. 8.). To what extent enlightenment in theology had advanced, at a very early date, among these men is shown by the account of John Fabritius Montanus († 1566) in his funeral oration on Pellicanus: according to which he and Capito, so early as 1512, had come to an understanding at a secret conference in Bruchsal upon the commentum transubstantiationis, and recognized the Bread with St Augustin as Symbolum corporis (see Miscellanea Tigurina iii. 431 ss. Gerdesii hist. evangelii renovati 1, 112 ss); however this after-account is evidently coloured by opposition to the Lutheran tenet.

Basle: at the latter place he received from Wittenbach[10] his first incitement to the study of divinity. From 1506 when he was elected by the community of Glarus to be their pastor,[11] he devoted himself to a zealous study of the Latin classics, and

[10] Leo Judae in praef. ad Adnotatt. Zuinglii in N. T. 1539: D. Th. Wittenbachius—vir in omni disciplinarum genere exercitatissimus, et qui propter multijugam eruditionem omnibus istius seculi doctissimis hominibus miraculo et stupori, et phoenix quidam habitus sit. Quo praeceptore Zuinglius et ego uno eodemque tempore circa A. D. 1505 Basileae literis operam navantes formati sumus, nec solum in cultioribus disciplinis, quorum erat callentissimus, sed in scripturarum quoque veritate. Ut enim homo ille praeter singularem eloquentiam acuto erat ingenio, multa quae posteris temporibus ab aliis prodita sunt, providebat ac praesagiebat, unde indulgentiis Papisticis et aliis rebus, quibus Romanus Pontifex stultum mundum aliquot jam seculis dementaverat. Ex hoc hausimus quidquid nobis fuit solidae eruditionis, atque hoc totum ei debemus. Quum ergo a tanto viro semina quaedam verae religionis Zuingliano pectori injecta essent, et calcar additum, quo ad lectionem literarum, rejectis nugis sophisticis, excitaretur, ad graecanicarum literarum studium statim accinctus Marte suo profecit etc. Zwingli in his Uslegen u. Grund der Schlussreden 1523 in d. Uslegung des XVIII. Artikels (Werke v. Schuler u. Schulthess. Bd. 1. s. 254): Dann ich vorhin (vor Luther) von dem Ablass bericht was, wie es ein Betrug und Farbe wär, us einer Disputation, die Doctor Thomas Wytembach von Biel, min Herr u. geliebter trüwer Lehrer, vor etwas Zyten ze Basel gehalten hatte, wiewol in minem Abwesen." In the Amica exegesis ad Lutherum 1527 (Opp. ed. Schuler et Schulthess iii. 544), he had already learnt from Wyttenbach solam Christi mortem pretium esse remissionis peccatorum. Rud. Gualterus (Zwingli's son-in-law, preacher at Zurich † 1586) in praef. ad priorem partem homiliarum in Matthaeum (Miscell. Tigur. iii. 102) says of Wyttenbach: Non solum bonarum literarum et liberalium artium studia instauravit, sed multos, quoque Papisticae doctrinae articulos de Sacramentis, indulgentiis, votis monasticis publice damnabat, et junioribus dicere solebat, non procul abesse tempus, quo theologiam scholasticam aboleri, et doctrinam Ecclesiae veterem, ab orthodoxis patribus et scriptura sacra traditam, instaurari oporteat. On the other hand Zwingli writes to Wyttenbach on the 15th June 1523 (Opp. vii. 297): Quod quereris, frustra te aetatem tam tuam, quam nostram, in Sophistarum nugis detrivisse, non injuria facis: quanquam nihil est, cur nostra causa turberis. Dedimus haec jam olim temporum iniquitati; verum poenitendo nihil efficimus, quam quod aliis exemplo sumus, qui paulo sunt ingenio magis ingenuo, ne illi diutius quam par sit his haereant, a quibus nos esse avulsos, ut vehementer gaudemus, ita non parum dolet, sero nimis avulsos.

[11] The Pope's presentation of Henry Göldli, an eminent inhabitant of Zurich, who already held several benefices, to this cure, was not regarded; and in 1512 the pope paid him an annual sum by way of

fathers of the church.[12] He inveighed as an eloquent preacher against the corrupt morals of his day;[13] in 1510 he pursued the same course in satirical and allegorical writings.[14] Nevertheless he was still quite devoted to the Pope; he received from him a pension as an influential preacher;[15] and regarded the support which the Swiss rendered to the Pope, as a dutiful protection of the Holy See.[16] But afterwards he was guided more and more

indemnity (Schuler's Huldr. Zwingli, s. 20. 302). This is at once an example of the Pope's arbitrary dealing, and his obsequiousness in Switzerland.

[12] The letters written by him, and to him, at this time are an indication of the character of his studies; they are entirely taken up with subjects of interest to the circle of humanists, with questions of taste and style, literary intelligence, and such points. John Dingnauer wrote to him on the 6th of December 1514 (Opp. vii. i. 9) as Apollineae lyrae moderatori, nostraeque tempestatis Ciceroni indubitato. Wilh. Nesen 27. April, 1517 (Opp. vii. 21) writes to him: tanta est tua eruditio candorque, ut inter extremae sortis homines sint merito connumerandi, qui te non eximium mirentur Musarum simul et Christi sacerdotem. Zwingli wrote first to Erasmus in 1514, and received a very friendly answer (Opp. vii. 10); how highly he prized it is shown by his letter to him 29. April 1515 (l.c. 12): Tu nobis amasius ille es, cui ni confabulati simus, somnum non capimus.—Nos peracti ad te itineris—scias tantum abesse ut poeniteat, ut magnum etiam fecisse nomen nos existimemus, non alia re magis gloriantes, quam Erasmum vidisse, virum de literis Scripturaeque sacrae arcanis meritissimum, quique Dei hominumque ita caritate flagret, ut quidquid literis impenditur, sibi impendi putet, pro quo item omnes bene precari oporteat, ut eum Deus O. M. incolumem servet, ut sanctae literae a barbarie sophismatisque per eum vindicatae in perfectiorem aetatem grandescant, ne tenellae adhuc tanto patre orbae ingratius duriusque educentur. Ego enim—pro tua isthac in universos beneficentia, sero licet, tibi dudum quod Socrati Aeschines (quanquam imparem) donavi (viz. myself).

[13] Myconius de Zwinglii vita § 11 in Stäudlin's u. Tzschirners Archiv f. KG. i. ii. 8: Congredi coepit juxta Christi normam cum flagitiis quibusque perniciosissimis, ante omnia tamen cum pensionibus (sic appellamus munera Principum, quae certis milites parandi bellique conficiendi gratia dabantur hominibus), eo quod eas exstirpare, et patriam reformare ad sanctitatem pristinam prorsus haberet in votis. Nam videbat, tum demum doctrinae coelesti locum futurum, ubi fons malorum esset exhaustus omnium. Compare his Narratio verissima civilis Helvetiorum belli ibid. s. 41.

[14] The Labyrinth (Works ii. ii. 243) against the manifold errors to which foreign lands lead men; a fable in verse, of oxen and certain other beasts, (ibid. s. 257) against foreign enlistment and pensions.

[15] See note 43 below.

[16] This appears from his Relatio de gestis inter Gallos et Helvetios ad Ravennam, Papiam, aliisque locis (in Freheri Rerum Germ. Scriptt.

to Holy Scripture as the alone source of Christianity: in 1513 he began to learn Greek, and entered with zeal upon the study of the New Testament.[17] Thus his sermons from the year 1516 assumed a thoroughly simple and Scriptural style.[18] He began

ed. Struvii iii. 137 ss.) A.D. 1512. E. G. Hunc itaque Christianorum matris (the Church of Rome) statum intuentes confoederati, malo periculosoque exemplo futurum existimant, si cuilibet Tyrannorum (as the King of France) pro rabie communem Christifidelium matrem impune permittant incessere, sedulo raptim habitis conventibus strenue accisas Ecclesiae Italiaeque res resarcire statuunt. The Pope is to him beatissimus Christi vicarius, the conduct of Lewis XII. towards him, and his intention Antipapam, ut ajunt, Cacodaemonis instinctu creare, altogether to be condemned.

[17] Zwingli Uslegen der Schlussreden im J. 1523 des XVIII Art. (Werke i. 254): "Denn wer hat mich ufgerüst das Evangelion zu predgen, und einen ganzen Evangelisten von einet ze predgen? Hat das der Luter gethon? Nun hab ichs doch angehebt ze predigen, ehe ich den Luter je hab ghört nennen, und hab zu sölichem Bruch vor 10 Jahren (also 1513) angehebt griechisch lernen, damit ich die Lehr Christi us ihrem eignen Ursprung erlernen möchte." (With this agrees Zwinglii ep. ad Jo. Vadianum 23 Febr. 1513 Opp. vii. 9: Graecae, latinae ignarus, animum applicui. Quare boni consule, ne oleum laborque pereant; et in manus post Chrysolorae Isagogen quid sumendum? Ita enim graecis studere destinavi, ut qui me praeter Deum amoveat nesciam, non gloriae,—sed sacratissimarum literarum ergo). He writes also on the clearness of the word of God, 1522 (Works i. 79): Ich hab wol als viel zugenommen in minen jungen Tagen in menschlicher Lehr, als etlich mines Alters: und als ich vor jetz 7 oder 8 Jahr vergangen (1514. 1515) mich anhub ganz an die heiligen Schrift lassen, wollt mir die Philosophy und Theology der Zanggeren [Zänker] immerdar inwerfen. Do kam ich zum letzen dahin, dass ich gedacht (doch mit Schrift und Wort Gottes ingführt): du musst das alles lassen liegen, und die Meinung Gottes luter us sinem eignen einfaltigen Wort lernen. Da hub ich an Gott ze bitten um sin Liecht, und fieng mir an die Schrift vil lychter werden, wiewol ich sie bloss las, denn hätte ich viel Comment und Usleger gelesen."

[18] Zwingli Uslegen der Schlussreden. 1523. Uslegung des xviii. Art. (Werke i 253): "Ich hab vor und ehe dhein Mensch in unserer Gegne üts von des Luters Namen gwüsst hat, angehebt das Evangelion Christi zu predgen im Jahr 1516; also dass ich an dhein Canzel gegangen bin, dass ich nit die Wort, so am selben Morgen in der Mess zu eim Evangelio gelesen werdend, für mich nähme, und die allein us biblischer Schrift usleite [auslegte]. Wiewol ich am Anfang derselben Zyt noch treffenlich der alten Lehreren angehangt als den lutreren und kläreren, wiewol mich ihro zu Zyten ouch verdross; als der hochwürdig Herr Diebold von Geroldsegg, Pfleger zu den Einsidlen, wol noch yngedenk ist: dann ich dozemal ihm gerathen hab, er sölle mit allem Flyss Hieronymum lesen; und hab aber daby geredt: es kömme,

to see into many of the errors and abuses of the Church;[19] but he did not yet openly assail them.[20] However when a large part of the confederates allowed themselves to be won over to the side of France; and Swiss began to fight against Swiss in forein lands[21]; then he raised his voice against pensions and forein enlistment. As he thereby incurred the hatred of the French party, he accepted the invitation of the administrator Diebold of Geroldseck, who was devoted to learning, to reside at Einsiedeln in 1516,[22] where, in close intercourse with several con-

ob Gott will, bald darzu, dass weder Hieronymus noch dheiner vil by den Christen, sunder die heilig Schrift allein gelten werde."

[19] E. g. Zwingli Uslegung des xx. Art. 1523. (Werke i. 298): "Ich hab vor 8 oder 9 Jahren (1514 ob. 1515) ein trostlich Gedicht gelesen des hochgelehrten Erasmi von Rotterdam an den Herren Jesum geschrieben, darin sich Jesus klagt, dass man nit alles Guts by ihm sucht, so er doch ein Brune syg alles Guten.—Hie hab ich gedacht: Nun, ist es je also: warum suchend wir denn Hilf by der Creatur?—ich hab anghebt uf die biblischen und der Vätern Schrift sehen, ob ich von denen gwüss möchte bericht werden von dem Fürbitt der Seligen. Kurz ich hab es in der Bibli gar nit funden, by den Alten hab ichs by etlichen funden, by etlichen nit. Doch hat mich dasselb wenig bewegt, ob sie schon der Seligen fürbitt gelehrt habend. Denn sie stundend allweg bloss an Kundschaft. Und wenn ich die Schrift, die sie dahin drucktend, in ihrem Ursprung bsach, so hatt sie den Sinn nit, den sie ihro wolltend angwinnen; und je mee ich uf diss Dogma oder Meinung sach, je minder ich Kundschaft der Schrift fand, aber wol darwider je mee und mee."

[20] Myconius § 13: Interea gratiam evangelicam ita promulgabat, ut de Ecclesiae Romanae abusu nihil, vel admodum parce commemoraret. Volebat, veritatem cognitam in cordibus auditorum agere suum officium: nam veris perceptis et intellectis haud difficulter falsa cognoscimus. Quamvis nec per tempus tum licuerit aliter: prius enim veritas in tanta hominum protervitate et malitia penitus fuisset amissa, quam abusus religionis sublatus. Accordingly when in the year 1522 Zwingli preacht once more at Glarus, he acknowledged that he had formerly recommended many doctrines of men, and exhorted his hearers to hold fast the word of God alone (according to the manuscript history of the Reformation by Werner Steiner who was present at the time, in J. J. Hottingers helvet. K.G. iii. 92.)

[21] Anshelm v., 219. 225. Glutz Blotzheim s. 436.

[22] Zwinglius ad Jo. Vadianum dd. 13 Jun. 1517 (Opp. vii. 24): Locum mutavimus, non cupidinis aut cupiditatis moti stimulis, verum Gallorum technis, et nunc Eremi sumus. He remained still on the best terms with the Government Id. ad Stapferum 1522 (l. c. p. 237): Apud meos Dominos Claronae tanta cum pace et facilitate versatus sum, ut nunquam aliquid litis intercesserit, atque adeo tanta cum gratia

genial spirits,[23] he continued his studies in Erasmus' method,[24] and advanced in theological enlightenment. His sermons continued to be distinguisht only for their simple scriptural style. Although he had helpt quietly to put an end to certain abuses;[25] still he did not yet assail the doctrines of the church.[26] True, Zwingli and his friends recognized more and more clearly the necessity of a Reformation in the Church:[27] but like their master, Erasmus,

discessi, ut mihi Praebendam duos annos prorogaverint, spe ducti, me reversurum esse.

[23] Besides the administrator Geroldseck, chiefly with the papal chaplain, Franz Zink, John Oechslin, see Schuler s. 176 f.

[24] One memorial of these studies is Zwingli's copy of the epistles of St Paul in Greek, preserved in the town-library at Zurich, it was made from Erasmus' edition of 1516, and finisht at Einsiedeln in May 1517, with marginal notes from the fathers of the Church and Erasmus, see Bullinger i. 8. Myconius de vita Zwinglii § 10 (Archiv. 1, ii. 7), Schuler s. 303.

[25] The inscription over the entrance of the monastery: hic est plena remissio omnium peccatorum a culpa et a poena was removed. Zwingli and Oechslin were sent by the administrator to the Convent of Fahr, to introduce among the nuns the reading of the New Testament in German, instead of the chanting of matins, and to send away those who wisht to depart, Hess' Life of Zwingli, translated by Usteri s. 59 f. Schuler s. 180.—On the other hand Zwingli's sermon, on the day of the commemoration of angels, mentioned by Bullinger i. 81, in which he inveighs against the worship of saints, pilgrimages, and vows, does not belong to this date as Hess, Usteri s. 61 ff. Wirz. i. 142 and others maintain; but to the year 1522 in which Zwingli and Leo Judae preacht at Einsiedeln on the commemoration of angels, see Anshelm vi. 97 f. Schuler s. 357. As the feast of the Blessing of Angels was only celebrated every seventh year, it could not have taken place during Zwingli's residence at Einsiedeln.

[26] Salat in his manuscript account (in Schuler s. 357) says, "Er fing an zu rütteln, doch so listiglich, dass er nicht zu begreifen war, dazu man sich keines andern, dann dem Christenglauben gemäss und gleich versehen hätte." Compare note 18.

[27] Capito ad Bullingerum 1536 (ex Ms. in J. H. Hottingeri hist. eccl. saec. xvi. p. ii. p. 207): Antequam Lutherus in lucem emerserat, Zuinglius et ego inter nos communicavimus de Pontifice dejiciendo, etiam dum ille vitam degeret in Eremitoria. Nam utrique ex Erasmi consuetudine, et lectione bonorum auctorum qualecunque judicium tum subolescebat. Compare Beatus Rhenanus ad Zwinglium d. 6. Dec., 1518 (Opp. vii. 1, 57) complaints on the state of the Church: Sacerdotes—ethnicam aut judaicam doctrinam docent. De vulgo sacerdotum loquor. Neque enim me latet, te tuique similes purissimam Christi philosophiam ex ipsis fontibus populo proponere, non Scoticis aut Gabrielicis interpretationibus depravatam, sed ab Augustino, Ambrosio, Cypriano, Hieronymo germane et sincere expositam.—Utinam tui

they still hoped that this might be effected by the Church authorities.[28] Zwingli himself took some steps with this end in view; naturally they were completely unsuccessful.[29]

When in the year 1518, a trafficker in indulgences, the Franciscan Bernhardin Samson, made his appearance in Switzerland also, and surpast all others in effrontery;[30] then Zwingli, as well as many others, raised his voice against this abuse.[31] This however was so much less surprising, as even the Bishop of Constance

similes multos haberet Helvetia! Sic tandem facile posset, ut meliores mores nostrates induerent.

[28] Cf. Capitonis epist. ad Christoph. Utenhemium, Episc. Basileensem, before Jo. Clichtovaei Elucidatorium Ecclesiasticum. Basil. 1517, reprinted in Gerdesii hist. Evang. renov. i. Monum. p. 123, in this letter of dedication the necessity of counteracting the immorality and ignorance of the clergy, was inculcated upon the Bishop.

[29] Bullinger i. 10. Zwingli's Antwurt an Valentin Compar. 1525 (Werke ii. i. 7): "Mit Herren Cardinal von Sitten hab ich vor acht Jahren (also 1517) zu den Einsidlen und demnach zu Zürich oft mit hellen Worten verzügt (bezeugt), dass das ganze Papstthum einen schlechten Grund habe, und das allweg mit gwaltiger heiliger Schrift. Das hat der wolgeborn Herr Diebold von Geroldsegg, M. Franz Zingg, Doctor Michael Sander, die alle dry noch in Leben sind, oft gehört. Und hat sich genannter Cardinal oft mit Worten gegen mir ufgethan sölcher Gstalt: Ghulf mir Gott wieder zum Brett (denn er dozemal in Ungnad Papstes und Päpstinnen was, das ist Cardinälen, die gebärend je einen Papst), ich wöllte daran syn, dass der Uebermuth und Falsch, so der römisch Bischof brucht, an den Tag käm und gebessret wurd. Hat ouch demnach oft Red mit mir von der Lehr und heiliger Schrift wegen ghalten, doch alle uf den Schrot (auf die Weise), dass er den Falsch erkannte, und ihm nit gefiele &c. Wie er aber demnach sich gehalten hab, ist nit Noth hie ze erzählen."

[30] Müller's Schweizergesch, fortges. v. Hottinger vi. 287. He was so well satisfied with Berne, that upon his taking leave, he granted plenary indulgence to all persons present, who repeated the Pater Noster and Ave Maria upon their knees, those who went three times round the Church praying, he assured that they delivered one soul, whomsoever they desired, from purgatory. At length after all had repeated the Paternoster and Ave Maria five times for the souls in purgatory, "Schrey er lut: jetzan diss Augenblicks sind aller Berneren Seelen, wo und wie joch abgescheiden, alle mit enandere us der höllischen Pyn des Fägfürs in die himmelsche Fröud des Himmelrychs ufgefahren So says the eye-witness Anshelm v. 335 f. on the year 1518.

[31] Hottinger hist. eccl. saec. xvi. P. iii. p. 162, and J. J. Hottinger helvet. K. G. iii. 29, only state in general terms, without naming their authorities, that when Samson sold the indulgence in Switzerland, Zwingli had preacht against him at Einsiedeln.

regarded this trafficker in indulgence as an intruder.[32] Zwingli remained so high in favour with the papal Legate, that he appointed him chaplain to the Pope.[33]

On the first of January 1519, Zwingli entered upon the office of Leut priest in the great Minster at Zurich; and in order to spread abroad a knowledge of pure Scriptural doctrine, he began at once to omit the usual portions of Scripture, and to explain in his sermons entire books, and first the Gospel of St Matthew, in regular order. Although he undertook his work independently,[34] nevertheless as Luther's mighty voice, waxing louder and louder, began to penetrate Switzerland also, to rouse the slumberers and encourage the backward,[35] the agreement betwixt the two men was quickly recognized; and abroad, the later and feebler move-

[32] See Fabri epist., note 38 below.

[33] He appointed him Accolitus Capellanus. The document dated 1. Sept. 1518, is in Hottinger, saec. xvi. P. ii. p. 275.

[34] Bullinger i. 12. Zwingli Uslegung des xviii. Art. 1523. (Werke i. 254): "Als ich nun im Jahr 19 ze Zürich anhüb ze predigen, zeigt ich vor den ehrsamen Herren Propst und Capitel an, wie ich das Evangelion, von Matthäo beschrieben, wöllte, ob Gott will, predgen ohn allen menschlichen Tand, und mich den weder lassen irren noch bestryten. Zu Anfang desselben Jahres—hatte nieman by uns von dem Luter üzid gewüsset, usgenommen, dass von dem Ablass etwas usgegangen was von ihm, das mich wenig lehrete: dann ich vorhin von dem Ablass bericht was, wie es ein Betrug und Farbe wär, us einer Disputation, die Doctor Thomas Wytembach von Biel, min Herr und geliebter trüwer Lehrer, vor etwas Zyten ze Basel gehalten hatte, wiewol in minem Abwesen. Dannenhar mich des Luters Gschrift zu derselben Zyt wenig gholfen hat zu dem Predgen Matthäi. Zu welichem aber do von Stund an anhübend ohn Unterlass ze loufen so treffenlich alle, so des Worts Gottes begierig sind, dass ich mich selbs darab verwundrete. Jetz will ich mit den Fyenden der Lehr Christi also reden: Wer schalt mich do luterisch? Als nun des Luther's Büchlin vom Pater noster usgieng, und ich in kurzer Zyt davor dasselb in Matthäo usgelegt hatte, weiss ich noch wol, dass viel frommer kommen, die mich schlechtlich verdachtend, ich hätte das Büchli gemachet, und hätte ihm des Luter's Namen ufgeschrieben. Wer konnt mich do luterisch schelten?" The order in which he proceeded with the other books of the New Testament, and his reasons for it, may be seen in his Archeteles 1522 (Opp. iii. 48).

[35] Luther's works entered Switzerland from Basle. According to Froben's and Capito's Letters to Luther in Febr. 1519 (see § 1, note 37), the Cardinal v. Sitten, and the Administrator of Einsiedeln, lord of Geroldseck, were well-disposed towards him already at that time. At Constance they were well known after Luther's conference with Cajetan at Augsburg (Oct. 1518), see Füssli's Beyträge iv. 174.

ment of Zwingli was understood to have risen from the earlier and more powerful agitation of Luther.[36] The universal excitement roused by Luther could not be without effect upon Zwingli also. True, he remained faithful in essentials to his fundamental principle of overthrowing falsehood not by direct attacks, but by publishing the opposite truths:[37] Still, so many questions of interest were brought by Luther before the public mind, that

[36] In Bern, for instance, where Luther was well known as a reformer, before Zwingli began to reform, see Beatus Rhenan. ad Zuingl. dd. Basil. 26 Dec. 1518 (Opp. vii. 61): Nudius tertius huc a Bernensibus missus est bibliopola, qui multum hic Lutheranorum exemplarium coëmit et illo deportavit. Gaudeo, mi Zuingli, vehementer, quoties video mundum resipiscere, et abjectis mataeologorum somniis solidam consectari doctrinam. Idem a meis municipibus factum est. Quo magis miror Thuregiensium negligentiam, qui moniti per Te facere cessent, quod alii sua sponte capessunt. Neque enim credere possum, Te illos non monuisse, aut rem non succepisse apud eos, qui tibi in judicando primas tribuunt. (But Zwingli did not come to Zürich till the 27th Dec.). Anshelm Berner Chronik v. 273, on the year 1517, speaks of Luther's first appearance as the "Urhab u. Anfang der wunderbaren Ernüwerung des heil. Evangeliums" and describes vi. 101 the Reformation of the Church as "durch den Luther angericht und von Zwingli gestärkt." On the year 1519 he relates v. 368: "Glych im Ingang diss Jahrs—ist dem starken Luther mächtig zugetreten der fest Ulrich Zwingli—Welcher, nachdem er vorhin dry Jahr hat geprediet zu Einsidlen—die g'wohnlichen Messevangelia nach Wys und Uslegung der alten Kirchenlehren jetzan gen Zürich, einer loblichen Eydgenossschaft obrists Orts, in das gross Münster zu einem Lütpriester und Predikanten bestellt. Mit vor gehebtem Urloub sines obern Probsts und Capitels hat er angefangen us lutrer biblischer Gschrift St Mathei Evangelium trostlich ze predien, und da auch ernstlich ze ermahnen, allein Gotts Wort ze hören, ze lesen, anzenehmen und ze glauben, als ein unbewegliche Grundfeste unsers Heils und Seligkeit. Hat auch diss selig Fürnehmen mit sölicher Frucht erstattet und usgeführt, dass da, wie zu Wittenberg, schnell ein wunderbar grosser Zulauf, Gottes Wort zu hören, ist worden, und ein Achtung, als ob Luther und Zwingli, so doch enandern wyt gelegen, und noch nur von Hörsag bekannt, abgelernete Lehr predietint, und der Sach vereint wärint. Da aber die göttliche Wahrheit klarlich anzeigt und bewyst, dass wo ihra Wort nach ihrem Geist luter gehandlet wird, dass es um und um ihm selbst glych, um und um glyche Lehr, Glauben und Frücht gebäre und bringe."

[37] Zwingli Uslegung des xx. Art. 1523 (Werke i. 268): "Ich hab nit gethon, als jetz etliche thund, die, so sie anhebend predigen, zühend sie zum ersten das Fürbitt der Heiligen harfür; und so man ihnen wehren will, sprechend sie: habend nit die Boten ouch zum ersten anzeiget, dass die Abgötte nit Götte, sunder Götzen wärind? Also,

Zwingli could not avoid expressing his opinion on these points. Of his public ministry it is only known, that when Samson came at this time to Zurich, he preacht zealously against indulgences,[38] and censured the corruptions of the clergy and monks. Many private expressions of his may have contributed to the opinion which soon prevailed in Zurich that he was a Lutheran at heart.[39] The monks first attackt him;[40] then several canons

syt ich befind, dass man sich an der Heiligen Fürbitt verlasset, das aber dheinen Grund hat, soll man nit das zum ersten anzeigen? Antwurt ich: Nein, es hat hie ein andre Gstalt, als hernach wol ermessen werden mag. Sunder ich hab es also ze Handen genommen: ich hab das wahr Heil, Christum Jesum, eigenlich anzeigt und styf glehrt, wie sie sich zu ihm söllind alles Guten versehen, zu ihm loufen um alle Nothdurft. Hab also damit die fründliche Gnad Gottes den Menschen geliebet, und das gwüss anzeigt, und wol gwüst dass Gott mit sinem Wort würken wurde; hab ouch den Einfaltigen vorggeben [nachgegeben], also dass ich oft gesprochen hab, so sy hässlicher strittend: Wolhin, wellend ihr überein üwer Anliegen den Seligen klagen, so will ich mines allein Gott klagen. Lasst sehen, welcher fahrt den gwüsseren Weg. Und hab sie also mit Milch erzogen, bis dass ihro etlich, die vor stark wider mich warend, stark darnach allein Gott anhangtend. Also rath ich noch hütbytag denen, so das Gottswort verkündend, dass sie das Heil eigenlich predgind us dem klaren eigenlichen Wort Gottes. So wirt der Trost in den einigen Gott wol wachsen; es wirt ouch der Betrug der falschen Hoffnung wol hinfallen."

[38] In the early months of 1519. Samson was rejected in Zurich Bullinger 1, 17. Müller-Hottinger vi. 290. The papal letters of 30 Apr. 1519 are in Hottinger sacc. xvi. P. iii. p. 177 ss. The vicar-general John Faber who governed the diocese of Constance in place of the feeble Bishop Hugh v. Landenberg, wrote on this subject to Zwingli 7. June 1519 (Opp. vii. 79): Quid ad fratrem indulgentiarium coelipotentem attinet, meus mihi genius praesagiit hunc eventum: neque enim tam frigidus circa praecordia sanguis obstitit, ut tam portentosas venias a sede apostolica nunquam profectas crederem. Quid aliud ejusmodi veniarum licitatores effrontes agunt, quam ut ecclesia passim vel a Christianis irrideatur?

[39] Zwingli Uslegung des xviii. Art. 1523 (Werke i. 255): "Die Päpstler beladend mich und ander mit sölichen Namen us Alefanz,—und sprechend: du must wol luterisch syn; du predgest doch glych wie der Luter schrybt. Antwurt ich ihnen: Ich predige doch glych als wol wie Paulus schrybt: warum nämst du mich nit als mär einen Paulischen? Ja ich predge das Wort Christi, warum nämst du mich nit als mär einen Christen? Darum ist es nüt dann ein Alefanz. Luter ist, als mich bedunkt, so ein treffenlicher Stryter Gottes, der da mit so grossem Ernst die Gschrift durchfündelet, als dheiner in tusend Jahren uf Erden je gsyn ist,—und mit dem mannlichen unbewegten Gmüt, damit er den Papst von Rom angegriffen hat, ist ihm dheiner nie glych worden, als lang das Papsthum gwähret hat, doch alle

of his cathedral complained that he denied the divine right of tithes, and in the exercise of his spiritual office, did not keep sufficiently in view the increase of the revenue of the chapter:[41] his adversaries could not as yet accuse him of heresy. In order to avoid quarrels the council charged all their clergy to hold forth the doctrine of Holy Scripture only.[42] True, the Legate, then present at Zurich, saw the impending danger, and tried to win Zwingli. But he resigned his pension from Rome in 1520,

andren ungescholten. Wess ist aber söliche That? Gottes oder Luters? Frag den Luter selbs, weiss ich wol, er spricht: Gottes. Warum schrybst du denn andrer Menschen Lehr dem Luter zu, so er sy selbs Gott zuschrybt? Noch will ich des Luters Namen nit tragen, denn ich seiner Lehr gar wenig gelesen hab, und hab mich oft siner Bücher mit Flyss gemasset (enthalten), nur dass ich den Päpstleren gnug thäte. Was ich aber siner Gschrift gelesen hab (so vil Dogmata, Lehr, und Meinungen, und Sinn der Gschrift antrifft: denn siner Spänen nimm ich mich nüt an), das ist gemeinlich so wol besehen und gegründt im Wort Gottes, dass nit müglich ist, dass's ghein Creatur umkehr [widerlege]."

[40] Beatus Rhenanus ad Zuinglium d. 7. Maj. 1519 (Opp. vii. 74): non paulo gratius fuit, quod ore nobis retulit Simon noster, pergere te videlicet in asserendo Christianismo, quem partim impietas manifesta, partim fallax superstitio non istic modo, sed ubivis gentium, indignis modis conspurcarunt. Et quanquam, ut non caret aemulatione virtus, obstrepant quidam, tamen a proposito tuo, quod instanter urges, adhuc nemo te retrahere potuit. In qua re constantiam tuam admirari subit, qua nobis apostolici illius seculi virum repraesentas. Obganniunt quidam, rident, minantur, petulanter incessunt; at tu vere christiana patientia suffers omnia. Glareanus ad Zuingl. d. 7. Jun. 1519 (l. c. p. 78) audio, nescio quas contentiones esse tibi cum monachis, hominibus, a quibus plus quam ab aspidum veneno cavendum est. Obesse possunt, prodesse paucis volunt.

[41] Wirz i. 176. The principal duty of the Leut-priests was the increase and management of the revenue. Schuler S. 227.

[42] Bullinger i. 32. The instructions of the Council of Zurich to their subjects 1524 in Füssli's Beyträgen ii. 237: "jedoch haben unsere Predicanten jetzt bey vier oder fünf Jahren die heil. Evangelia und das Gotteswort bey uns geprediget, und hat uns anfänglich, wie ihr meldet, ihre Lehre auch seltsam und fremd bedünket, sintemal sie dem, so wir von unseren Altvorderen gelehret, ungleich ist. Desshalben sind dann unter uns bey Priestern und Layen zehen mal ungleiche Meynungen gewesen, dardurch Zweyungen, am meisten unter denen, welche wenig zur Predig gehen, entstanden sind. Dazumal haben wir, vor und eh wir von des Luthers Lehre gewüsst oder gehört haben, ein öffentliches Mandat an alle Leutpriester, Seelsorger und Predicanten in unserer Stadt und auf dem Lande ausgehen lassen, dass sie alle insgemein frey, wie dieses auch die päpstliche Rechte zugeben, die heil.

and declared that he would not be hindered by anything from preaching the Gospel.[43] The Legate prest eagerly for the burning of Luther's works,[44] but did not venture either to attack the Council for its decree, or Zwingli for his sermons. He thought he had attained his principal object, when Zurich steadfastly refused to join the league,[45] which all the rest of the cantons concluded with France on the 5th May 1521: But Zwingli had greatly contributed to this result by his sermons against forein enlistment in general.[46]

As Zwingli in his sermons distinguisht with increasing clearness betwixt the additions of men in the Church, and the divine teaching of Holy Writ, he was first entangled in controversy in 1522. He had designated the rule of fasting as a human ordi-

Evangelia und Epistel der Apostel, gleichförmig nach dem Geiste Gottes und der rechten göttlichen Schrift des alten und neuen Testamentes predigen, und was sie mit gemeldter Schrift erhalten und bewähren mögen, und von andern zufälligen Neuerungen und Satzungen schweigen sollen. Dieses nun hat der mehrere Theil der Predicanten (als wir nicht anderst wissen) treulich gethan."

[43] Zwingli Uslegung des XXXVII Art. 1523 (Werke i. 354): "Dass aber in mitten des mines Flysses der Ufbruch zum Papst beschehen ist (The aid which Zurich supplied to the Pope in 1521) kann mir kein Mensch mit der Wahrheit ghein Schuld daran geben. Denn ich zur selben Zyt mit den Päpstleren in offene Fyendschaft, und sy mit mir usgebrochen warend, dergestalt: Ich hatt vorhar drü ganze Jahr das Evangelion Christi mit Ernst gepredget, daran mich die päpstlichen Cardinäl, Bischof und Legaten, dero die Zyt die Stadt nie gerumt ward, oft gestöubt [abgemahnt] habend mit Fründschaft, mit Bitt, mit Schrecken, mit Verheissen grosser Gaben und Pfründen; denen ich doch gar nit hab wellen wychen, sunder ein Pension von 50 Guldinen, die sy mir jährlichen gabend (ja sy wolltend mir nun 100 geben, wollt ich ihro nit), die ich im Jahr 1517 hatt abgeseit, dero sy mich dennoch drü Jahr darnach nit erlassen wolltend, die schlug ich im Jahr 1520 mit einer eigenen Handgschrift ab." Zwingli Antwurt an Val. Compar (Werke ii. 1, 8): Antonius Puccius [the papal Legate] hat zum vierten mal Red mit mir ze Zürich gehalten mit grossen Gheissen, dem ich offenlich harus gesagt hab, was daruf und dran sye, und wie ich die Lehr des Evangelii führen werde mit Gottes Hilf, und werde das Papstthum damit schwächen &c.: hata lles nit geholfen."

[44] Especially at the dict of Baden 1520 see Myconius ad Zuingl. d. 2. Nov. 1520 (Opp. vii. 153).

[45] Anshelm vi. 25 ff. Müller-Hottinger vi. 36 ff.

[46] Zwingli's Pious exhortation to the confederates of Schwyz, to beware of forein lords, 1522 (Works ii. ii. 286) contains, as Bullinger i. 42 asserts, what he had before spoken from the pulpit and elsewhere on this subject, see Mller-Hottinger vi. 30. With regard to

nance; several townsmen broke the rule, and were called to answer for so doing.[47] The clergy, when questioned by the council, under the direction of Zwingli, censured the arbitrary transgression, but persisted in the statement that the rule was a human ordinance.[48] The Bishop of Constance accordingly sent a commission to Zurich, to command the observance of the ceremonies (Apr. 1522). However the council took Zwingli's part, and demanded more satisfactory directions from the Bishop.[49] This event occasioned Zwingli's first reforming work, "Von Erkiesen und Freyheit der Spysen."[50]

Zwingli's sermons against pensions in 1521 and 1525 see Bullinger i. 51.

[47] Bullinger i. 69. The minutes of the inquiry are in Müller-Hottinger vi. 496. Compare Wirz i. 217.

[48] Wirz i. 219.

[49] Zuinglii epist. ad Erasmum Fabricium de actis legationis ad Tigurinos missae diebus vii. viii. ix. Aprilis MDXXII (Opp. iii. 7 ss.) The Bishop's vicar-general at the head of the embassy, said before the council: quosdam doctrinas novas irritabiles ac seditiosas docere, germanice *widerwartig und aufruhrig lehren;* nempe nihil praeceptionum humanarum servari oportere, nihil ceremoniarum. Quae doctrina si vicerit, futurum, ut non modo civiles leges sed et christiana fides aboleatur. Cum tamen ceremoniae sint veluti manuductio—ad virtutes. Immo virtutum fontem esse, *ein Ursprung*,—ceremonias. Quadragesimam item doceri non servari oportere: in hac enim urbe ausos esse quosdam sese a reliquis Christianis separare, et a christiana ecclesia.—Carnes enim eos in quadragesima edisse non sine totius reipublicae christianae scandalo. Quod tametsi literae evangelicae aperte non permittant, audere tamen eosdem asserere ex Evangelicis et Apostolicis scriptis sibi licere; contra sanctorum patrum decreta et concilia, contra denique vetustissimum morem eos fecisse, quem, nisi ex spiritu sancto fluxisset, tanto tempore servare nunquam potuissemus etc. Though he afterwards refused to hear Zwingli, and even asserted that he had spoken nothing against him; nevertheless he was called to account. First he refuted the charge that the preaching of the Gospel led to sedition. Tigurum enim magis, quam ullum Helvetiorum pagum, pacatum et quietum esse, id quod omnes boni cives acceptum ferrent Evangelio. Quod deinde objectum sit, nullas humanas nec praeceptiones nec ceremonias servari oportere doceri; ingenue agnoscam ceremoniarum justam partem ac praeceptionum me cupere abolitam esse, quod praecepta sint magna parte talia, quae etiam Petrus in Actis neget ferri posse. Imo ceremonias haud quicquam aliud agere, quam et Christo et ejus fidelibus os oblinere, spiritus doctrinam abolere, ab invisibilibus ad elementa mundi avocare, quod tamen brevibus dici nequeat et explicari.—Carnibus esse quosdam ausos vesci minime malos, qui nec inficientur; sed quandoquidem divina lege a carnibus non sit eis interdictum, in testimonium fidei potius edisse quam in ullius contumeliam. Quod hinc pateat: nam mox,

Now the adherents of the antient order were more on their guard. In May 1522 the Bishop of Constance issued a pastoral to warn against innovations,[51] and the diet of Lucerne forbad all preaching likely to cause disquiet.[52] On the other hand Zwingli, in the name of several like-minded ecclesiastics, defended the free preaching of the Gospel, in a friendly petition and exhortation addrest to the diet 13. July,[53] and in the Apologeticus Archeteles directed to the Bishop of Constance in August.[54] As the celibacy of the clergy had led to the grossest abuses in Switzerland, Zwingli and his friends in that friendly petition to the

ut docti sint a nobis, rationem scandali haberi debuisse, destiterunt, unde nec ista legatione opus fuisse, remittente sua sponte malo, si modo malum est. Hoc tamen vehementer nos admirari, quod, dum annum jam XVI in dioecesi Constantiensi evangelizem, hactenus tamen non resciverim, aliquo misisse Constantienses tam splendidam legationem, quae scrutaretur quonam pacto Evangelicum negotium indeceret. Then he maintained that fasting was not commanded by God and so must be left free. The council determined to request the Bishop (Füssli ii. 14) that he: "verschaffen wolle, es sey bey päpstlicher Heiligkeit, bey den Cardinälen, Bischöfen, Concilien, oder sonst rechten, christlichen, gelahrten Leuten, damit man eine Erläuterung und Bescheid gebe wie und welcher Gestalten man sich in solchem Falle halten solle, dardurch wider die Satzungen Christi nicht gehandelt werde." The people were to be exhorted, "dass hinfüro niemand in der Faste ohne merkliche Ursach Fleisch esse, sondern dass man ein Erläuterung kraft des mit U. G. Herrn von Costnitz Botschaft gemachten Abscheids erwarte."

[50] Works i. 1.

[51] Bullinger i. 78. Sebastian Meyer, barefooted friar at Berne, publisht the pastoral of the 2d May, with some bitter remarks, in abstract in Wirz i. 262. Kuhn's Reformatoren Berns s. 100 (cf. Meyer ad Zuingl. d. 11. Nov. 1522 Opp. vii. 243). A similar letter of 24. May reacht the Chapter at Zurich, printed in Zwingli's Archeteles (Opp. iii. 33). There is a letter to the council of Zurich, in May also, in Füssli iv. 125.

[52] Anshelm vi. 99. "Uf nächsten Tag, war der 20 Mayens, ward zu Luzern verabscheidet, dass jedes Ort mit seinen Priestern reden söllte, von semlichen Predien abzestahn, us welchen dem gemeinen Mann Unwillen, Zwytracht, und Irrung im Christlichen Glauben erwüchse.

[53] Ein fründlich Bitt und Ermahnung etlicher Priester der Eidgenossenschaft, dass man das heilig Evangelium predigen nit abschlahe, noch Unwillen darob empfach, ob die Predigenden Aergernuss zu vermyden sich ehelich vermählind." Werke i. 30.

[54] Apologeticus Archeteles appellatus, quo respondetur paraenesi Rev. Dom. Constantiensi ad Senatum Praepositurae Tigurinae, quem Capitulum vocant, missae. Opp. iii. 26.

diet, and in a private letter of request to the Bishop of Constance (dd. Einsiedeln 2. July) prayed above all things for the abolition of this human ordinance.[55] However, no answer was given; on the contrary the diet and the Bishop began to persecute several of the clergy who had made themselves too conspicuous.[56] The most disgraceful calumnies with regard to Zwingli were disseminated in the neighbouring cantons;[57] in the three monasteries of Zurich, the resorts of the professors of the old faith, sermons were preacht against him incessantly.[58] Now that the efforts of the Council to restore peace remained without success, it yielded to

[55] Supplicatio quorundam apud Helvetios Evangelistarum ad R. D. Hugonem Episc. Constantiensem, ne se induci patiatur, ut quidquam in praejudicium Evangelii promulget, neve scortationis scandalum ultra ferat, sed Presbyteris uxores ducere permittat, aut saltem ad eorum nuptias conniveat (Opp. iii. 17), signed by Balthasar Trachsel, Pastor at Weiningen in the Grafschaft Baden; George Chalybeus (Stäheli), Zwingli's assistant; Werner Steiner of Zug; Leo Judae, Leutpriest at Einsiedeln; Erasmus Fabricius (Schmid), prebendary at Zurich; Simon Stumpf, pastor at Höngg in Zurich; Jodocus Kilchmeyer, prebendary at Lucerne; Huldreich Pistoris (Pfister), pastor at Uster on the Greifensee; Gaspar Megander (Grossman), preacher at the Hospital of Zurich; John Faber (Schmid), Chaplain at Zurich; Huldreich Zwingli.

[56] The diet at Baden (Nov. 1522) delivered over the pastor Weiss, to the Bishop, Bullinger i. 80. Anshelm vi. 99. Wirz i. 315. compare ibid. S. 321 ff.

[57] Thus he heard from Jacob Stapfer in Chur, a foreign pensionary, see Jac. Salandronius ad Zuingl. d. 26. Aug. 1522 (Opp. vii. 220): Effutivit nescio quid de ternis liberis tibi adscriptis et insolitis nocturnis moribus. Item quod et te pensionem non modo a Sanctissimo, sed et a Gallo comprobare vellet (si urgeretur) accepisse. Praeterea dixisse inter concionandum: Ave Maria dicere esset dicere: Gott grüss dich Gretlin etc.—Non credis, quot suo impudentissimo ore alienarit alias tibi faventissimos. Objicitur illico nobis, ut scis, hi, hi sunt mores Evangelicorum. A similar story was circulated in Schwyz, see Balth. Stapfer to Zwingli 19th Oct. 1522 (l. c. p. 236), and Zwingli's answer p. 237. Compare Zwingli's Entschuldigung etlicher Huldr. Zwingli zugelegter Artiklen, doch unwarlich, an die edlen, strengen, frommen, wysen gmeiner Eidgenossschaft Rathsboten in der Stadt Bern v. 3ten Jul. 1523 (Werke ii. ii. 299), and his Ein flyssige und kurze Underrichtung, wie man sich vor Lügen hüten und bewahren soll, of the 25th Jun. 1524 (ibid. S. 322).

[58] Bernh. Weiss in Füssli iv. 38: "Deshalb predigten die Mönchen in der Stadt allenthalben von den Heiligen:—deswegen redten ihnen etwann die Lute darein, denn viele Leute hatten neue Testamenter, und waren der Sache wol berichtet." Thus even Leo Judae interrupted the prior of Augustins. p 44. So early as the 22d July 1522

Zwingli's wish to encounter publicly these calumnies and attacks, and fixt a religious conference betwixt the two parties for the 29th Jan. 1523, in which they were to produce their doctrines, and support them by Holy Scripture alone.[59].

For the same political reasons for which the Pope had overlookt other arbitrary acts of the Swiss in Church matters,[60] he took no notice of these great movements. Zurich was the only Canton, which steadfastly refused the league with France,[61] and still in 1521 granted soldiers to the Pope ;[62] whilst the rest of the Cantons supported France, and treated the Papal legate in Switzerland with hostility.[63] Hadrian accordingly overlookt, what scarcely could be overlookt any longer; and at the very time in which this conference, no less in its form than in the results to be expected from it, was threatening the existing constitution of the Church,[64] he sent Zwingli a flattering letter, to induce him to employ his influence to retain the powerful Canton on the Pope's side.

the monks were censured by the council for their "ungeschichten Predigten" on the saints s. 41. Compare Zuing. ad Oecolampadium d. 3. Jan. 1527.

[59] See Bullinger i. 84.

[60] Anslem vi. 201. on the year 1523: Bern maintained its right to deal with the clergy in secular cases, "liess auch, unangesehen der Geistlichen höchste Fryheit und Bann, einen Pfaffen um Diebstahl und Frevel enthaupten." There was so little opposition on the side of the clergy, that the people thought the Pope had granted the confederates power to chastise the crimes of the clergy with the secular arm, see Schatzmann's Letter to Vadian of the 19th Jan. 1523. Wirz i. 57.

[61] See note 45.

[62] Bullinger i. 51. Müller-Hottinger vi. 51 ff. A calumny was raised against Zwingli at this time (Uslegung des xxxvii Art. Works i. 355), that out of consideration for his pension from the Pope he had "zu demselbigen Heerzug ein Oug zuthon und nit ernstlich gewehrt:" in reply he asserted "es besindt sich, dass ich so stark hab gewehrt, als ich je gheinem Kriegen und Ufbrechen gewehrt hab." Bullinger i. 51 has preserved some of his expressions.

[63] Wirz ii. 240. Even the safe conduct of the Legate Ennius was rescinded by the diet of 1522, and he could only remain with safety at Zurich.

[64] dd. 23. Jan. 1523. in Bullinger i. 83. in Zuinglii opp. vii. 266: Remittimus—Ennium, Episcopum Verulanum, ad istam invictam, nobisque et huic sanctae sedi conjunctissimam nationem, ut de maximis rebus—cum illa agat. Licet autem ei dederimus in mandatis, ut ea communiter cum omnibus et publice tractet: tamen cum de tua egregia

For the disputation to be held on the 29th Jan. 1523 Zwingli had comprised the doctrines he had preacht in sixty-seven articles;[65] and so defended them on that day against the Vicar-

virtute specialiter nobis sit cognitum, nosque devotionem tuam arctius amemus ac diligamus, ac peculiarem quandam in te fidem habeamus, mandavimus eidem Episcopo,—ut tibi separatim nostras literas redderet, nostramque erga te optimam voluntatem declararet. Hortamur itaque devotionem tuam in Domino, ut et illi omnem fidem habeat, et quo nos animo ad honores tuos et commoda tendimus, eodem tu in nostris—rebus procedas, de quo gratiam apud nos invenies non mediocrem. Myconius l. c. adds to this: Non ad hunc solum Papa scripserat, verum etiam ad eximium D. Franc. Zinggium (see note 23), ut sibi et sedi apostolicae virum lucrifaceret. Dumque rogitarem a Francisco, quid pro illo pollicitus esset Papa; serio respondit: omnia certe praeter sedem Papalem.

[65] Bullinger i. 86. Zwingli's works i. 153. "I. Alle so redend, das Evangelium sye nüt ohn die Bewährnuss der Kilchen, irrend und schmähend Gott. II. Summa des Evangeliums ist, dass unser Herr Christus Jesus, wahrer Gottes Sun, uns den Willen sines himmlischen Vaters kund gethon und mit siner Unschuld von Tod erlöst und Gott versühnt hat. III. Dannen har der einig Weg zur Seligkeit Christus ist Aller, die je warend, sind und werdend. IV. Welcher ein andre Thür sucht oder zeigt, der irrt, ja ist ein Mörder der Seelen und ein Dieb. V. Darum alle, so ander Lehren dem Evangelio glych oder höher messend, irrend, wüssend nit was Evangelion ist. VI. Dann Christus Jesus ist der Wegführer und Houptmann, allem menschlichen Geschlecht von Gott verheissen und ouch geleistet. VII. Dass er ein ewig Heil und Houpt sye aller Gläubigen, die sin Lychnam sind, der aber todt ist und nüt vermag ohn ihn. VIII. Us dem folgt zu eim, dass Alle, so in dem Houpt lebend, Glieder und Kinder Gottes sind; und das ist die Kilch oder Gemeinsame der Heiligen, ein Husfrow Christi, Ecclesia catholica. IX. Zum Andren, dass wie die lyblichen Glieder ohn Verwalten des Houpts nüt vermögend, also in dem Lyb Christi Nieman üzid vermag ohn sin Houpt Christum. XI. Dannen har wir sehend der Geistlichen (genennet) Satzungen von ihrem Pracht, Rychtagen, Ständen, Titlen, Gesatzen ein Ursach aller Unsinnigkeit syn: dann sy dem Houpt nit mithellend [beystimmen.] XII. Also tobend sy noch, nit von des Houpts wegen (dann das flysst man sich us Gnaden Gottes zu diesen Zyten harfür ze bringen), sunder dass man sy nummen will lassen toben, aber dem Houpt einig losen [Gehör geben]. XIII. Wo dem geloset wirt, erlernet man luter und klarlich den Willen Gottes, und wirt der Mensch durch sinen Geist zu ihm gezogen und in ihm verwandlet. XIV. Darum alle Christenmenschen ihren höchsten Flyss ankehren söllend, dass Evangelion Christi einig geprediget werde allenthalb. XV. Dann in dess Glouben stat unser Heil; und in dess Ungloubeu unser Verdammnuss: dann alle Wahrheit ist klar in ihm. XVI. Im Evangelio lernet man, dass Menschenlehre und Satzungen zu der Seligkeit nüt nützend. Vom Papst. XVII. Dass Christus ein einiger ewiger obrester Priester ist, darus

General, Faber, that the council charged him to persevere in

ermessen wirt, dass die sich obrest Priester usgeben hand, der Ehr und Gewalt Christi widerstrebend, ja verschupfend [verstossen]. Von der Mess. XVIII. Dass Christus, sich selbst einest ufgeopfert, in die Ewigheit ein wärend und bezalend Opfer ist für aller Glöubigen Sünd; darus ermessen wirt, die Mess nit ein Opfer, sunder des Opfers ein Wiedergedächtnuss syn, und Sichrung der Erlösung, die Christus uns bewiesen hat. XIX. Dass Christus ein einiger Mittler ist zwüschend Gott und uns. Von der Fürbitt der Heiligen. XX. Dass uns Gott alle Ding will im sinem Namen geben; darus entspringt, dass wir usserthalb dieser Zyt keines Mittlers dörfend denn sin. XXI. Dass, so wir für einander uf Erden bittend, dass in der Gestalt thuind, dass wir allein durch Christum uns alle Ding gegeben werden vertruwend. Von den guten Werken. XXII. Dass Christus unser Gerechtigkeit ist, darus wir ermessend, dass unser Werk so viel gut, so viel sie Christi; so viel sie aber unser, nit recht, nit gut sind. Vom Gut der Geistlichen. XXIII. Dass Christus die Hab und Pracht dieser Welt verwirft, darus ist zu ermessen, dass, die Rychtag zu ihnen ziehend in sinem Namen, ihn grösslich schmähend, so sie ihn ein Deckmantel ihres Gyts und Mutwillens machend. Vom Spysverbot. XXIV. Dass ein jeder Christ zu den Werken, die Gott nit geboten hat, unverbunden ist; gedar alle Zyt alle Spys essen; darus erlernet wird, Käs- und Ankenbrief eine römische Geschwindigkeit syn. Von Fyrtag und Wallfahrt. XXV. Dass Zyt und Statt den Christenmenchen underworfen sind, und der Mensch nit ihnen; darus gelernet, dass die, so Zyt und Statt anbindend, die Christen ihrer Fryheit beroubend. Von Kutten, Kleidung, Zeichen. XXVI. Dass Gott nüt missfälliger ist, weder glychsnen; dannen har erlernet, dass alles, so sich schönt vor den Menschen, ein schwere Glychnery und Verrüchte (Verruchtheit) ist. Hie fallend Kutten, Zeichen, Platten &c. Von Orden und Secten. XXVII. Dass alle Christenmenschen Brüder Christi und sie under einander sind, keinen Vater ufblasen söllend uf Erden. Da fallend hin Orden, Secten, Rotten &c. Von der Geistlichen Ehe. XXVIII. Dass alles, so Gott erloubt oder nit verboten hat, recht ist; dannen har die Ehe allen Menschen zimmen [geziemen] erlernet wirt. XXIX. Dass alle, die man geistlich nennt, sündend, wenn sie, nachdem sie innen worden sind, dass ihnen Gott Reinigkeit halten abgeschlagen hat, sich nit mit der Ehe verhütend. Vom Gelübd der Reinigkeit. XXX. Dass die, so Reinigkeit verheissend, sich narrisch oder kindlich ze vil übernehmend; darus erlernet, dass, die söliche Glübd innehmend, freventlich an den frummen Menschen fahrend. Von dem Bann. XXXI. Dass den Bann kein besunder Mensch jeman uflegen mag, sunder die Kilch, das ist Gemeinsame dero, under denen der Bannwürdig wohnet, mit sammt dem Mächter, dass ist Pfarrer. XXXII. Dass man allein den bannen mag, der offenlich verärgert. Von unrechtfertigem Gut. XXXIII. Dass unrechtfertig [ungerecht] Gut nit Templen, Klöstern, München, Pfaffen, Nunnen, sunder den Dürftigen geben soll werden, so es dem rechten Besitzer nit wiederkehrt werden mag. Von Oberkeit. XXXIV. Der geistlich (genämt)

his course, and all their preachers to hold forth the pure gospel

Gwalt hat sines Prachts keinen Grund us der Lehr Christi. XXXV. Aber der weltlich hat Kraft und Befestigung us der Lehr und That Christi. XXXVI. Alles, so der geistlich genämt Staat ihm zugehören Rechtes und Rechtesschirms halb'fürgibt, gehört den Weltlichen zu, ob sie Christen syn wellend. XXXVII. Ihnen sind ouch schuldig alle Christen ghorsam zu syn, Nieman usgenummen. XXXVIII. So fer sie nüt gebietend, dass wider Gott ist. XLII. So sie aber untrüwlich und usser der Schnur Christi fahren wurdind, mögend sie mit Gott entsetzt werden. Von Gebet. XLIV. Wahre Anbeter rüfend Gott im Geist und warlich an, ohn alls Geschrey vor den Menschen. XLV. Glyssner thund ire Werk, dass sie von den Menschen gesehen werdind; nehmend ouch den Lohn in diesem Zyt yn. XLVI. So muss je folgen, dass Tempelgesang oder Gschrey, ohn Andacht und nur um Lohn, eintweders Ruhm sucht von den Menschen oder Gwünn. Von Aergernuss. XLVII. Lyblichen Tod soll der Mensch ehe lyden, denn er einen Christenmenschen verärgre oder geschände. XLVIII. Der us Blödigkeit oder Unwüssen sich will ohn Ursach verärgren, den soll man nit krank oder klein lassen blyhen, sunder ihn stark machen, dass er nit für Sünd hab, dass nit Sünd ist. XLIX. Grösser Verärgernuss weiss ich nit, denn dass man den Pfaffen Ehewyber haben nit nachlasst, aber Huren haben um Gelts willen vergünnt. Pfuch der Schand! Von Nachlassen der Sünd. L. Got lasst allein die Sünd nach durch Christum Jesum sinen Sun, unseren Herren allein. LI. Welicher sölichs der Creatur zugibt, zücht Gott sin Ehr ab, und gibt sie dem, der nit Gott ist ein wahre Abgöttery. LII. Darum die Bycht, so dem Priester oder Nächsten bschicht, nit für ein Nachlassen der Sünd, sunder für ein Rathforschung fürgeben werden soll. LIII. Ufgelegte Busswerk, kummend von menschlichem Rathschlag (usgenummen den Bann), nehmend die Sünd nit hin; werdend ufgelegt Andren zu eim Schrecken. LIV. Christus hat all unser Schmerzen und Arbeit getragen. Welcher nun den Busswerken zugibt, das allein Christi ist, der irrt und schmächt Gott. LV. Welcher einerley Sünd dem rüwenden Menschen nachzelassen verhielte, wäre nit an Gottes, noch Petri, sunder an des Tüfels Statt. LVI. Welcher etlich Sünd allein um Gelts willen nachlasst, ist Simons und Balaams Gesell, und des Tüfels eigentlicher Bot. Vom Fegfür. LVII. Die wahr heilig Gschrift weist kein Fegfür nach diesen Zyten. LVIII. Das Urteil der Abgescheidnen ist allein Gott bekannt. LIX. Und je minder uns Gott darvon hat lassen wüssen, je minder wir uns darvon ze wüssen unternehmen sollend. LX. Ob der Mensch für die Gestorbnen sorgfältig Gott um Gnad ihnen zu bewysen anruft, verwirf ich nit; doch davon Zyt stellen (siben Jahr um ein Todsünd), und um Gewinns willen lügen, ist nit menschlich, sunder tüfelisch. Von der Priesterschaft. LXI. Von dem Character (Wyhe), dess die Priester in den letzten Zyten sind innen worden, weist die göttlich Gschrift nüt. LXII. Sie erkennet ouch keine Priester, denn die dass Gottswort verkündend. LXIII. Denen heisst sie Ehr embieten, dass ist lyblich Nahrung zudienen. Von Abstellung der Missbrüchen. LXIV. Alle so ihr Irrung erken-

as he did.[66] By this disputation, by the interpretation of his articles which was soon after (in July) publisht by Zwingli,[67] and by the preaching of Zwingli, and his friend, Leo Judae, who came to Zurich in the beginning of 1523 as Leut-priest at St Peter's,[68] men's minds were more and more won over to the Reformation; and many wisht to see it brought out into actual

nend, soll man nüt lassen entgelten, sunder sy im Fried sterben lassen, und demnach die Widem [das Pfarrgut] christlich verordnen. LXV. Die sich nit erkennen wöllend, wird Gott wol mit ihnen handlen. Darum man mit ihren Lyben kein Gewalt fürnehmen soll; es wäre dann, dass sie so ungestaltlich fürind, dass man dess nit emberen möcht. LXVI. Es sollend alle geistlich Fürgesetzten sich ylends niderlassen und einig das Kruz Christi, nit die Kisten, ufrichten; oder sie gond um [gehen unter], denn ich sag dir: die Ax statt am Boum. LXVII. Ob Jeman begehrte Gespräch mit mir ze haben von Zinsen, Zehenten, von ungetouften Kindlinen, von der Firmung, embüt ich mich willig zu antwurten. Hie undernehm sich keiner zu stryten mit Sophistery oder Menschentand, sunder kumme an die Gschrift, die für ein Richter ze haben (foras Canes! die Gschrift athmet den Geist Gottes), damit man die Wahrheit oder find, oder so sie funden ist, als ich hoff, behalt. Amen. Dess walt Gott.

[66] Bullinger i. 97. M. Erhard Hegenwald gave an account of this Disputation soon after it took place (in Zwingli's works i. 105). As John Faber, the vicar-general of Constance, considered himself injured in this account, he forthwith issued a counter-report "Ein warlich Underrichtung" (Wirz ii. 45): But 7 young men of Zurich replied to this with a satirical refutation "Das Gyrenrupfen" (Geyerrupfen plucking the vulture), Wirz ii. 50. Besides, John Salat, historian at Lucerne, publisht a historical account of this conference, drawn entirely from Hegenwald's report, and a partial representation on the Catholic side (in Füssli's Beyträgen ii. 81). The decree of the council publisht on the very day of the conference (Zwingli's works i. 143 f. Anshelm vi. 195 f.), as no one rose up against Zwingli, to refute him, or convict him of the heresy laid to his charge, was "dass Meister Ulrich Zwingli fürfahren, und hinfür wie bishar das heilig Evangelium und die recht göttlich Geschrift nach dem Geist Gottes, seines Vermögens verkünde so lang und viel, bis er eins bessern bericht werde. Es söllend ouch all andre ihre Lütpriester, Seelsorger und Prädicantem in ihro Stadt und Landschaften und Herrschaften anders nüt fürnehmen noch predigen, denn was sie mit dem heil. Evangelion und sunst rechter göttlicher Geschrift bewähren mögen; dessglychen söllend sie einanderen hinfür keiner Gestalt schmützen, ketzeren, noch andere Schmachwort zureden. Dann welche hierin widerwärtig erschienend, und dem nit gnug thätend, dieselben wurde man dermassen halten, dass sie sehen und befinden müsstind Unrecht gethan haben."

[67] Uslegen und Gründ der Schlussreden oder Artikel, in Zw. Werken i. 169.

[68] He was elected on the Sunday before Whitsuntide 1522, but did

existence.[69] For them it was not enough that the council allowed nuns to leave their convents (17. June),[70] that several of the clergy married without restraint,[71] that a German baptismal service was introduced in the city (10. Aug.),[72] and that the cathedral chapter at its own request received a new and suitable constitution (19th Sept.)[73] They wisht to feel sure that all that was idolatrous in the divine service which remained hitherto unchanged, was abolisht, especially images and masses, and accordingly they soon began on their own authority to demolish images and superstitious furniture.[74]

These events made an evil impression on most of the remaining confederates. They were in part frightened at the prospect of a schism in the Church, in part they concluded from certain exaggerated rumours, that all civic order was overthrown at

not enter upon his office till Candlemas 1523, Bullinger i. 75. Miscellanea Tigurina iii. 30.

[69] Compare the complaint of the Chaplain Widmer at Zurich, an adherent of the antient order, to Henry Göldli at Rome, 28. June 1523 (Wirz ii. 87). The state of things in Zurich is such "dass wir Pfaffen nicht eigentlich wissen, wie sicher wir in der Stadt sind; geschweige, wenn wir auf die Falkenjagd gehen, oder den Bauren über die Hecken setzen wollten.—Ebenso wird auch das Singen, Messelesen und aller bisher übliche Gottesdienst so sehr verachtet, und von dem gemeinen Mann öffentlich eine Abgötterey und ein seelenverderbliches Spiel, und auf der Kanzel ein offenbarer Betrug genannt, dass ich besorge, wir müssen, weil uns der Papst, die Cardinäle und der Bischof in Stich lassen, in kurzem dem Glauben und allem Gottesdienst entsagen, oder uns von dem gemeinen Mann todt schlagen lassen."

[70] Füssli's Beyträge ii. 25, iv. 47. A nun was already married in August, and demanded restitution of her property which had accrued to her convent, ii. 28.

[71] First Wilh. Röubli, pastor at Wytikon 28. Apr. 1523, see Bernh. Weiss in Füssli iv. 45. He was followed by others, and amongst them by Leo Judae 19. Sept 1523, and Zwingli 2. Apr. 1524. Bullinger i. 108.

[72] Weiss in Füssli iv. 47. This Baptismal service is in Zwingli's works ii. ii. 224.

[73] Bullinger i. 113, the Christian constitution is also in Fussli i. 1.

[74] In September 1523 Laurence Hochrütiner broke to pieces the sacred lamp in the Cathedral Church, soon after the same was done in several chapels (see the examination in Müller-Hottinger vi. 498.) But the overthrow of a great crucifix by the cobler Nicholas Hottinger at the end of September attracted the most attention, compare especially Füssli ii. 33. Wirz ii. 124. Müller-Hottinger vi. 387. 450.

Zurich,[75] and dreaded the force of the example. In Lucerne,[76] Freyburg, and Zug, the public mind was much exasperated against the Reformation, from their steadfast adherence to the antient order :[77] the Bernese aristocracy opposed the attempts at innovation in the Church, out of prudent regard for their authority.[78] Although in other Cantons the Reformation had many friends, even among the governing bodies, still the voice of these powerful Cantons swayed the diets, and from them as well as

[75] The Bernese envoy, Gaspar of Mülinen said at the diet in Berne, July 1523 (Füssli ii. 26): "Liebe Eidsgenossen, wehret bey Zeiten, dass die Lutherische Sach, mit denen, so darmit umgehen nicht Oberhand gewinne, dann ihre [der Zürcher] Predicanten haben sie in ihrer Stadt dahin gebracht, dass, so es die Herren daselbst gern wenden wollten, sie es nicht möchten. Und es ist darzu gekommen, dass einer in seinem eigenen Hause nicht sicher ist. Es bedörfte, dass er andere zu ihm nähm, die mit Harnischen wehrten, damit ihm nichts geschäh, und die Sach hat also eingerissen, dass ihre Bauren auf dem Lande weder Zinse noch Zehenden mehr geben wollen, und ist eine solche Zweyung in dieser Stadt und auf dem Lande, dergleichen niemahl gehört worden ist." Compare the letter of the Council of Zurich to that of Constance Donnerst. nach Othmer (November) 1523 in Füssli v. 71: "Uns ist fürkommen, wie durch einige—gottlose, und der evangelischen Lehre widerwärtige Leute bey euch vorgegeben worden, dass von wegen des Predigens alles bey uns in Unruhe sey, also dass wir alle Stunde einen Aufruhr erwarteten, und es uns übel reuete, dass wir uns der Evangelischen Lehre so viel angenommen hätten." All this was untrue: "Sintemal es durch die Gnade Gottes, und seine göttliche Lehre in unserer Stadt und auf dem Land lange Zeit nicht friedlicher und freundlicher zwischen den Gemeinden und besondern Personen gestanden, als dissmal."

[76] At Lucerne, during a diet, the people burnt Zwingli in effigy, Febr. 1523, Müller-Hottinger vi. 433.

[77] Müller-Hottinger vi. 394. 410. 418.

[78] According to Anshelm vi. 199, it was the vicar-general, Faber, who in connexion with the rest of the Prelates, "nit die minthüristen der Eydgenossen Tagherren, als fürnämlich von Bern Herrn Bastian von Stein, dem evangelischen Handel hat widerwärtig und hinderlich, ja Tyrannen gemachet, die vor demselben günstig und förderlich, ja gnädig Herren waren gewesen.—Die Pfaffen und Münch, insunders Prälaten, schruwent: es gaht jetzt über uns, es wird darnach über d' Junkherren gahn; ihr fry Leben, Zins und Zehnten muss gebütlet werden. Land uns zusammen stehn wider diss ufrührische Ketzer! Und von semlichen Geschrey, zu Tagen usgangen, wurden viel Junkherren, G'waltiger und Rycher stumm und verstockt, Gottes Wort ze hören, vil minder anzenehmen; nennten tüfelsch und evanhöllisch, was göttlich und evangelisch hiess."

from the Bishop of Constance,[79] proclamations were issued against all innovations in the Church.[80]

However, as public opinion in Zurich exprest itself with greater weight in favour of the progress of the Reformation, the council cared so much the less for these proclamations, but rather prepared for the 26th October a new conference upon images and the mass.[81] No champion was to be found for them, but so deep an ignorance was displayed among the clergy, that the council determined to leave the antient order for a while undisturbed, until education was sufficiently advanced.[82] Zwingli, the Abbot of Cappel, and Conrad Schmid, commander of the Knights of St John at Küsnacht were to preach for this purpose in the country districts. Besides this Zwingli had to compose his introduction to Christianity, which was publisht at this time with the consent of the council, in order to explain more generally the meaning and the object of the Reformation.[83] All excess of

[79] Pastoral of the 10th July 1523 in Simler i. 789, (in German in Füssli iv. 135.

[80] Anshelm vi. 200. "Nach oberzählter Versammnung (in January at Zurich), als der trostlich Zwingle sich hinaus auf's Land thät ze predien und die Pfarrer ze unterwysen, und allenthalb in der Eydgnossschaft das Wort Gottes zunahm, da haben die Eydgnossen im Höuwet (Juli) zu Bern und im Herbst zu Luzern verabscheidet, dass man alle Lutherischen und Zwinglischen sölle streng abwysen und strafen, und den Zwingli, wo der in ihrer Oberkeit betreten, g'fänglich annehmen; dass sie dem Bischof von Costenz, wie treffenlich angeruft, wöllint wider sin ung' horsamen Pfaffen hilflich syn." (Compare Lud. Tschudii epist. ad Zuinglium die Jovis post Margaretae 1523. Opp. vii. 302). The Bishop had remonstrated to the diet at Berne, against the disobedience of his clergy, and received this answer at the diet of Lucerne; it may be seen in Füssli iv. 156.

[81] Bullinger i. 126. All the Bishops and Cantons of Switzerland were invited to this Conference; but only Schafhausen and St Gall sent delegates. The minutes of the Conference were publisht at once by Lewis Hetzer (in Zwingli's works i. 459): from them again Salat derived his historical account, got up in the same spirit as that of the first disputation (note 66) see Füssli iii. 1.

[82] Zwingli recommended this course during the Conference, see his works i. 531 f., and the commander, Conrad Schmid, ibid. s. 533 ff. With regard to this resolution which was composed immediately after the Conference, see Zuinglius ad Vadianum d. 11. Nov. (Opp. vii. 313) Bullinger i. 135.

[83] "Eine kurze Christenliche Ynleitung:" prefixt to it is a mandate of the Council of 17. Nov. in Zwingli's works i. 541.

zeal, whether displayed in behalf of the old or the new religion, was held in check; and every outbreak or arbitrary demonstration was chastised.[84] On the other hand concession was gradually made to the desire for reform; in December the shrined pictures in the churches were allowed to be closed up; and every priest was left free to celebrate mass or not as he chose.[85]

Even a solemn embassy from the diet to Zurich (in Febr. 1524) could no longer impose any restraint,[86] much less the Pope's refusal to pay some arrears of debt till after the abolition of the innovations.[87] So soon as the Council thought they had

[84] Proofs of this may be seen in the decisions of the Council, Füssli ii. 31 ff.

[85] The verdict of the Council of the 19th Dec. (Bullinger i. 139. Füssli ii. 47 Anm. Zwingli's Works i. 568) was that all the priests should appear before the Council on the 28th of December, and in case they had anything to alledge against the last disputation, they were there to produce it. The picture tablets were to be closed up, and images were to be no longer carried about. Afterwards the decree against the Mass and the prohibition of all offences, were read aloud to the priests before the Council of the 28th December (see the decree in Füssli ii. 43 ff. Zwingli's Works, i. 581): at the same time it was determined to send to the bishops of Chur, Constance, and Basle, to the University of Basle, and the other cantons, the Introduction publisht by the Council, "that if they were thus again inclined to conform their opinions to Scripture, they might do so, and return us a friendly answer. Thus answers might be obtained, and it would be seen what progress was made in the matter, in order that at Whitsuntide the matter might be taken in hand once more, and a conclusion arrived at, pleasing to God, and to the furtherance of His holy word."

[86] Bullinger i. 157. Anshelm vi. 227. The impression made by this embassy was weakened by the fact that their instructions did not agree, see Müller-Hottinger vi. 474. The men of Zurich gave their answer on the 21st of March in print (Schluss u. Datum in Anshelm vi. 227, entire in the notice given to their subjects, Füssli ii. 231—261): But the confederates were made by it less favourable than before to the innovations, Anshelm vi. 230.

[87] See Wirz i. 41 and the request for Zwingli's opinion upon these transactions 1526, in Zw. Werken ii. ii. 387. The Pope's manifestoes were always of the same import as the brief to the men of Zurich 11. Dec. 1525 (l. c. p. 390): Quod si id, quod Deus avertat, in his novis et impiis erroribus perstare propositum vobis haberetis, quomodo possemus non solum erga vos uti liberalitate, sed pecunias ullas, etiamsi maxime vobis debitae essent, juste et pie persolvere? Cum alienis a fide recta, nec quae ipsorum quidem patria et avita bona sunt, illis jure relinqui debeant.

waited long enough, on Whitsunday in 1524 a more thorough reform of the Church was begun with the abolition of images.[88] One after another all the objects and usages of superstition quickly disappeared;[89] the monasteries were suppressed, and changed into schools and almshouses.[90] The Council secured

[88] A committee of clergy had been already set to draw up a proposal with regard to images and the Mass (Bullinger i. 162. Zwingli's Works i. 572). The Council agreed upon this, but resolved (Bullinger i. 172), "that at this time a beginning should be made with images, and they should be done away with; with regard to the Mass they would wait a short time, and see meanwhile what measures could be conveniently taken, even if the matter of the images should be mismanaged, as it was natural for the uninformed and the confederates to fall into error." But with regard to images an order of the Council was issued on the 15th June 1524 to the provincial authorities (Bullinger i. 173. Füssli i. 142): It had determined "to do away with images and idols wheresoever they were held in honor;" no force was to be used, but it was desired, "that if a parish had set up images and pictures by common consent, at its own expense, it might remove them, if the majority of the parishioners desired it to be done, but on condition that it should be done in the presence of the pastor and certain persons of good repute appointed for the purpose by the community, with decency and without tumult. If however any one had put up images at his own expense, he might take them into his own hands without hindrance." A commission was appointed at once in Zurich, to remove the images (Füssli ii. 60): The work was begun on the 20th of June and was quietly finisht in 13 days (Bernh. Weiss in Füssli iv. 49). Compare Zwingli's account in his answer to Valentine Compar. 1525 (Works ii. i. 58).

[89] The feast of Corpus Christi was abolisht (Füssli ii. 59): a list of all that was done away with in 1524 is given by Bullinger i. 160. Bernh. Weiss in Füssli iv. 57. Anshelm vi. 225: "In May this year, the honorable city of Zurich has quite abolisht and done away with, the Popish Mass, observance of times, saints, hymns and prayers for the dead, all idols and images, together with the decorations and the services which belonged to them. It has also buried its patron saints St Felix and St Regula with the bones of the rest of its dead. Next fell the popish confessional, anointing and consecration, monastic rules and vows. In their stead the holy sacraments of baptism and the supper of our Lord and Master Jesus Christ, were ordered to be celebrated with piety, according to their first institution, and in the German language that all might understand. Daily preaching was also establisht, common prayer, public confession, teaching and instruction in holy writ in four languages. The poor and needy were provided for from the alms, holy matrimony was allowed to all estates, open sin and licentiousness strictly forbidden and punisht, and a public account of these transactions printed and made accessible to us all."

[90] The abbess of Frauenmünster surrendered her convent to the

the assent of its subjects by a public invitation to declare their opinion upon these proceedings;[91] and now it had less to fear from the threatenting aspect of some of the cantons, as the others, especially Berne, contracted a closer friendship with it.[92] The alteration in divine service at Zurich was accomplisht by the fact that, on Maundy-Thursday 13. April 1525, the Lord's supper was once more celebrated in its original simplicity in the great minster.[93] For the establishment of the Reformation this same year brought forth for the learned, Zwingli's work de vera et

Council on the 30th Nov. with the reservation of a pension, Fussli ii, 74, 77. By the advice of Zwingli (Works II. ii. 327) the Augustins, Dominicans, and Franciscans, were all placed together in the Francis can monastery on the 3d Dec.; those who had learned a trade received back the property they had brought in, the rest were to die out. Füssli ii. 76, 78; iv. 79. With regard to the appropriation of monastic property see Müller-Hottinger vii. 71. On the 20th Dec. 1524 Zwingli yielded up the higher and lower jurisdiction of the prebendal stalls at the great minster, but he reserved its property for the establishment of schools (Works ii. ii. 342.)

[91] The Bericht des Rathes zu Zürich an ihre Unterthanen, was sich die Zeit hero für Veränderungen in der Religion zugetragen haben (of the 7th July 1524 see Müller-Hottinger vi. 478 A.) in Bullinger i. 177. Füssli ii. 228. The answers all in approval are in Füssli iii. 105.

[92] After Zurich had begun the Reformation, Schafhausen, and Appenzell openly joined its party, The most ardent of their opponents Schwytz, Uri, Unterwalden, Lucerne, Fryburg, and Zug, entered into a league at Baden on the 28th of June, "with all their power, so help them God, to stand by the old faith, and banish the new; also to have no fellowship with its adherents," see Anshelm vi. 231. The three states above-mentioned were not summoned to the diet at Zug on the 11th July; however, threatening as this diet certainly was, Zurich still received from Berne distinct assurances of friendly feeling, see Müller-Hottinger vii. 48. St Gall, Basle, and Solothurn joined with Berne "forsooth as the strong Bear (Berne) had appointed, in accordance with the hopes and efforts of the six cantons, Zurich must be considered a lesser Turkey, and must defend her creed not against the word of God, but against fire and steel." An embassy to the three reforming cantons was resolved upon; but Berne spoke in the name of the ten districts much more mildly than Lucerne in the name of the six, Anshelm vi. 232. Müller-Hottinger vii. 50. Zurich justified her conduct again in a printed letter (of the 4th Jan. 1525, Bullinger i. 233. Müller-Hottinger vii. 74): see this in Füssli i. 293.

[93] The young communicated on Maundy Thursday, the middle-aged on Good Friday, the aged on Easter Sunday, see Bernh. Weiss in

falsa religione,[94] for the common people the first part of the Zurich translation of the Bible, which the clergy of Zurich composed in Swiss-German.[95]

Beyond the Canton of Zurich the Reformation was only carried out into actual existence in Appenzell and the town of Mühlhausen at present. The free inhabitants of Appenzell, to whom, since the year 1522, Walter Klarer, pastor at Hundweil, had preacht the Gospel, after a violent struggle granted to every parish the right of judging for itself (1524.) Out of the eight parishes of the Canton, six at once came over to the Reformation, and began to model their Church constitution without suffering themselves to be withheld by any considerations.[96] Mühlhausen was won over to the Reformation by Ulrich of Hutten, and reconstituted its form of worship accordingly so early as 1523. Still a party of adherents to the antient order,

Füssli iv. 64. Anshelm vi. 324. Bullinger i. 263. The Liturgy used on the occasion may be seen in Zwingli's Works, II. ii. 233. Why Zwingli delayed so long may be seen in Anshelm vi. 203, on the year 1523. Luther and Zwingli had demonstrated the exceptionable authority of the canon, and the propriety of administering the Lord's supper under both kinds and in the vulgar tongue. "The Lutherans had instituted a German mass, with German psalms and hymns, and certain antient ceremonies, with a view to the introduction of a new or altered Papacy. But Zwingli endeavoured to restore the first constitution of the Church, and abolish every ordinance of man; with this view he would neither introduce a German mass nor church-music, but waited until he could firmly establish the Lord's Supper with the preaching of the pure word of God, without any mass or devised ceremonies, according to the simple institution and usage of the Lord and the Apostles; which he soon afterwards effected."

[94] Opp. iii. 145.

[95] See a list of the editions in Simler's Sammlung ii. 381. So early as 1524 the New Testament was printed at Zurich after Luther's translation; in 1525 the historical books of the Old Testament, according to Luther's translation altered in some places; in 1529 the Prophets, Hagiographa, and Apocrypha, were printed in a new translation, upon which Leo Judae and Gaspar Grossmann were chiefly employed. The first complete edition of the Zurich Bible was issued in 1531. See Hottinger's helvet. Kirchengesch. iii. 224.

[96] See the historical account of the Reformer Walter Klarer, of what occurred in the canton of Appenzell in the time of the blessed Reformation, written in 1565, in Simler's Sammlung i. 803. Wirz i. 514, ii. 387. Müller-Hottinger vii. 144.

who relied upon the confederates for support, imposed upon the Council the necessity of prudence.[97]

In Berne,[98] by the fiery bare-footed friar Sebastian Meyer, and the more prudent priest Berchthold Haller, a broad foundation was early prepared for the Reformation, and sanctioned by the government.[99] Niklaus Manuel in his carnival-farce of 1522, ventured to unmask, with unsparing hand, the crimes of the Papacy and the clergy.[100] But the events at Zurich of the year 1523 made the ruling nobles suspicious of the Reformation as likely to produce sedition:[101] and the government endeavoured to maintain their influence by holding an intermediate position betwixt the parties. True, the preaching of the Gospel was freely conceded,[102] but every attack upon Church-usage, and all

[97] Matthias Graf Gesch. der Stadt Mühlhausen 2ter Theil. His Gesch. der Kirchenverbesserung zu Mühlhausen. Strasburg 1818. 8.

[98] Compare Valerius Anshelm's Berner Chronik vi. 101 ff. Die Reformatoren Berns im XVI Jahr. Nach dem Bernerschen Mausoleum umgearbeitet von G. J. Kuhn. Bern 1828. Bertold Haller oder die Reformation von Bern, von Melchior Kirchhofer. Zurich 1828. 8.

[99] Thus the Council decided in favour of the Pastor George Brunner who was accused by his Dean of preaching evangelical doctrine in 1522, see Anshelm vi. 103; and another cotemporary account in Simler i. 461. Kuhn s. 253 ff., and soon after punisht a townsman who had accused Sebastian Meyer of heresy, Anshelm vi. 108.

[100] There were three which were publicly acted in the streets, Anshelm i, 107: "One called, the Todtenfresser, touching all the abuses of the Papacy, on the Priest's fast-night: Another on the opposition of the nature of Jesus Christ to his so-called vicar, the Pope of Rome, on the old fastnight. Betwixt these on ash Wednesday, the Roman Indulgence with the Bohnenlied was dragged through all the streets, and ridiculed. By this strange exhibition, which had never before been thought profane, a great nation was induced to consider and distinguish between Christian freedom and Papal bondage. Amongst all the evangelical publications there is scarcely a book so often printed, and so widely spread as these farces. They were printed at Zurich 1525." Berne 1540, but they had almost entirely disappeared, and accordingly were publisht again: Des Venners der Stadt Bern Niklaus Manuel Fast nachtspiele. Bern 1836. 8. also in Niclaus Manuel, von Dr C. Grüneisen. Stuttg. u. Tübingen 1837. 8. S. 339.

[101] Compare note 78 above.

[102] The Mandate of 15th June 1523 is in Anshelm vi. 204: "That you and all persons who undertake and use the office of preaching, preach nothing else but the holy gospel, and the free love of God, openly and without concealment, and in like manner what you can defend and prove from the true Holy Scripture, the four Evangelists,

controversy was forbidden and punisht with severe penalties.[103] Thus Sebastian Meyer was obliged to leave the city on account of his controversial sermons, as well as his adversary the preacher of the Dominicans.[104] Haller, on the other hand, and like spirits to him, were allowed to preach the simple gospel, while the Government of Berne with the Catholic cantons remonstrated at Zurich against the alterations which had taken place.

The Governments of the lesser cantons, which were more or less inclined to the Reformation, followed this example of the powerful Berne. But they were obliged to be satisfied with hindering any violent alterations in the Church, whilst they overlookt other infringements upon its antient constitution, according to the public opinion of their subjects.

Biel, where Thomas Wyttenbach was evangelical preacher, following the example of Berne, dismisst eight married priests, and Wyttenbach amongst them, from their ministry. But in

Paul, the Prophets, and the Bible, in short from the Old and New Testament; and entirely desist from all other doctrine, controversy, and unprofitable trifling not agreeing with the Holy Gospels and Scriptures above-mentioned, whether they be written or publisht by Luther or other teachers. Anshelm vi. 207 remarks thereon: "when the nobles of whom the lesser council was composed, who thought that by this mandate the doctrine of Luther, Zwingli, and their adherents, would be excluded, saw and heard that the new doctrine and preaching were only strengthened thereby: then they rued, and began to seek with all their might to hinder the observance of their mandate, which they dared not rescind from fear of their fellow townsmen and the community. However the greater council maintained the Mandate inviolate."

[103] See the Mandate of the Thursday after St Mark's day 1523 in Füssli ii. 271, in which that of the 15th June was confirmed "yet with this addition that priests who had married wives, or hereafter should marry, were to forfeit and lose their benefices. In like manner that all persons who spoke abusively or contemptuously of the mother of God and the saints, or eat flesh and other forbidden food on fast days, or otherwise practised or preacht from the pulpit such unheard-of customs, must expect punishment from us."

[104] 1524. Anshelm vi. 246. Kuhn 122 ff. Anshelm's own wife was punisht in 1523 for saying, "our lady was a woman like herself; requiring the grace of her son Jesus Christ—she could not sanctify," and Anshelm had so much to suffer in consequence that he left Berne, see Anshelm vi. 209.

1525 the townsmen restored the free preaching of the Gospel, and effected the reinstitution of Wyttenbach.[105]

In Basle[106] Wolfgang Fabricius Capito and Gaspar Hedio were the first preachers of the Gospel. But when they departed so early as 1520, others came forward in their place, especially John Oecolampadius in 1522 as Professor of divinity, and assistant minister at St Martins. The Cathedral and the University were against the Reformation: but the further it spread among the people, so much the more were the authorities inclined towards it, although out of consideration for the other cantons, and prudent regard for internal peace, they only granted to it full toleration. In 1524 they issued an ordinance to the same effect as the Bernese mandate of 15. June 1523:[107] nevertheless they appointed conferences for Oecolampadius 30. Aug. 1523,[108] for William Farel, and Stephen Stör, Leut-priest of Liestal, 15 and 16. February 1524;[109] and conceded to Oecolampadius the condition of reform, under which he accepted the ministry of St Martins in 1524.[110]

[105] Bullinger i. 155. Nachricht von der Kirchenreformation in Biel b. Füssli ii. 265 ff. Wyttenbachs Leben in Kuhn s. 53 ff.

[106] Christ. Wursteisens (Professor at Basle † 1588) Basler Chronik. Basel 1580. fol. from Book vii cap. 11 onward. Ochs Geschichte von Basel Bd. 5 s. 429 ff. Lebensgeschichte D. Joh. Oecolampads (von Sal. Hess). Zürich 1793. 8.

[107] See this in Wursteisen Book VII, Cap. 13 (compare note 102 above).

[108] Erasmus ad Zuinglium d. 31 Aug. 1523. Opp. vii. 308. Oecolampadius proposuerat, quaedam disputare, jamque schedas prodiderat. Jussus est in aliud tempus prorogare. Nunc permissum est disputare, quum volet. p. 310. Oecolampadius heri disputavit, disputaturus denuo proximo dominico. He had proposed four aphorisms to refute the following charges commonly brought against the Reformation; 1. That its adherents despised all doctrine: 2. That the new doctrines abrogated all good works: 3. That they taught men to disdain the saints; 4. That they allowed no validity to human laws, see Wirz ii. 360. These aphorisms he defended on two Sunday afternoons.

[109] Both of these men were refused permission by the University, the Council granted it, see the Mandate in Füssli iv. 243. Farels 13 Theses impugn the false, and point out the true way of salvation, see Füssli iv. 246. The life of Oecolampadius by S. Hess. s. 77. The life of W. Farel by Kirchhofer i. 21. Stör, who had married, defended the marriage of priests in 5 theses. Bullinger i. 152. Füssli ii. 151.

[110] His condition was, according to Wursteisen vii. 13: "that he

Likewise at Schafhausen the Reformation met with considerable acceptance, by means of Sebastian Hofmeister, a barefooted friar, from 1522,[111] and in St Gall by two laymen, Joachim Vadianus, and John Kessler,[112] without being brought out into full life there.

§ 3.

CONTROVERSIES INJURIOUS TO THE REFORMATION.

That new-born freedom, after slavery of a thousand years, should bring in its train not only perpetual warfare against the older principles, but also many diverging developments, even errors and abuses, and accordingly a manifold struggle, was

should be free with regard to the word of God, to teach what it teaches, and condemn what it condemns: also that he should be releast from the popish ceremonies, which he said were unprofitable to the people, and one deacon only should be allowed him, of whose help he might avail himself in the administration of the Holy Sacraments, &c. Thus much was conceded to him by the patrons, and afterwards sanctioned by the Council; but on the understanding that he should introduce no important innovation without previously informing them. When Dr Hausschein (Oecolampadius) addrest himself to the Church service, he charged his Deacon to baptize children intelligibly in the German language. They administered the Lord's Supper in both kinds, with the consent of the Council. He taught that the Mass was no sacrifice for the sins of the quick and dead, or for those who were still in Purgatory; but that full forgiveness of their sins, was obtained once for all, by the passion and death of our Saviour Christ for all believers. He warned the people against consecrated water, salt, palms, tapers, wafers and such things. He proved that it was against God, to attribute any virtue to these things, and without God's command to circumscribe the freedom of the Holy Ghost with such ordinances. This produced so great an effect, that the chaplains of important Churches discontinued these usages, and by degrees processions with crosses, carrying the sacrament, and ceremonies of the kind, were abolisht, together with the Mass."

[111] Life of Sebastian Wagner, called Hofmeister, by Melch. Kirchhofer Zurich 1808. His Schafhauserische Jahrbücher from 1519 to 1529. Schafhausen 2te. Aufl. 1838. 8.

[112] The principal source is the Chronicle of Kessler extant in manuscript, Sabbatha (see Kessler von Bernet s. 9. 80. 113) of which the old history of the Reformation in St Gall in Simlers Sammlung i. 115 ff., is an abridgment. Ildef. v. Arx Geschichten des Cantons St Gallen Bd. 2 (St Gallen 1811) s., 477 ff. Joh. Kessler, called Athenarius, townsman and Reformer of St Gall, by J. J. Bernet. St Gallen 1826. 8.

likely, from the nature of the case; but this gave an appearance of truth to the charge of its adversaries, that the Reformation led to an endless insurrection against all settled order. Moreover, the inconsiderate violence with which Luther treated even monarchs who opposed themselves to the Gospel, contributed to strengthen this charge; although they encountered him upon ground where their authority ought not to prevail, and threatened to work mischief against the truth.[1]

George Duke of Saxony, had most frequently to endure Luther's violent indignation, for his persecution of the Reformation.[2] Better earned was the reply which Henry VIII., King of England, who had ventured altogether upon the region of theology in his Adsertio septem sacramentorum adv. Martinum Lutherum 1521, in order to win from the Pope the title of a Defensor fidei, met with in Luther's rejoinder, Contra Henricum, regem Angliae 1522 :[3] however it far overstept the bounds of respect and courtesy. But Luther's quarrel with Erasmus, and the entire separation of the latter from the cause of the Reformation, was much more injurious than these controversies.

Erasmus, who is very often considered as the real author of the Reformation, did indeed accompany its first steps with his sympathy; but at the same time he was engaged in providing that his own ease and good understanding with his dignified ecclesiastical patrons might not be interrupted thereby, or that the advance of learning, the interest of which was more at his heart than anything else, might not become an object of suspicion to the powerful.[4] From the time that the Reformation

[1] Compare Luther's work on secular authority, how far a man is bound to render obedience to it, 1523, in Walch's Ausg. x. 426.

[2] First when George demanded of Luther, in consequence of his letter to Hartmuth v. Kronberg March 1522 (de Wette ii. 161), whether he acknowledged him as his superior, (Walch xix. 593) in a very severe answer of the 3d Jan. 1523 (de Wette ii., 284). Compare with regard to all Luther's quarrels with George, Walch xix., hist. Einleit. s. 28. Georg u. Luther oder Ehrenrettung des Herzogs Georg v. Sachsen von M. A. M. Schulze. Leipzig 1834. 8.

[3] Walch xix. hist. Einleit. s. 1. ff.

[4] See § 1. note 32. 56. 67. cf. Erasmi ep. ad Leonem X. dd. 13 Sept. 1520 (Opp. ed. Lugd. iii. 1, 578): Esse video, qui quo magis communirent factionem suam, conati sunt causam bonarum literarum, causam Reuchlini, meamque causam cum Lutheri causa conjungere, cum his nihil sit inter se commune.—Lutherum non novi, nec libros

seized upon the minds of men with an overpowering impulse, and did not as he wisht make them smile with enlightened cheerfulness upon their former errors; and since the edict of Worms pronounced sentence of Ban and outlaw upon all Luther's adherents: he shrank back and lookt forward with fear and anxiety to endless tumults. Thus he belonged by his convictions to the Reformation, but was retained on the side of the ancient Church by calculation and fear. He was betrayed into an untenable intermediate state, in which he endeavoured, by a double-tongued policy, to allay the suspicion with which he was regarded by both parties, and satisfy the demands incessantly made upon him by the professors of the old and the new faith to declare himself decidedly on their side.[5] Zwingli and the rest of the Swiss were

illius unquam legi, nisi forte decem aut duodecim pagellas easque carptim. Ex his, quae tum degustavi, visus est mihi probe compositus ad mysticas literas Veterum more explanandas, quando nostra haec aetas immodice indulgebat argutis magis quam necessariis questionibus.—Ferme primus omnium odoratus sum periculum esse, ne res exiret in tumultum, a quo sic abhorrui semper ut nemo magis. Proinde minis etiam egi cum Joanne Frobenio typographo, ne quid operum illius excuderet. He writes more in detail in Ep. ad Campegium Card. dd. 6. Dec. 1520 (l. c. p. 594) in which he seeks especially to justify his letter to Luther (§ 1 note 32). P. 596 is characteristic: Siquidem ut veritati nunquam fas est adversari, ita celare nonnunquam expedit in loco. Semper autem plurimum refert, quam in tempore, quam commode et attemperate eam proferas. Quaedam inter se fatentur theologi, quae vulgo non expediat efferri. p. 601: Si corrupti mores Romanae curiae postulant ingens aliquod ac praesens remedium, certe meum aut mei similium non est hanc provinciam sibi sumere. Malo hunc, qualis qualis est, rerum humanarum statum, quam novos excitari tumultus, qui saepenumero vergunt in diversum, atque putabatur.

[5] Erasmi ep. ad Petr. Barbirium dd. 13 Aug. 1521 (l. c. p. 656): Quum Lutherana tragoedia semper in pejus glisceret, mire quidam conati sunt me illi admiscere.—Utinam tam immunis essem ab omnibus vitiis, quam sum ab hoc alienus negotio.—Mihi sane adeo est invisa discordia, ut veritas etiam displiceat seditiosa.—Si tibi narrem, a quibus, et quibus modis solicitatus sim, ut adjungerer negotio Lutherano, quibus technis quidam conati sint me pellicere, quibus odiis quidam huc me conati sint propellere, tum demum intelligeres, quam mihi displiceant dissidia.—Non ignorabam, quam pertinacibus odiis me insectarentur quidam apud nos odio bonarum literarum. Perspiciebam esse tutius in alteram factionem secedere. At mihi stat, semperque stabit sententia, vel membratim discerpi potius, quam fovere discordiam, praecipue in negotio fidei.—In his articulis, qui damnantur in Lutheri libris, nihil video quod illi mecum conveniat, nisi forte quod a me moderate suoque loco dictum est, ille dicit immodice.—Si hoc est

forbearing from deference of long standing: but with Luther who

congruere, congruet vinum aceto. Sed dices: hactenus non scripsisti quicquam adversus Lutherum. Id quo minus fecerim, duo praecipue fuerunt in causa, otii penuria, et imperitiae propriae conscientia.—Si pium est nocere causae Lutheri, fortassis magis illi nocui, quam quisquam eorum qui odiosissime reclamarunt, quique hominem convitiosissimis libellis prosciderunt. Primum, violentum illum ac seditiosum scribendi modum constanter—improbavi. Non destiti—dehortari plurimos, ut ab ea factione sese abstinerent. Nullis studiis adduci potui, ut vel paululum ipse memet admiscerem. Haec, opinor, plus fregerunt vires ejus factionis quam quorundam tumultus.—Nae ego praeclarum interim operae pretium fero, qui utrinque lapidor? Apud nostros falsissimo titulo traducor Lutheranus, apud Germanos male audio, ut Lutheranae factionis adversarius. ad Paul. Bombasium dd. 23. Sept. 1521 (p. 664): Quominus hactenus libris editis cum Luthero pugnarim, plurimae sunt causae, quas hic non est necesse percensere: sed illa praecipua fuit quod mihi prorsus defuit otium legendi, quae scripsit Lutherus.—O mi Bombasi, proclive dictu est: scribe adversus Lutherum. Sed ad hoc pluribus rebus est opus, quam ad plaustrum fabricandum, ut inquit Hesiodus. Video, quam varia, quam morosa sint hominum judicia. Egi diligenter cum Hieronymo Aleandro, daret mihi facultatem legendi quae scripsit Lutherus. Nam hodie Sycophantarum et Corycaeorum plena sunt omnia. Pernegavit se id posse, nisi nominatim impetraret a summo Pontifice. Primum igitur hoc mihi velim impetres Brevi quopiam. ad Episc. Palentinum dd. 21 Apr. 1522 (p. 713): Sunt isthic, qui reclamante ipsorum conscientia me faciant Lutheranum, nimirum illud agentes, ut me suis odiis volentem nolentem protrudant in castra Lutheri. Me vero ab Ecclesiae catholicae consortio nec mors distrahet, nec vita.—Novi Pontificis docta prudentia, et provida sinceritas, simulque divinus quidam nostri Caesaris animus me in summam spem vocat, fore ut haec pestis sic tollatur, ne quando possit reviviscere. Id fiet, si radices amputentur, unde hoc mali toties repullulat. Quarum una est odium Romanae Curiae, cujus avaritia ac tyrannis jam coeperat esse intolerabilis. Et aliquot humanae constitutiones, quibus Christiani populi libertas gravari videbatur. His omnibus citra tumultum orbis Caesaris auctoritas et novi Pontificis integritas facile medebitur. Compare his correspondence with Pope Hadrian vi. § 1. note 93 above. With this may be contrasted his letter to Zwingli dd. 31 Aug. 1523 (Zwingli opp. vii. i. 308): Lutherus proponit quaedam aenigmata in speciem absurda: omnia opera sanctorum esse peccata, quae indigna ignoscantur Dei misericordia; liberum arbitrium esse nomen inane; sola fide justificari; hominem prope nihil ad rem facere. De his contendere, quomodo velit intelligi Lutherus, non video quem fructum adferat. Deinde video in plerisque ei addictis miram pervicaciam, et in Lutheri scriptis quantum maledicentiae, saepe praeter rem! Ista me cogunt subdubitare de spiritu illorum, quem ob *causam*, *cui faveo*, velim esse sincerum.—Ego florentissimam regionem (Brabant) reliqui, *ne miscerer negotio Pharisaico:* nam alia lege non licuisset illic vivere. —Satis admonui Episcopos, satis Principes vel in libello de Principe,

always remained far removed from Erasmus' point of view,[6] and whose whole personal character stood in decided opposition to Erasmus' refinement and doubtfulness,[7] he was soon led into an open variance.[8] The ungenerous conduct of Erasmus towards Hutten at Basle in 1522, and the controversy which arose therefrom, in which his connection with the Reformation was the principal subject of discussion,[9] estranged him entirely from

homo nullius auctoritatis. Quid me velles facere praeterea? Etiamsi vitam contemnerem, non video, quid esset insuper faciendum. Tu in nonnullis dissentis a Luthero. Dissentit et Oecolampadius. An ergo propter illius doctrinam objiciam me meosque libros periculis? Omnia recusavi, quae mihi hoc nomine offerebantur, ut adversus illum scriberem. A Pontifice, a Caesare, a Regibus et Principibus, a doctissimis etiam et carissimis amicis huc provocor. Et tamen certum est, me non scribere, aut ita scribere *ut mea scriptio non sit placitura Pharisaeis.* —Lutherus scripsit ad Oecolampadium mihi non multum esse tribuendum in iis, quae sunt Spiritus. Velim hoc ex te discere, doctissime Zwingli, quis sit ille Spiritus. *Nam videor mihi fere omnia docuisse, quae docet Lutherus*, nisi quod non tam atrociter, quodque abstinui a quibusdam aenigmatibus et paradoxis. Erasmus von Rotterdam v. S. Hess ii. 77. Leben des Erasmus von A Müller S. 282.

[6] Compare § 1. note 6.

[7] Lutherus ad Spalatinum dd. 9. Sept. 1521 (de Wette ii. 49): Neque Capitonis, neque Erasmi judicium me tantillum movet: nihil alienum opinione sui apud me faciunt: quin et hoc veritus sum, ne quando mihi cum alterutro negotium fieret, quando Erasmum a cognitione gratiae longinquum esse viderem, qui non ad crucem, sed ad pacem spectet in omnibus scriptis. Hinc omnia putat civiliter et benevolentia quadam humanitatis tractanda gerendaque: sed hanc non curat Behemoth, neque hinc quicquam sese emendat. Memini, me, dum in praefatione sua in N. T. de se ipso diceret: gloriam facile contemnit Christianus, in corde meo cogitasse: o Erasme, falleris, timeo, Magna res est gloriam contemnere caet.

[8] Zwinglius ad B. Rhenanum d. 25. Maj. 1522 (Opp. vii. i. 193): Accepimus paucis ante diebus, duellum inter Erasmum atque Lutherum futurum: propendent enim omnia ad dissidium: stimulari hunc a Wittembergensibus, ut adulatorem aliquando prodat; illum a Romanensibus, ut haereticum sibi damnosissimum extinguat. Quae res quantum mali datura sit Christianis, conjectura non opus habes.—Scis enim, quantae ab utriusque parte stent copiae, quantaque sit utriusque vel pugnandi vis, vel eludendi solertia. He prays Rhenanus to join with Pellicanus in mediating between Erasmus and Luther. He himself was with Erasmus at Basle about this time, probably with similar views, see the letter of Myconius to Zwingli, l. c. p. 192. 195.

[9] In a letter to Erasmus of 15. Aug. 1520 (publisht by Hagenbach in the Studien u. Kritiken for 1832. Heft 3. S. 633) Hutten already censures his mean conduct with reference to Luther. When he came

its adherents.[10] From this time Erasmus complains incessantly

to Basle in Nov. 1522, after the fall of Sickingen, Erasmus declined his society, in order to escape his representations, and to avoid being remarkt upon for associating with him. Erasmus related this circumstance in a manner not consonant with truth in an Epist. ad Marc. Laurinum dd. 1 Febr. 1523 (Opp. iii. i. 760) and at the same time entered at length upon his position with regard to the evangelical party and the reason for it. Hutten's mortification now rose to indignation, and his Expostulatio cum Erasmo (July 1523. Hutten's works by Münch iv. 343) overwhelmed him with reproaches for his unworthy conduct, which Erasmus did not succeed in obliterating with his Spongia adv. Huttenicas adspergines (Münch iv. 403. Erasmi opp. ed. Lugd. x. 1631). At the same time Erasmus tried in an ungenerous manner to make the knight an object of suspicion to the council of Zurich, where he lived, as one who had nothing to lose, and acted only from love of mischief and wantonness (The letter of the 10th Aug. 1523, in Hess' Life of Erasmus ii. 572. Münch iv. 397), and petitioned the magistrates of Strasburg to punish his printer (dd. 27. Mart. and 23. Aug. 1524. Opp. iii. i. 793. 804). Here again he shewed himself to be double-tongued, for to both these evangelical towns he alleged the interest of the gospel as his reason : to Zurich,—"But this I write that he may not abuse your goodness in favour of a licentious and arrogant style of writing, which is highly injurious to the cause of the gospel, to liberal arts, even to common morality." To Strasburg: veneror pietatem vestram, quod favetis Evangelio, pro quo provehendo ego jam tot annis tantum exhaurio laborum-tantumque sustineo invidiae.—Certe Evangelico negotio non parum obfuerit, si videant homines, per occasionem Evangelii Reipublicae disciplinam fieri deteriorem.—Pro meo erga bonas literas et erga rem Evangelicam affectu sincerissimo visum est hoc admonere. Ea res vehementer displicuit ipsi etiam Luthero et Melanchthoni, qui intelligunt nullos homines magis officere negotio Evangelico, quam tales.—Pro Evangelio provehendo plurimum laborum et invidiae sustinui. Omnia recusavi quae mihi Principes obtulerunt, ut scriberem adversus Lutherum, imo mea malui perdere, quam ad affectus quorundam scribere contra meam conscientiam. Tantum isti foederi (the Evangelical Church) nolui dare nomen, quum multis aliis de causis, tum ob hoc, quod quaedam in libris Lutheri non intelligerem, quaedam omnino non probarem, praesertim cum in ista conjuratione viderem quosdam esse, quorum mores et molimina mihi viderentur longissime abesse a spiritu Evangelico. Nullus usquam a me laesus est, vel quia faverit Luthero, vel quia parum faverit. Thus wrote Erasmus in August 1524, although so early as September his work against Luther appeared. Compare Ulrich v. Hutten gegen Desid. Erasmus u. D. Er. gegen U. v. H. zwey Streitschriften, übersetzt, mit den nöthigen Notizen versehen u. beurtheilt von D. J. J. Stolz. Aarau 1813. Ulrich v. Hutten von Wagenseil, Nürnberg 1823, S. 129. Huttens Werke von Münch iv. 646. Erasmus Leben v. Hess ii. 116. Erasmus Leben von Müller S. 307.

[10] In defence of Hutten and the Reformation against the Spongia, as

of the hostility of the Evangelical body.[11] The haughty manner in which Luther offered him peace,[12] could only give additional

Hutten had died before its publication, on the island of Ufnau in the Lake of Zurich in Aug. 1523, Otto of Brunfels wrote at Strasburg his ad Spongiam Erasmi pro Hutteno responsio (Hutten's Works by Münch iv. 497) and Erasmus Alberus his Judicium de spongia Erasmi (l. c. p. 555). Luther gave his opinion with regard to this controversy (to Hausmann 1 Oct. 1523, de Wette ii. 411): Equidem Huttenum nollem expostulasse, multo minus Erasmum extersisse. Si hoc est spongia abstergere, rogo, quid est maledicere et conviciari? Prorsus frustra sperat Erasmus sua rhetorica sic omnibus ingeniis abuti, quasi nemo sit, imo quasi pauci sint, qui sentiant, quid alat Erasmus.—Incredibilem et nominis et auctoritatis jacturam fecit hoc libro. Luther's opinion upon Erasmus in general (to Oecolampadius 20 Jun. 1523, de Wette ii. 352): Quid Erasmus in rerum spiritualium judicio sentiat, aut simulet, testantur ejus libelli abunde, tam primi quam novissimi. Ego etsi aculeos ejus alicubi sentio, tamen quia simulat se non esse hostem palam, simulo et ego, me non intelligere astutias suas, quanquam penitius intelligatur, quam ipse credat. Ipse fecit ad quod ordinatus fuit. Linguas introduxit, et a sacrilegis studiis revocavit. Forte et ipse cum Mose in campestribus Moab morietur: nam ad meliora studia (quod ad pietatem pertinet) non provehit. Vellemque mirum in modum, abstinere ipsum a tractandis Scripturis sanctis et paraphrasibus suis, quod non sit par istis officiis, et lectores frustra occupat et moratur in Scripturis discendis. Satis fecit, quod malum ostendit: at bonum ostendere (ut video) et in terram promissionis ducere non potest. Sed quid ego de Erasmo tam multa? nisi ut illius nomine et auctoritate nihil movearis, atque adeo gaudeas, si quid ei displicere sentias in re ista scripturarum, ut qui vel non possit, vel non velit de iis recte judicare, sicut paene totus jam orbis incipit de eo sentire. Erasmus was much vext at this letter, a sight of which he soon obtained, see his letter to Zwingli 31 Aug. note 5 above.

[11] Ep. ad Stanisl. Turzonem Ep. Olomucensem dd. 21. Mart. 1523. (Opp. iii. i. 766): Sunt, qui me impudentissime etiam in aula Caesaris traduxerint ut Lutheranum. Hic fremunt in me Lutherani, quod ab eo dissentiam, meumque nomen in publicis professionibus suis lacerant, libellos insuper dentatos minitantur. ad Sylvestrum Prieratem 1523 (l. c. 777): Aleander nihil non facit adversus Lutherum, at si pernosses rem omnem, solus Erasmus plus fregit vires et animos illius factionis, quam omnia Aleandri molimina.—Id an vobis isthic [*Romae*] persuasum sit, nescio: certe Lutherani hic intelligunt, qui mihi uni imputant, quod illis non succedit, jamque dentatis libellis in me debacchantur tanquam in adversarium, et vere sum, ad Jo. Canium 1524 (l. c. 795); ignoras, quantum malorum hic sustineam a Lutheranis. Ego puto, mortem esse leviorem his quae patior.—Lutherani in neminem magis fremunt, quam in Erasmum.

[12] In April 1524 (de Wette ii. 498). E.g. Nihil causor, quod alieniorem te erga nos habueris, quo magis esset tibi integra et salva causa tua contra hostes meos Papistas. Denique non aegre tuli admodum,

weight to the request which reacht him at the same time from

quod editis libellis in aliquot locis pro illorum gratia captanda, aut furore mitigando, nos acerbiuscule momorderis et perstrinxeris. Quando enim videmus, nondum esse tibi a Domino datam eam fortitudinem vel et sensum, ut monstris illis nostris libere et fidenter occurras nobiscum, nec ii sumus, qui a te exigere audeamus id, quod vires et modum tuum superat. Quia imbecillitatem tuam et mensuram doni Dei in te toleravimus et venerati sumus.—Sic hactenus stilum cohibui, utcunque pungeres me, cohibiturumque etiam scripsi in literis ad amicos, quae tibi quoque lectae sunt, donec palam prodires. Nam utcunque non nobiscum sapias et pleraque pietatis capita vel impie vel simulanter damnes aut suspendas, pertinaciam tamen tibi tribuere non possum neque volo. Nunc autem quid faciam? utrinque res exacerbatissima est. Ego optarem (si possem fieri mediator) ut et illi desinerent te impetere tantis animis, sinerentque senectutem tuam cum pace in Domino obdormire. Id sane facerent mea quidem sententia, si rationem haberent tuae imbecillitatis, et magnitudinem causae, quae modulum tuum dudum egressa est, perpenderent: praesertim cum res jam eo pervenerit, ut parum sit metuendum periculum nostrae causae, si Erasmus etiam summis viribus oppugnaret, nedum si aliquando spargit aculeos et dentes tantum. Rursus si tu, mi Erasme, illorum infirmitatem cogitares, et a figuris illis rhetoricae tuae salsis et amaris abstineres, etsi omnino neque posses neque auderes nostra asserere, intacta tamen dimitteres et tua tractares. Erasmus answered on the 5th May (fortg. Sammlung von alten u. neuen theolog. Sachen 1725 s. 545): Nec tibi concedo, ut magis ex animo bene cupias Evangelicae sinceritati, quam ego, cujus rei gratia nihil non perpetior, et hactenus omnium venor occasionem, ut Evangelium fiat omnibus commune. Caeterum quod tu imbecillitatem voces aut ignorantiam, partim constantia est, partim judicium. Tua quaedam legens valde pertimesco, ne qua arte deludat Satanas animum tuum: rursum alia sic non capio, ut velim hunc metum meum esse falsum. Nolim profiteri, quod ipse mihi nondum persuasi, multo minus quod nondum assequor. Hactenus rectius consului negotio Evangelico, quam multi qui se jactant Evangelii nomine. Video, per hanc occasionem exoriri multos perditos et seditiosos; video pessumire bonas literas ac disciplinas; video discindi amicitias, et vereor, ne cruentus exoriatur tumultus. Si tuus animus sincerus est, precor ut Christus bene fortunet quod agis: me nulla res corrumpet, ut sciens prodam Evangelium humanis affectibus. Nihil adhuc in te scripsi, facturus id magno Principum applausu, nisi vidissem hoc absque jactura Evangelii non futurum: tantum eos repuli, qui conabantur omnibus modis Principibus passim persuadere, mihi tecum foedus esse, et mihi tecum per omnia convenire, et in libris meis esse quicquid tu doceres; haec opinio vix etiam nunc potest ex illorum animis revelli. Quid scribas in me, non magnopere laboro: si mundum spectem, nihil mihi accidere posset felicius.—Si paratus es omnibus reddere rationem de ea, quae in te est, fide, quare aegre feras, si quis discendi gratia tecum disputet? Fortasse Erasmus scribens in te magis profuerit Evangelio, quam quidam stolidi scribentes pro te *caet.*

England, to avenge the royal author upon Luther,[13] in the mind of this ambitious man. And so, to assail the formidable Luther in the weakest part of his theological system, he wrote his work de libero arbitrio in September 1524.[14] Luther replied with his usual

[13] Erasmus ad Hier. Emserum, note 17 below. He was chiefly influenced by a report which was spread about him by certain persons in England, that he had some share in Luther's work against Henry VIII. (Cutbert. Tonstallus ad Erasm. dd. 7. Jul. 1523, Opp. iii. i. 771). With what fear Erasmus undertook the work, and how highly he estimated his compliance with the king's wish, may be seen in his Ep. ad Henricum Regem Angliae dd. 4. Sept. 1523 (l. c. p. 773): Molior aliquid adversus nova dogmata, sed non ausim edere, nisi relicta Germania, ne cadam, priusquam descendam in arenam.

[14] Opp. ed. Lugd. ix. 1215. See the double-tongued expressions with which he accompanied it, Erasmus ad Henricum Angl. Regem dd. 6. Sept. 1524 (l. c. p. 816): Quid non audeam tuae felicissimae Majestatis fretus auspiciis? Jacta est alea exiit in lucem libellus De libero arbitrio, audax, mihi crede, facinus, ut nunc res habent Germaniae. Exspecto lapidationem, et jam nunc aliquot rabiosi libelli provolarunt in caput meum. Sed consolabor meipsum exemplo Majestatis tuae, cui non parcit istorum immanitas. Decretum erat et alioqui facere ad quod per literas hortaris, et religione Christianae juvandae immori, sed tamen alacrior id faciam, posteaquam tua Majestas currenti, quod ajunt, calcar addere dignata est. Ad Melanchthonem eod. die (l. c. p. 819): Miraberis, cur emiserim libellum de libero arbitrio. Sustinebam triplex agmen inimicorum. Theologi et bonarum literarum osores nullum non movebant lapidem, ut perderent Erasmum. Hi Monarchis omnibus persuaserant, me juratissimum esse Luthero. Itaque amici, videntes me periclitari, spem praebuere Pontifici et Principibus, fore ut aliquid ederem in Lutherum. Eam spem et ipse pro tempore alui. Et interim isti non exspectato libello coeperant me libellis lacessere. Nihil igitur restabat, nisi ut ederem quod scripseram: alioqui et Monarchas habuissem infensos, quibus visus fuissem dedisse verba. Postremo quoniam epistola Lutheri (not. 12) jam est in manibus, qua pollicetur se cohibiturum calamum in me si conquiescam; viderer ex pacto non edere. Ad haec qui Romae profitentur literas ethnicas, ipsi ἐθνικώτεροι, mire fremunt in me, invidentes, ut apparet Germanis. Itaque si nihil edidissem, praebuissem ansam et theologis, et Monachis, et illis Romanensibus figulis,—ut facilius persuaderent Pontificibus ac Monarchis quod persuadere conabuntur: postremo hos furiosos Evangelicos habuissem iniquiores. Nam ipse rem tractavi modestissime. Et tamen quod scribo, non scribo adversus animi sententiam, quanquam ab hac quoque libenter discessurus, ubi persuadebitur quod rectius est. Many persons took offence at Luther's strong Augustinism. George duke of Saxony in a letter to the king of England dd. 7. Id. Maj. 1523 distinguisht as Luther's fundamental error (Seckendorf comm. de Luther. i. 277), quod bonorum et malorum necessitatem

bitterness in the work De servo arbitrio (Dec. 1525).[15] Erasmus answered like for like in his Hyperaspistes (1526).[16] Thus the renowned Erasmus now passed over into the ranks of the enemies of the Reformation,[17] although he did not cease to recommend conciliatory measures towards it.[18]

The controversy about the Lord's Supper, and the separation effected thereby between the Saxon and Swiss Reformers, was a much more grievous wound to the Reformation. Carlstadt, who had already played a principal part in the disturbances at Wittenberg since the year 1521, furnisht the occasion for it. In the be-

a Deo pendere statuat, errore ne Ethnicis quidem tolerando, quo omnis humanae rationis vis, omne consilium, jus denique omne, quod vel praemium bonis, vel poenam malis decernit, tollatur.

[15] T. Witenb. ii. 457. Jen. iii. 160.

[16] Opp. ed Lugd. x. 1249.

[17] With regard to the effect of his controversial work he writes ad. Jac. Sadoletum d. 25 Febr. 1525 (Opp. iii., i. 854): non paucos revocavi a factione damnata, et jam passim redduntur literae, quibus declarant se persuasos libello *de libero arbitrio* ab hoc Lutheri dogmate descivisse. On the other hand ad Hier. Emser 1527 (l. c. p. 1056): Quid mea diatriba civilius? Quid profecit tamen, nisi quod Lutheranos excitavit ad majorem insaniam! Id non ignarus futurum, tamen morem gessi Regi et Card. Angliae, Pontifici et doctis aliquot amicis, non tacens interim quid esset sequuturum. For a long time Erasmus did not satisfy Luther's violent enemies. Albertus Pius, Princeps Carpensis, repeated in a letter to him which grew out into a pamphlet, (v. d. Hardt hist. liter. Reform. i. 114 ss.) in 1526 the old accusation, that he was in truth the original author of the Reformation, and was bound to a persevering warfare against Luther, p. 127: Quid in eum posses, modo velles, declarasti libello tuo de libero arbitrio, quo Lutherum non exagitas, non perturbas modo, sed prosternis, enecas —Quod si idem praestiteris dogmatibus in caeteris, jam non erit, quod suspicari possint homines, ullo pacto convenire tibi cum Luthero. Si autem praeterieris, hoc edito libello potius suspicionem adauxisti. Putabunt enim multi, si aeque in caeteris dissensisses, pariter caetera te fuisse refutaturum, quae silentio probare videaris, hoc uno tantum improbato. With regard to the controversy of this prince with Erasmus, see Hess' life of Erasmus. i. 843.—Following the example of Erasmus, his decided friends separated entirely from the Reformation, e. g. John of Botzheim, Canon of Constance (see J. v. B. by K. Walchner. Schaffhausen 1836. S. 65 ff.).

[18] Compare Erasmi consilium Senatui Basil. in negotio Lutherano datum A. D. 1525 (in Erasmus Leben v. Hess ii. 577 deutsch in Wursteisens Basler Chronik B. vii. cap. 13), e. g. Si Tigurinis persuaderi possit, ut imagines, formam Missae—reponerent, donec ex publicoorbis consilio statueretur super his, valde pertineret ad totius Helvetiae con-

ginning of 1524 he thrust himself into Orlamund as minister,[19] and here, with an assault upon images which caused much disquiet, he began what he considered a thorough Reformation, as Luther seemed to him enslaved by many errors, especially with regard to the Lord's Supper.[20] In Sept. 1524 he was obliged to leave Orlamund, and poured forth from Basle his indignation against Luther, whom he considered his persecutor, in a succession of works against his doctrine of the Lord's Supper.[21]

In former time Luther had wavered with regard to this doctrine.[22] But as he adopted for his guide and boundary line in his whole work of Reformation in the Church, the plain word

cordiam. Et tamen si id non possit persuaderi, nolim hac gratia moveri bellum, sed expectare potius occasionem. De sumptione Eucharistiae, si id pio affectu petatur ex consensu regionis tribus verbis, impetrabitur a Pontifice, cujus auctoritas certe ad hoc valebit hic, ut excludat seditionem civilem. De esu carnis idem sentio. Si rogetur Pontifex publico vestrae regionis nomine, nihil erit difficultatis.

[19] Luther against the Himmlishen Propheten in Walch xx. 227.

[20] He defended his impetuous principles of Reform in a letter addrest to the recorder of Joachimsthal: Ob man gemach fahren, und des Ergernüssen der Schwachen verschonen soll in Sachen, so Gottis Willen angehen. 1524. 4." (reprinted in Füssli's Beyträgen i. 57). How far the inhabitants of Orlamund were led on by him, is shewn by their letter to Luther, in which they invite him to a personal conference (in Walch xv. 2433) e.g. "You despise all persons, who at the command of God destroy dumb idols and heathenish images, you oppose to them a powerless, worldly wise, and inconsistent argument drawn from your own brain, and not founded on Scripture. But the fact that you so publicly censure and revile us, who are members of Christ adopted by the Father, unheard and unconvicted, proves that you yourself are no member of this true Christ the Son of God. &c." Accordingly in August 1524 Luther travelled to Jena and Orlamund by the desire of the elector, compare the account "was sich D. Andr. Bodenstein v. Carlstadt mit D. M. Luther beredt zu Jena, und wie sie wider einander zu schreiben sich entschlossen haben. Item die Handlung D. M. Luthers mit dem Rath und der Gemeinde der Stadt Orlamunde, am Tage Bartholomäi daselbst geschehen (by Mart. Reinhard Preacher in Jena) 1524. 4. in Walch xv. 2422 and 2435.

[21] Andreas Bodensteins sonst Carlstadt genannt Lebensgeschichte v. J. C. Füsslin Francf. u. Leipz. 1776 S. 82. Vollständiges Verzeichniss von Carlst. Schriften in Riederers Abhandlungen. S. 473. The works which related to the doctrine of the Lord's supper are printed in Walch's edition of Luther's Works xx. 138, 378, 2852.

[22] Luther to the Christians at Strasburg 15. Dec. 1524 (de Wette ii. 577): "I confess that if Dr Carlstadt, or any one else, could have informed me five years ago, that there was nothing in the Sacrament but bread and wine, he would have done me a great service. I have

of Holy Scripture, and the practical requirements of religion, he rejected on the other hand every intermixture of purely speculative reason. Accordingly here also he had confined himself to the denial of the opus operatum which was subversive of religion, and of transubstantiation; but he had maintained the real presence of the Body and Blood of Christ, against which reason alone could take exception.[23] When the view of the Lord's supper as a memorial rite, was first maintained against him, with an evident wresting of the words of institution,[24] by

indeed suffered such shrewd conflicts, and so wrung and wounded myself, that I would gladly have thus escaped, for I saw plainly that I could thus have dealt the Papacy the heaviest cuff. I have also had two men, who have written to me on this subject more skilfully than Dr Carlstadt, without sacrificing the Word so much in my opinion. But I am fast in prison—I cannot escape; the Text is too strong there, and will not bear to be twisted out of its meaning with words." So early as his work on the adoration of the Sacrament, addrest to the Bohemian brethren in 1523 (Walch xix. 1593) Luther refuted all the different opinions, which were afterwards alleged in the sacramentarian controversy, viz. 1. That bread signifies the Body; 2. that a participation of the spiritual body takes place; 3. the doctrine of transubstantiation; 4. that the sacrament is a sacrifice and good work. "The third error is, that no bread remains in the sacrament, but only the figure of bread. But no great importance is attacht to this error, if only it be allowed that the body and blood of Christ are there with the word. Although the Papists have fought stoutly, and still fight, for this new article of theirs, though they reproach every man as a heretic who does not hold with them as necessary truth this monkish dream, upheld by Thomas Aquinas and sanctioned by Popes, that no bread remains. Strongly as they may press their point, from their own wanton will unsupported by Scripture, we will only maintain in opposition to and defiance of them, that actual bread and wine remain together with the body and blood of Christ, and will gladly be reproacht as heretics before such dreamy-Christians, and undisguised sophists, for the gospel calls the sacrament bread, thus, the bread is the body of Christ. By this we stand; truly it is enough for us against all sophistical dreams, that that should be bread which Scripture calls bread."

[23] According to Petrus de Alliaco Card. Cameracensis see de captivitate Babylonica, § 1 note 61 above.

[24] According to Albr. Hardenberg († 1574) in the vita Wesseli (prefixt to W. opp. ed. Groning. Joh. Wessel by Ullmann S. 326), Carlstadt had drawn his doctrine of the Lord's supper from a work de eucharistia, which Henry Rodius, president of the House of Brethren at Utrecht, had received from Cornelius Honius (Hoen), a distinguisht jurist in Holland, and brought to Wittenberg and then to Zurich; this was soon afterwards considered a work of Wessel's, and about 200 years old. Ullmann's Joh. Wessel S. 326, must be corrected here by

Carlstadt, who stood in close connection with the Anabaptists at that time rising again into notice, and who was himself addicted to many superstitions: Luther recognized in this doctrine so much the more readily, as well as in the denial of infant baptism, the sole result of the pride of reason advancing beyond Scripture;[25] and he resisted both doctrines as entirely analogous fanaticisms.

On the other hand Carlstadt's idea of the Lord's Supper, corresponded well with the inclination of the theologians of Erasmus' school, to understand and explain Scripture in a manner consistent with reason.[26] Zwingli had long cherisht this doctrine in

Gerdes. hist. ev. renovati I. Monum. p. 228. It will be proved in note 27 below that this work was brought to Wittenberg in the year 1521. Hardenberg in his account erroneously introduces the events at Jena in 1524 into this time. But Carlstadt had not drawn from this work his explanation of the words of institution corresponding so remarkably with that of the Cathari (Moneta contra Catharos lib. iv. c. 3): "Eat the bread, for this my body is the body, which shall be given for you." Moreover, in 1521, Carlstadt still maintained the real presence, see his work "Von Anbetung u. Ehrerbietung der Zeichen des N. T. 1. Nov. 1521" (Unsch. Nachr. 1718. S. 177.) Bucer writes very truly to Boniface Wolfhardt, and the men of Augsburg A.D. 1537 (from Zanchii opp. in Gerdesii scrinium V. 227): Hoc ego fratres, ingenue dico, et coram Domino sic sentio, optandum piis, ut nihil unquam contra Lutherum de Eucharistia scriptum esset.—Jam in spiritualem manducationem posuerat omnia, corporalem ultro admodum extenuabat, fiduciam in externum opus submoverat: ubi autem Carolostadius virum commovit, sicut persuaserat sibi, Carolostadium velle externum verbum et Sacramenta penitus e medio tollere, ita totus erat in evehendis istis, sicut nihil in eo non vehemens: indeque factum, ut nos ipsi, et nostri Oecolampadius et Zwinglius putaremus, eum externis rursus justificandi vim tribuere, quod ille tamen nunquam sensit.

[25] Luther to the Christians at Strasburg 15. Dec. 1524 (de Wette ii. 578) "Yea, if even this day it might be, that a man should prove with sound arguments, that mere bread and wine were present, there would be no need to assail me with so much wrath. I am alas all too much inclined to this view, so much of the old Adam do I feel within. But Carlstadt's ravings on this subject, are so far from convincing me, that my opinion is only strengthened thereby. And if I had not entertained it before, I should have concluded from the first from such lame and foolish trickery, without any Scripure, founded only upon reason and opinion, that his view could not be true."

[26] Melanchthon ad Camerarium dd. 26. Jul. 1529 (Mel. Opp. ed. Bretschneider i. 1083) writes of Erasmus, whomhe calls Pothinus (Ποθεινὸς Desiderius): Vide quantum judicii sit nostris inimicis: illum amant, qui multorum dogmatum semina in suis libris sparsit, quae for-

secret.[27] Erasmus himself was understood to be inclined towards it,[28] and so Carlstadt found much acceptance of his doctrine in

tasse longe graviores tumultus aliquando excitatura fuerant, nisi Lutherus exortus esset, ac studia hominum alio traxisset. Tota illa tragoedia περὶ δείπνου κυριακοῦ ab ipso nata videri potest. Quam non iniquus esse videri alicubi possit Ario et illius factioni, quam nos hic constantissime improbavimus. Quae litera in libris est magnopere digna viro Christiano de justificatione, de jure Magistratuum?—Sed tollant eum, qui non norunt.

[27] Capito and Pellicanus so early as 1512, see § 2 note 9. According to late Swiss historians (e.g., Hess in his Life of Zwingli translated by Usteri s. 21, and Huldr. Zwingli by Schuler S. 24) Zwingli read even at Glarus Ratramnus on the Lord's Supper, and Wickliff's works, according to S. Hess (Sammlungen zur Beleuchtung der Kirchen- u. Reformationsgesch. d. Schweiz. Heft 1. Zürich 1811. S. 20) also the works of Peter Waldo: (?) However, I find no proofs. This doctrine of the Lord's Supper first appears in his works, in the letter to Wyttenbach 15. June 1523 (Opp. vii. i. 297), but here Zwingli reveals it as a secret: Ex his omnibus, puto, sententiam nostram, doctissime praeceptor, capis, non quod etiamnunc ita doceam: vereor enim, ne porci in nos conversi dirumperent tum doctrinam, tum doctorem: non quod tanti faciam tumultuosam hanc vitam, sed ne, quod recte sancteque doceri poterit, dum iptempestive doceretur, damni quiddam aut tumultus Christo daret. Before the public at large, at that time he only denied transubstantiation in his explanation of the Aphorisms (July 1523) and taught that the Body and Blood are received by faith only (Uslegung des xviii. artikels in Zw. Works i. 251).—However, already in 1521, the work issued by Cornelius Honius (see note 24) had fallen into his hands, and won his assent, see Ludi. Lavateri hist. de origine et progressu controversiae sacramentariae de coena domini. Tiguri 1564. p. 1. b. Factum quoque est, ut Joannes Rhodius et Georgius Saganus, pii et docti viri, Tigurum venirent, ut de Eucharistia cum Zwingli conferrent. Qui cum ejus sententiam audivissent, dissimulantes suam; gratias egerunt Deo, quod a tanto errore liberati essent, atque Honii Batavi epistolam protulerunt, in qua *est* in verbis institutionis Coenae Dominicae per *significat* explicatur, quae interpretatio Zwinglio commodissima videbatur. In the year 1525 Zwingli publisht this work: Epistola christiana admodum ab annis quatuor ad quendam, apud quem omne judicium sacrae scripturae fuit (Luther), ex Batavis missa, sed spreta, longe aliter tractans coenam dominicam, quam hactenus tractata est, per Honnium Batavum, reprinted in Gerdesii hist. ev. ren. i. Monum. p. 231. Melanchthonis epist. ad Aquilam dd. 12. Oct. 1529 (Bretschneider iv. 970) is also worthy of notice, Cinglius mihi confessus est (in Marburg), se ex Erasmi scriptis primum hausisse opinionem suam de coena Domini.

[28] Erasmus ad Mich. Budam Episc. Lingonensem dd. 2. Oct. 1525 (Opp. iii. i. 892): Exortum est novum dogma, in Eucharistia nihil esse praeter panem et vinum, Id ut sit difficillimum refellere, fecit Jo. Oecolampadius, qui tot testimoniis, tot argumentis eam opinionem com-

southern Germany and Switzerland, though not of his extraordinary interpretation of the words of institution. Capito and Bucer at Strasburg showed themselves unmistakeably influenced by it:[29] Zwingli pronounced himself in favour of it in a letter to Matthew Alberus, preacher at Reutlingen, at first indeed only in confidence,[30] but soon after in public also.[31] In refutation of

munit, ut seduci posse videantur etiam electi. ad Bilib, Pirkheimer dd. 6. Jun. 1526 (p. 941): Mihi non displiceret Oecolampadii sententia, nisi obstaret consensus Ecclesiae. Nec enim video quid agat corpus insensibile, nec utilitatem allaturum si sentiretur, modo adsit in symbolis gratia spiritualis. Et tamen ab Ecclesiae consensu non possum discedere, nec unquam discessi. ad eund. dd. 30. Jul. 1526. p. 945. Pellican, who had come to Zürich early in 1526 as Professor of Hebrew, assured his friends in this place of Erasmus' agreement with them in the doctrine of the Lord's Supper: and the three letters in which Erasmus reproaches him for so doing (p. 963 ss.) were not calculated to refute this assurance, compare Erasmus's Life by Hess ii. 264. In the same year Leo Judae, in a work publisht under a false name, sought to prove the same fact from the earlier works of Erasmus, see Bullinger i. 352. Hess. ii. 271. The words which Hottinger concontributes from his manuscript, are characteristic of this author's method of silencing himself and others with sophisms (continuation of Müllers Schweizergesch. vii. 131): Finge, in Eucharistia non esse substantiam corporis dominici, tamen Deus illum errorem nulli poterit imputare. Quum eum adoramus in Eucharistia, semper subest tacita exceptio, si illic vere est. Nobis enim non constat, an sacerdos rite consecraverit.

[29] They pronounced the controversy unimportant, as it only related to the spiritual participation of Christ, see Capito's Urtheil, was man halten u. antworten soll von der Spaltung zwischen M. Luther u. A. Carlstadt, in Luthers Werken v. Walch xx. 445; and Bucers Grund u. Ursach us göttl. Schrift, der Neuerungen wegen an dem Nachtmale des Herrn zu Strasburg vorgenommen Ibid. S. 458, both works belong to the year 1524. At the same time the preachers of Strasburg wrote to Luther to draw him into an explanation upon the controversy, dd. 23 Nov. 1524 in Kapp's Nachlese ii. 640. He answered by his letter to the Christians at Strasburg 15. Dec. in de Wette ii. 574.

[30] dd. 16 Nov. 1524. Opp. iii. 589. He argues from John vi. for a manducatio spiritualis: est in the words of institution means significat. The anxiety with which he provides against the publication of his opinion is unmistakeable, p. 593: Nos enim nostra proferimus, non ut censeamus. Res enim tam est ardua, ut, nisi dominus dederit intellectum, frustra dicturi simus, quicquid tandem adduxerimus. And in conclusion: Adjuro te per Christum Jesum, qui judicaturus est vivos et mortuos, ut hanc epistolam nulli hominum communices, quam ei, quem constat sincerum esse in fide ejusdem domini nostri. The letter was first printed at Zurich in March 1525.

Carlstadt, Luther wrote against the celestial prophets in 1525;[32] Bugenhagen's work contra novum errorem de sacramento corporis et sanguinis Christi[33] was directed against Zwingli. Carlstadt, opprest by want and suspicion of being concerned in the peasants' rebellion,[34] soon yielded again this time also, and returned repentant to Saxony,[35] but the controversy awakened by him was carried on in a violent interchange of works. Zwingli defended his doctrine in several works,[36] and Oecolampadius united himself with him;[37] on the other hand he met with opponents in the Swabian preachers, led by John Brentz and Erhard Schnepf.[38] Luther himself first encountered the Swiss party in a preface[39] in the year 1526, and thus a warfare was kindled, which exasperated to the utmost against each other, the reformers of both parties, who ought to have been united with

[31] In the Comm. de vera et falsa religione March 1525 (Opp. iii. 145. The chapter "Von dem Nachtmal Christi" was publisht at the same time in a German translation also) and the Subsidium s. coronis de Eucharistia Aug. 1525 (l. c. p. 326). Compare Bullinger i. 261.

[32] Walch xx. 186.

[33] It appeared about the same time in German also, in Walch xx. 641.

[34] Probably without reason. An invitation from Münzer to join in his rebellion, sent from Altstadt to Orlamund, was refused from this place in a letter undoubtedly composed by Carlstadt, see Münzer's Life by Strobel S. 77. Afterwards Carlstadt's residence at Rothenburg on the Tauber, furnisht an occasion of accusing him of co-operation in the peasant-war, see Kapp's Nachlese iv. 561. He defended himself in the "Entschuldigung D. A. Carlstads des falschen Namens der Aufruhr, so ihm ist mit Unrecht aufgelegt," which Luther edited at his request in Wittenberg 1525, with a preface (this may be seen in Walch xv. 2468). Compare Füssli Leben Carlstadts S. 92. Leben Münzers von Strobel S. 76.

[35] Walch xv. 2466.

[36] Especially "Eine klare Underrichtung vom Nachtmal Christi." 1526 Werke ii. i. 426.

[37] De genuina verborum Domini, hoc est corpus meum, juxta vetustissimos auctores expositione lib. 1525. 8. (also in Pfaffii acta et scripta publ. Eccl. Wirtembergicae p. 41). He sought to prove metaphor in the word corpus: Hoc est figura corporis mei.

[38] Clarissimorum virorum, qui anno 1525 Halae Suevorum convenerunt, syngramma et pium et eruditum super verbis coenae dominicae ad Jo. Oecolampadium dd. 21. Oct. 1525, commonly called Syngramma Suevicum (composed by Brenz see Walch xx., Hist. Einleit S. 34) also in Pfaff l. c. p. 153.

[39] Prefixt to Agricola's Translation of the Swabian Syngramma into German, see the preface in Walch xx. 721.

the closest bonds by a common aim and a common danger. The Swiss doctrine of the Lord's Supper also found support beyond the bounds of Switzerland,[40] especially in southern Germany as at Strasburg[41] and Ulm.[42] As these churches nevertheless remained in connexion with the Church of Saxony, they must have taken up an equivocal position.

However, the Reformation was most damaged in public opinion by the anabaptist rebellions and the peasant-war, which broke out likewise about this time.

The first beginnings of these evils are to be sought for in the disturbances at Zwickau in 1521. Thomas Munzer,[43] who as minister at Zwickau, was much concerned in these disturbances, and deposed in consequence, after a vain attempt to win support among the Bohemians,[44] had betaken himself to Altstadt in Thuringia, with a view to advance far beyond the beginnings made at Wittenberg, and establish here the kingdom of God upon earth in equality and community of goods, compelling the ruling princes by force to submission.[45] As these disturbances

[40] For instance, in East Friesland, where George Aportanus, the first evangelical preacher at Emden, immediately adopted this doctrine, see Sittermann in Vaters Kirchenhist. Archiv 1824 iii. 36. 43.

[41] See note 29.

[42] Where Conrad Sam (see § 1 note 115), declared himself on Zwingli's side, see Weyermann die Bürger in Ulm, der Zwinglischen Confession zugethan, in Steudel's Tübinger Zeitschrift für Theologie 1830 i. 142.

[43] Historie Thomae Münzers von Phil. Melanchthon (Luthers Werke von Walch xvi. 199). Leben, Schriften u. Lehren Thomae Müntzers von G. Th. Strobel. Nürnb. u. Altdorf 1795. 8. Thomas Münzer von L. v. Baczko, in Woltmanns Zeitschrift, Geschichte u. Politik 1840. ii. 1. Hast Gesch. der Wiedertäufer Münster 1836. S. 58. Old mystic writings, as for instance the prophecies of the Abbot Joachim, and Tauler's works had produced a strong effect upon him, Strobel S. 7 ff. A contemporary writes of him, (Tentzel's hist. Bericht v. Cyprian ii. 334): "Thomas Münzer and his followers were carried away by a misunderstanding of Tauler's doctrine of the spirit and ground of the soul, for he read him constantly."

[44] See the Intimatio publisht at Prague in Strobel S. 19.

[45] Disregard of the written word of God, the dead letter, is the characteristic of his doctrine: man must hear the everlasting word of the Father speak from within him: God utters his holy Word, that is his inborn Son, into the inmost soul: by this incarnation of Christ, men are at once entirely deified by God, and at the same time even in this life translated into Heaven. On the other hand he inveighs against the mere faith of the lips, and trust in outward baptism: faith will not

began to attract more attention, Münzer was obliged to leave Altstadt in 1524,[46] and withdrew beyond Nuremberg to Waldshut on the borders of Switzerland, where he had already establisht a connexion by letters.[47] Even in Switzerland there were many persons who longed for a speedier and more searching reformation of the Church,[48] and considered the baptism of

be conferred on those only who have been sprinkled with water, Strobel S. 43. 154. 159. In his history of the Anabaptists, Bullinger thus states Münzer's doctrine (Füssli's Beyträge v. 136): "All preachers who preacht the Gospel at that time were not sent from God, neither did they preach the true word of God; but they were only learned in Scripture, and preacht the dead letter of Scripture. Scripture and the external word of God were not the real true word of God, for this was internal and heavenly, and proceeded immediately from and out of the mouth of God. A man must be taught by this word from within, and not by means of Scripture and preaching. Also he held baptism with water in little esteem; he even maintained that infant-baptism was not of God, accordingly man required to be baptized with a spiritual and more real baptism: nevertheless, he did not, in the beginning of his anabaptism, have himself rebaptized, something hindered this. His disciples began to rebaptize before him. He was also baptized with his own blood, *i.e.*, put to death. He also said it was false, that Christ had made satisfaction for us, as the weak students of Scripture maintained. The marriage and marriage-bed of the unbelieving and carnal, was no undefiled bed, but whoredom and a devilish brothel. He taught that God revealed His will in dreams; he attacht great importance to dreams himself, and gave out that they were the suggestions of the Holy Spirit. Accordingly he and his followers were called the heavenly prophets, and spiritualists or Geistler." He set up at Altstadt a league for the establishment of the kingdom of God upon earth; he destroyed a resort of pilgrims in the neighbourhood, and summoned the nobles to join his side, else the sword should be taken up against them. Strobel S. 45. 46. 51.

[46] Münzer publisht in reply his attack upon Luther, "Hochverursachte Schutzrede und Antwort wider das geistlose sanftlebende Fleisch zu Wittenberg, welches mit erklärter Weysse durch den Diepstal der heil. Schrift die erbermdliche Christenheit also ganz jämerlichen besudelt hat." 4. Strobel S. 64. 162.

[47] Especially with Conrad Grebel. With regard to his letter to Münzer at Allstadt on the 5th Sept. 1524, see Zwingli's Works ii, i. 374.

[48] Grebel especially, Zwingli's Works ii. i. 373. Already at the second conference at Zurich 26. Oct. 1523 Conrad Grebel, Simon Stumpf, and Balthasar Hubmeyer came forward with such demands, see the Acts in Zwingli's Works 1, 528. 530. Wirz ii. 163. All these, and also the fanatical inconoclasts Niklaus Hottinger and others (§. 2. note 74) afterwards became anabaptists. The village of Zollikon, where so early as Whitsuntide 1524 images and altars were broken

infants, which had roused even Zwingli's scruples for a length of time, especially objectionable.[49] About this one point of sympathy Münzer hung the rest of his fanatical doctrines; Waldshut was the headquarters of fanatics,[50] who quickly spread from this place over the whole of Switzerland. Unfortunately at this very time the great insurrection of the peasants[51] broke out in southern Germany, and encouraged the Anabaptists to violent measures.

down in the Church (Füssli ii. 58), afterwards became a principal residence of the Anabaptists.

[49] Hubmeyer reproacht Zwingli with having denied infant-baptism in 1523 in a conference with him, see Füssli's Beyträge i. 252. Anm. In his exposition of the Aphorisms Art. xviii (Works i. 239) Zwingli says in fact: "Though I well know that children were sometimes baptized from antient times till now, this was not, however, so common as in our own day; but they were publicly instructed together in the word of salvation. And if they had a firm faith in their heart and confest it with their mouth, they were baptized." Zwingli also confesses in 1525 in the work "Vom Touf, vom Wiedertouf und vom Kindertouf" (Werke ii. i. 245): "I was so far led away by error as to think that it was much more becoming for children not to be baptized till they were come to a good age." William Röubli, pastor at Wytykon, was thrown into prison in August 1524, for denying infant baptism in his sermons (Füssli ii. 64)

[50] At this time the inclination to fanaticism was still further increast by severity from without. This town had called Balthasar Hubmeyer to be its pastor, against the will of the Austrian Government, and when it proposed to eject him by force, the men of Waldshut called upon the reformed Swiss to render aid to the threatened Gospel, and several inhabitants of Zurich went thither in defiance of the prohibition of the counsel. Bullinger i. 223. Müller-Hottinger vii. 10. Thus a numerous and susceptible circle of disciples to Münzer's gospel of the free spirit was formed in this place. Anabaptism was a secondary doctrine to Münzer (see Bullinger, note 45), and was first developt as a party sign in this circle.

[51] There is a list of works on the subject in Strobel's Beyträgen zur Literatur ii. 43. Especially Petri Gnodalii seditio repentina vulgi, praecipue rusticorum anno 1525 exorta. Basil. 1580. 8. also in Schardii Scriptt. rer. Germ. ii. 1031. G. Sartorius Gesch. des deutschen Bauernkrieges. Berlin 1795. 8. Materialien zur Gesch. des Bauernkriegs, 3 Lieferungen. Chemnits 1791—94. F. F. Occhsle Beiträge zur Gesch. des Bauernkrieges in den schwäbisch-fränkischen Grenzlanden. Heilbronn 1830. W. Wachsmuth der deutsche Bauernkrieg, in dess. Darstellungen aus der Gesch. des Reformations-Zeitalters Th. 1. Lief. 1. Leipzig 1834. 8. Das Breisgau im Bauernkriege, in Schreibers Taschenbuch f. Geschichte u. Alterthum in Süddeutschland. Freiburg 1839. S. 233. Ranke's deutsche Gesch. im Zeitalter b. Ref. ii. 182.

Already in times before the Reformation severe oppression had more than once driven the peasantry to revolt.[52] The refusal of evangelical preachers was now in many places a new cause of discontent, and misunderstanding of evangelical liberty gave to it a religious character. After some isolated outbreaks in the year 1524, the peasants of the Abbot of Kempten rose upon the first of January 1525, and in a short time this insurrection of the peasantry spread throughout Swabia, Franconia, and Alsace. The 12 articles in which the peasants stated their demands and tried to prove them from the Gospel,[53] favoured the

[52] Oechsle S. 74 ff. Wachsmuth's Aufstände und Kriege der Bauern im Mittelalter, in Raumer's hist. Taschenbuch. Jahrg. 5, 1834. S. 281. Ranke's deutsche Gesch. im Zeitalter der Reform. i. 214. In the year 1476, in the district of Würzburg, in 1492 the peasants of the Abbot of Kempten, and in the Netherlands, in 1493 in Alsace, since 1502 the Shoe-league in the diocese of Spires, in 1513 the Arme Konz in Wurtemberg, in 1514 in the diocese of Augsburg and in Carinthia, in 1517 in the Windischen Mark.

[53] The reasonable and just articles of the entire peasantry and subjects of the ecclesiastical and secular sovereinties, by whom they think themselves opprest (reprinted in Strobel's Beytragen ii. 7. Oechsle S. 246): I. "First it is our humble petition and desire, also our will and resolution, that for the future we should have power and authority; one whole community should choose and appoint one pastor. Also that we should have power to depose him, if he conduct himself improperly. The pastor thus chosen should preach us the Holy Gospel pure and plain without any addition, or doctrine, or ordinance of man. II. Though the just tithe is appointed in the Old Testament, and fulfilled in the New, nevertheless we are willing to pay a fair tithe of corn. The word of God speaks plainly how that, with a view to giving to God, and distributing to this people, according to due right, a pastor is required. We will that for the future, our Church-provost, whomsoever the community may appoint, shall gather and receive this tithe; from out of this he shall give to a pastor, provided he be elected by an entire community, a decent and sufficient maintenance; the residue shall be distributed to the poor, resident in the same place. With regard to any further residue, it should be kept in hand, lest any one should have to leave the country from poverty; provision should be made from this superfluity that no land tax may be laid upon the poor. Also in case one or more villages have sold their tithes, they have put themselves in the position of one entire village, which should not suffer in consequence, but we will that the sum should be repaid in due time with proper interest. But if a tithe owner has not bought his right from the village itself, but his forefathers have appropriated the tithe to themselves, the people will not, ought not, and are not to make any further payment. Small tithe we will not pay at all, for God the Lord has made cattle free for all men. III. Hitherto it has

opinion of ill-wishers that the whole insurrection was the result

been the custum for men to hold us as their own property, which is a pitiable case, considering that Christ has delivered and redeemed us with his precious blood shed for us, the peasant as much as the prince. Accordingly it is consistent with Scripture that we should be free, and wish to be so. Not that we wish to be absolutely free and under no authority; but we take it for granted that you will either willingly release us from serfage, as true and real Christians, or prove to us from the Gospel that we are serfs. IV. In the fourth place, it has been the custom hitherto, that no poor man should have power, or be allowed to touch venison, wild-fowl, or fish in flowing water, which seems to us quite unseemly and unbrotherly, but also selfish and not agreeable to the Word of God. In some places also the authorities will have us preserve the game to our own annoyance and great loss; the unreasoning animals destroy for no purpose our crops, which God suffers to grow for the use of man, and we must remain quiet; this is neither godly nor neighbourly. For when God created man, he gave him dominion over all animals, over the fowl of the air and the fish in the water. Accordingly it is our desire, if a man holds possession of waters, that he should prove from satisfactory documents, that his right has been unwittingly acquired by purchase, we do not desire to take it from him by force: but whosoever cannot produce such evidence, should surrender his claim to the community with a good grace. V. In the fifth place, we are aggrieved in the matter of woodcutting. For our nobles have appropriated all the woods to themselves alone; and if the poor man requires wood, he must buy it for two pieces of money. It is our opinion with regard to a wood, which has fallen into the hands of lords spiritual or temporal not by purchase, that it should be reassigned to an entire community, and should be free in seemly wise to the whole community, that every man should be allowed to take to his house what he requires for firewood. Also if a man required wood for carpenter's purposes, he should have it, but with the consent of a person appointed by the community for the purpose. VI. In the sixth a mitigation of feudal services VII. in the seventh of other services VIII. of rents was demanded. IX. "In the ninth place we are annoyed with a great evil, in the constant making of new laws, not that we are punisht according to the case, but sometimes from great ill-will, sometimes from good-will. It is our opinion that we should be dealt with according to the old written law, with reference to the case, and not by favor. X. In the tenth place we are aggrieved by the appropriation of meadows, and likewise of corn land, which at one time belonged to a community; these we will take again into our own hands. It may happen that the land has been rightfully purchast. XI. In the eleventh place we will entirely abolish the custom called Todfall (right of heriot) never again endure it, nor allow that widows and orphans should be thus shamefully robbed, against God's will, justice and right as has been done in many places, and by persons who should shield and protect them; they have disgraced and despoiled us, and if they have had but little authority to do so, they have assumed it; God will suffer this no more, but it shall be quite done away with, and for the future

of the Reformation; although it had found the fermentation already at work, and only influenced its character. Luther, to whom the peasants appealed, recognised in his exhortation to peace the justice of many of their complaints, in order that he might impress upon them more vividly the injustice of rebellion.[54] His address was without effect; however the suppression

no man shall be bound to give either little or much. Conclusion, in the twelfth place it is our conclusion and final resolution that if one or more of the articles, here set forth, is not in agreement with the word of God, we will recede therefrom, if it be made plain to us on Scriptural grounds. Or if an article be now conceded to us, and hereafter it be discovered to be unjust, from that hour it shall be dead and null and have no more force. Likewise if more articles of complaint be truly discovered from Scripture, we will also reserve the right of resolving upon these." Christopher Schappeller, pastor of Memmingen, was long considered the author of these articles, see on the other hand Schelhorn's Reformationsgesch. der Stadt Memmingen S. 80 : it was probably John Heuglin, matin-priest in one of the villages dependent on the imperial town of Ueberlingen, see Strobel's Beyträge ii. 76. Besides these, particular regions alleged their own grievances, see Oechsle S. 255. 258. 494. In Heilbronn the very dregs of the peasantry concerted an outline of a new constitution for the German Empire (Oechsle S. 163. 283), in which the socalled Reformation of Frederick III. (see vol. ii., Part iv., § 139. note 14) was taken for the groundwork.

[54] Luther's exhortation to peace on the twelve articles of the peasants of Swabia. May 1525 (Walch xv. 58). E.g., To the nobles and gentlemen: "In the first place we have no one on earth to thank for this unadvised rebellion, but you, ye nobles and gentlemen, especially you ye blind bishops, mad priests and monks, who harden yourselves to this very day, and never cease raging and storming against the Holy Gospel, though ye know it is right, and cannot gainsay it. Besides in the exercise of your secular power, ye do nothing else but tax and assess, to support your pomp and pride, till the poor man neither can nor may any longer forbear. Well then as ye are the cause of such wrath from God, undoubtedly it will pass over you also, unless ye mend yourselves in time. For this ye should know, dear sirs, God hath so made things, that man neither can nor will long endure this madness of yours. Ye must change and yield to God's word. If ye will not do this in a friendly and willing manner, ye will have to do it in a compulsory and destructive manner. If these peasants don't carry this out, others must. But to the end that ye may sin more, and be shipwreckt without mercy; certain persons go about to lay the blame on the Gospel, saying that this is the fruit of my teaching. Well, well, revile as ye will, dear masters, ye will not know what I have taught, and what is the Gospel. But there is One at the door, who will teach you right soon unless ye mend your ways. Ye and all men must bear me witness, that I have taught with all quietness, striven with all zeal against rebellion, restrained and exhorted your subjects with all dili-

of the insurrection, which he now demanded himself in his writ-

gence to render obedience and honor due, even to your tyrannical and insane dominion; so that this rebellion cannot have issued from me. But the prophets of murder, who are as much enemies to me as to you, are come upon this people, and have gone in and out amongst them for more than three years, and no one has checkt and resisted them so much as I alone. So God means now to punish you, and lets the devil rouse this mad people against you by his false prophets, perhaps He wills that I should no more have power to withstand. What can I or my Gospel do? Which to this day has not only borne your persecutions, murders, and ravings, but has always prayed for you, and helpt to protect and administer your dominion amongst the common people. One may yet council you, dear masters, that for God's sake ye will yield a little to this indignation. Consider well beforehand, for ye know not what God will do, lest a spark go forth, and kindle throughout Germany a fire which no man can put out. They have set forth twelve articles, amongst which are some so reasonable and just, that before God and the world they claim your concession, and verify Psalm cvii. ver. 40, they pour contempt upon princes.—To the peasantry: Hitherto, dear friends, ye have stated nothing more than what I confess, alas, to be all too true and certain, that the nobles and gentry, by forbidding to preach the Gospel, and by oppressing the people so intolerably, have right well deserved that God should cast them down from their throne.—Nevertheless ye must consider well, that ye take your cause in hand with a good conscience and with justice.—Firstly, dear brethren, ye take the name of God in your mouths, and call yourselves a Christian league or association, and set forth that ye will act and proceed according to divine right.—But in the second place, it is easy to prove that ye are persons who take the name of God in vain and profane it. For here stands God's word, spoken by the mouth of Christ, Matt. xxvi. 52. For all they that take the sword shall perish with the sword. This means nothing else than that no one shall resist authority at his own will, but as Paul says, Rom. xiii. 1, Let every soul be subject unto the higher powers (with fear and awe).—In the third place, Yea, say ye, the higher powers are too wicked and insufferable; for they will not allow us the Gospel, and oppress us with all bitterness in our temporal concerns, and so destroy us body and soul. I answer, the fact that the government is wicked and unjust is no excuse for faction and rebellion. For to punish wickedness belongs not to every man, but to the secular power, which carries the sword, as Paul says, Rom. xiii. 4, and Peter, 1. Epist. ii. 14, that it is ordained of God for the punishment of evil-doers. Thus the natural and universal law lays down that no man shall be his own judge.—With this, divine law agrees, and Moses says, Deut. xxxii. 35 (Rom. xii. 19), Vengeance is mine, I will repay, saith the Lord. True, the government does wrong, in thwarting the Gospel, and oppressing you in your earthly possessions. But ye do much more wrong, in that ye not only hinder the Word of God, but trample it under foot, and seize upon His authority and rights, and set up yourselves above God. From Him the government derives

ings,[55] was accomplisht in a short time, but for the most part with frightful cruelty. This agitation extended itself into Swit-

its power and authority, yea, all that it has. Hence there is an easy answer to all your articles. Although they might be all naturally just and equitable, still ye have forgotten Christian justice, in that ye have not carried and won them before God in patience and prayer; but have undertaken arbitrarily and impatiently, to put force upon the government and extort them by power; which is contrary to the laws of your country and to natural justice. Also, it is not a true profession that ye make to teach and to live according to the Gospel. There is no one article among them which teaches one portion of Gospel; all aim at the preservation of your persons and property. Exhortation addrest to both the government and the peasantry. Since then, dear sirs, there is nothing of Christianity on either side, and no Christian question is at issue betwixt you, but both sides peers and peasants have to do with questions of heathenish or secular right and wrong, and with earthly possessions, and moreover ye have sinned against God on both sides, and lie under His wrath, as ye have heard; so listen, for God's sake to words of counsel, and decide the question with right and not with might, nor with fighting, to the end that ye may not bring endless bloodshed upon German land.—Therefore it is my faithful advice, that certain counts and gentlemen be chosen from amongst the nobles, and certain councillors from the towns, that the question may be discust and settled in friendly wise; that ye nobles abate something of your stubborn pride, which ye will have to concede at length, whether ye will or no; and relax a little of your tyranny and oppression, that the poor man also may have air and space to breathe in. Again ye peasants, be ye also instructed, surrender and give up certain articles which ask too much and reach too high; in order that this question, if it cannot be proceeded with on Christian grounds, may thus at any rate be settled in accordance with human justice and policy."

[55] Luther's work against the robbing and murdering peasantry, in Walch xvi. 91. "The peasants have incurred the guilt of dreadful sin of three kinds against God and man, for which they have deserved death in body and soul many times over. Firstly, in that they have sworn truth and fealty to their government, but have wantonly broken their allegiance. Secondly, in that they have commenced a rebellion, and wantonly rob and plunder religious houses and castles, which are not their own. Thirdly, in that they cloke such hideous and dreadful sins as these with the Gospel. So now the government should press onwards courageously, and wage this war with a good conscience, while a pulse beats in their veins.—Therefore, dear masters, come hither to deliver, hither to the rescue, have pity on the poor folk, stab, smite, throttle who can. If you perish in the work—well is it for you, a more blessed death you will never accomplish hereafter." As this violent work was considered by many as unchristian and too severe, Luther defended it in an official letter to Gasp. Müller, Chancellor of Mansfield in Walch xvi. 99.

zerland also: in the dominions of Zurich, Basle, and Schaffhausen, peasants rose up before their rulers with some demands, but they were soon reduced to submission by measures of forbearance.[56]

In this great insurrection of the peasants no traces of anabaptist fanaticism were seen, although Münzer was in some degree concerned in its outbreak.[57] But the anabaptists in several places were encouraged thereby to adopt violent measures in order to carry out their fanatical designs. Early in 1525 Thomas Münzer made his appearance again in Thuringia, and relying on the support of his former alliances,[58] he usurpt dominion to himself at Mühlhausen in his character of prophet, in order to bring about a complete reformation of Church and State, and spread it through the surrounding countries by desolation and pillage.[59] But the revolt was once more subdued at the battle of Frankenhausen 15. May 1525, and here also chastised with cruel revenge.

At the same time Münzer's residence at Waldshut bore griev-

[56] Anshelm vi. 306. Bullinger i. 265. Müller-Hottinger, vii., 14 ff.

[57] Münzer's Confession in Walch xvi. 155: "In the Clegau and Hegau in Basle, he had set forth from the Scriptures certain articles upon government, and afterwards deduced further articles from them: they would gladly have had him on their side, but he declined their offer. He had roused no insurrections, but they had been already roused before. Oecolampadius and Hugefeldus had appointed a place to preach to the people, so he had preacht, that where there were unbelieving governors, the people also were unbelievers, which might be pleaded in justification of the fact."

[58] So early as the 14th Aug. 1524, Luther warned the council and community of Mühlhausen against Münzer (de Wette ii. 536).

[59] Melanchthon's Historie Thomae Münzers b. Walch xvi. 204 ff. Strobel's Leben Münzers S. 74 ff. Münzer said on his trial by torture (see his confession in Walch xvi. 157): "He had stirred up this rebellion in order that Christendom might be brought to an equality, and that the nobles and gentry, who would not stand by the Gospel, and join their league, when invited to do so fraternally, should be banisht and put to death.—Their article was, omnia simul communia, i.e., all things should be common, and distribution should be made to every man according to his need as opportunity served. And whatsoever duke, count, or lord would not do this, after being summoned to do so, his head should be cut off, or he should be hung." Compare Münzer's letter to the miners of Mansfeld (in Walch xvi. 150): E.g. "Let not your sword cool in blood; Forge Pinkepank on the anvil of Nimrod (i.e.

ous fruit for the Swiss nation. Anabaptism developt itself with manifold evils first in the dominion of Zurich,[60] afterwards it

the wicked nobles) cast his tower to the ground: it is not possible, so long as they live, that ye should be free from the fear of man. The word of God cannot be spoken to you, while they rule over you. On! on! on! while ye have the day, God goes before you, follow," &c. He always signed his name Thomas "Müntzer with the sword of Gideon."

[60] The hot-headed party first betook themselves secretly to Zwingli and Leo Judae, (see Zwingli's Aussage vor den Nachgängern, d. i. Untersuchungsrichtern in Füssli i. 228. And his account in the work vom Touf, vom Wiedertouf u. vom Kindertouf, works ii. i. 231, and in the Elenchus contra Catabaptistas, Opp. iii. 362). It was Simon Stumpf, Grebel and Felix Manz, who, invited them, "to constitute a peculiar Church, in which should be a Christian people, living with all innocence, cleaving close to the Gospel, burdened neither with taxes, nor usury, nor any thing of the kind." On this occasion these expressions were used, "It were nothing, unless the priests were put to death, Christians were neither bound to pay taxes nor tithes: All things must be common; there neither could nor should be any such persons in the Church, who profest themselves to be without sin." When they were foiled in this attempt, they first began to impugn infant baptism, Zwinglii Elenchus p. 363: On this point they had several conferences with Zwingli, they appeared to yield, but soon after actually commenced rebaptizing: Zwinglius l. c., he states this fact with the remark, nihil per omnem de infantium baptismo pugnam de catabaptismo proposuisse; videri hunc catabaptismum seditiosorum hominum esse veluti tesseram. At first also the question was only as to the fact, whether infant baptism was agreeable to the command of Christ, not whether it was valid when once performed. Balthasar Hubmeyer's letter to Oecolampadius of Jan. 1525 designates this as the position of the question (Epistolae Oecolampadii et Zwinglii at the beginning of lib. ii.) Hubmeyer thus states his way of proceeding at this time in Waldshut: Loco baptismatis ego curo convenire Ecclesiam, inducens infantulum, ac lingua vernacula interpretor Evangelium: *Oblati sunt parvuli Matth.* xix. Subinde imposito nomine orat tota Ecclesia flexis genibus pro parvulo.—Si vero sunt parentes adhuc infirmi, qui volunt omnibus nervis baptizari prolem; hanc baptizo, in opere infirmus sum cum infirmiusculis ad tempus, dum erudiantur melius, sed in verbo non cedo illis in minimo apiculo. Afterwards those fanatics at Zurich, more than ever exasperated by their conferences with Zwingli, proceeded to entire denial of infant Baptism, and so to rebaptizing, Zwingli v. d. Predigtamt, works ii. i. 306: "They first proceeded from Zürich." The first man who allowed himself to be baptized by Grebel in Zürich was George Blaurock (Füssli ii. 338), afterwards many persons were baptized by Blaurock and Manz in Zollikon, where John Brödli was minister (ibid. S. 266), and now the fanaticism of the party broke out openly. Zwinglii elenchus (Opp. ii. 364): Magnis examinibus in urbem advolant, posita zona, salice aut, reste cincti, in foro atque triviis, ut ipsi jactabant, prophetantes

chiefly attackt St Gall,[61] but affected other cantons also. The authorities proceeded at first with great leniency. An attempt was made to reclaim the erring by means of writings,[62] and several religious conferences.[63] As, however, the civil constitution continued to be threatened,[64] they past from mild to severe

De antiquo dracone, quem me volebant, deque ejus capitibus, quibus reliquos verbi symmystas, omnia implebant. Justitiam atque innocentiam omnibus commendabant, ab eis peregre nimirum profecturi; communia se habere jam omnia et gloriabantur, et aliis, ni idem fecerint, ultima comminabantur. Per plateas *Vae, Vae*, portentose, *Vae Tiguro!* clamabant. Quidam Jonam imitati adhuc quadraginta dierum inducias urbi dabant. In Lent 1525 Brödli and William Röubli being driven from Zollikon, betook themselves to Schafhausen; the latter afterwards went to Waldshut (see Brödli's letter in Füssli i. 217 f.): here he began to rebaptize, and carried away with him Hubmeyer who was still wavering, so that he was baptized himself, and on Easter Day baptized about 300 men (Hubmeyers Aussage in Füssli iii. 241). At the end of March 1525 Grebel came to St Gall, and soon found here numerous disciples (Alte Reformationsgesch. v. St Gallen in Simmler i. 129).

[61] See Alt. Ref. gesch. v. St Gallen in Simler, ibid. Their excesses (see S. 141 ff. Bullinger i. 323) at length proceeded so far that Thomas Schugger struck off the head of his brother Leonard, as by the command of God, see J. F. Franz die schwärmerischen Gräuelscenen der St Galler Wiedertäufer. Ebnat im Toggenburg 1824. 8.

[62] Zwingli especially dedicated his work vom Touf, vom Wiedertouf, und vom Kindertouf, of the 27th May 1525 to the community of St Gall (Works ii. i. 230). Hubmeyer wrote in answer von dem christl. Tauf der Gläubigen. Then followed: Ueber Doctor Balthazars Toufbüchlin wahrhafte gründte Antwurt durch Huldr. Zwinglin v. Nov. 1525 (Werke ii. i. 337).

[63] At Zurich on the 17th Jan. Zwingl. ad Vadianum dd. 19. Jan. Opp. vii. 385. Bullinger i. 238), on the 20th March (Bullinger i. 239), on the 6th to the 8th Nov. 1525 (Bullinger i. 294). Müller-Hottinger vii. 34. Zwingli's Works ii. i. 340); at Basle on Whit-Monday 1525 (Simler i. 492).

[64] On the doctrinal conceptions of the Anabaptists see Bullinger in Füssli v. 131. Zwinglii in catabaptistarum strophas elenchus 1527 (Opp. iii. 357). "The Anabaptists maintain that they are the only true Church well-pleasing to God and the community of Christ, and teach that they who are received by rebaptism into their community, should have no communion with the Evangelical or any other Church. In the so-called Evangelical Church, something of the Gospel is preacht, but no one mends therein, and all the people are impenitent, and held fast in sin and vice. So the deficiency is not only in the lay folk, but also in the Church officers, both as regards their person and their office. As regards their persons, because they have not been rightly and duly called to their office; because they have not those properties which Paul requires in a bishop, 1 Tim.

3; further, because they do not teach others; lastly, because they receive stipends and benefices and do no work for them, and so are belly-preachers. Also there is a great deficiency as regards their office, in the matter of doctrine and administration of the sacraments. In matter of doctrine, because it depends upon the preaching of one, whereas Paul desires, that if a revelation be made to one who is sitting by, the first speaker shall hold his peace, and suffer the other who sits by to speak. The preachers do not stand by the word of God alone, but fix a meaning on Scripture, whereas Scripture may not be explained by any private interpretation. The sermons of the preachers are much too restricted; for they teach Christ hath made satisfaction for sin, and man is justified before God by faith and not by works, whereas in this wicked world man should practise nothing more than good works. Thus also the preachers teach, that it is not possible for man to keep the law, whereas the whole of Scripture commands us to keep the law. The charity according to which, all possessions should be held in common, is not rightly taught by the preachers, insomuch as they maintain that a Christian man may have property and be rich, whereas charity has all things in common with the brethren. Also, the preachers intermingle the Old and New Testaments, whereas the Old Testament is done away, and is no more binding on Christians. It is not true, as the preachers say, that souls after the death of the body, go straight to heaven, for they sleep till the last day (Zwinglius l. c. p. 433: Catabaptistae docent mortuos dormire et corpore et animis usque in diem judicii, propterea quod dormiendi verbo ignorant Hebraeos pro moriendi verbo uti). The preachers yield too much to the governing powers, of which Christians have no need, as they only entail suffering. A Christian may not be a ruler. The government should not, and must not interfere with religion and matters of faith. Christians resist no power, accordingly they require no tribunal. A Christian makes use of no court. Christians put no man to death. Their punishment is not with imprisonment and the sword, but only with exclusion. No one should be compelled to believe by any force or constraint. Nor any one put to death for the faith. Christians defend not themselves, so they wage no wars, and do not obey the government in this point. The Christian's conversation is Yea, yea, and Nay, nay,—oaths are sinful and unjust. Moreover the office of the preachers is deficient in the administration of the Sacraments: for they baptize infants, whereas infant-baptism is of the Pope and the devil. Anabaptism, on the contrary, is the only true Christian baptism, as being administered to persons who make confession to repentance, and to such as are instructed and capable of understanding. The preachers make no distinction, and do not keep sinners away from the Lord's Supper, and employ no excommunication" (in Zwingl. l. c. p. 390: Excommunicari debent omnes, qui, posteaquam—in unum Christi corpus baptizati sunt,—cadunt in peccatum.—Debent ergo hujusmodi admoneri bis in occulto; tertio publice pro ecclesia debent corrigi juxta praeceptum Domini. Hoc autem fieri debet juxta ordinationem—divini spiritus ante fractionem panis, ut omnes unanimiter—unum panem frangere atque edere possimus, et de uno calice bibere).—They naturally disowned the name of Anabaptists,—as they declared infant-baptism invalid, they rather

measures, and at length even to capital punishment.[65] Thus

called theirs Catabaptism (Füssli iii. 229). But they wisht to restore the sacraments in general to their original institution; see the confession of George Blaurocks (Füssli i. 264): "I am the introducer of Baptism and the Lord's Supper, together with my elect brethren in Christ, Conrad Grebel, and Felix Mantz. Accordingly the Pope with his faction is a thief and murderer; in like manner Luther with his faction is a thief and murderer; Zwingli, also, and Leo Judae with their faction, are thieves and murderers." With regard to the elements of the Lord's Supper they held the Zwinglian opinion (see Balthasar Hubmeyer ad Oecolampad. in Jo. Oecol. et Huld. Zwinglii epistoll. lib. ii. init. Jac Kautz in Füssli v. 150). But they often celebrated it in their own houses, imitating more exactly the Supper as it was instituted (Füssli i. 267, ii. 362 ff.). But their doctrine of the Spirit was of principal importance, Zwingl. l. c. p. 436: ubi ubi lubet, scripturam negant et spiritum suum jactant. Hans Denk had collected some supposed contradictions in Holy Writ, which could only be reconciled by the Holy Ghost (in Füssli v. 139): so much the more extraordinary was the literal interpretation which they put upon some passages of Scripture, those for instance on oaths, the sleep of death, etc. The belief in a final restoration was also widely spread amongst them, Zwingl. l. c. p. 435: tam Daemonem quam impios omnes beari: this Hans Denk taught at St Gall (Simler i. 139). The insane doctrines of the Anabaptists of St Gall were censured even by Grebel and Manz, see Franz schwärmer. Gräuelscenen S. 83. Many of their doctrines bring vividly to mind those of the sect of the free spirit, e.g., that God works all things by means of the regenerate man, that he has no occasion to pray (Simler i. 142. compare vol. ii. Part iii. § 122 note 8). Füssli (Kirchen u. Ketzerhistorie der mittlern Zeit iii. 255) regards the Anabaptists in general as a continuation and revival of the sects of the middle ages: he is hardly right in so general a conclusion. The first impulse was probably received from Bohemia, the fanatics of Zwickau were a revival of the Taborites. The manifold erroneous doctrines were the natural result of the doctrine of the inner light, beneath which the lust of the flesh soon concealed itself. Some few of the tenets of the earlier sects may have grown up with them, but only such as would coalesce with the new system.

[65] Immediately after the first conference (see note 63) in January 1525, a decree of the council was issued at Zurich, that all persons should have their children baptized or leave the Canton (Füssli i. 189). Soon afterwards the principal authors of disturbance were thrown into prison (ibid. S. 205 anm.); they succeeded in breaking out of their prison, and now they announced that, like the Apostles, they had been set free by an angel (Füssli i. 249 anm. iii. 252.) In March 1526 an order was past at Zurich, that all persons who practised anabaptism should be drowned (Füssli i. 270 anm.) The other states also which were inclined to the Reformation followed this example. Abschied der Städte der Zürich Bern u. St. Gallen v. Sept. 1527 in Simler i. 449. Felix Manz was drowned at Zurich in 1527, George Blaurock

the public disturbance was quickly brought under: nevertheless the anabaptists from this time forth maintained themselves in concealment, spread in all directions, and endeavoured with great energy to make secret proselytes. Anabaptism in general was punisht with death;[66] but its victims bequeatht to the faithful encouraging tales of martyrdom,[67] rather than disheartening examples.

All these events were eagerly seized upon by the enemies of the Reformation as so many proofs of the fact, that it taught men to throw aside all authority, and therefore that it incited men to disobedience and rebellion against temporal as well as against spiritual supremacy, it deprived faith of all sure guidance, and led to endless dissensions, and fanaticisms of every kind.[68]

whippt out of the country (Bullinger i. 381. Füssli iv. 259, 265), Hubmeyer was burnt to death at Vienna in 1529 (Schelhorn acta historico-ecclesiastica Ulm. 1738. p. 150. H. Schreibers Taschenbuch für Geschichte u. Alterthum in Süddeutschland. Freiburg im Breisgau 1839 S. 1.)

[66] The ordinances of the German empire, the first past by the diet of Spires in April 1529, in Boehmer jus eccles. Protestantium iv. 1109 ss.

[67] These were adorned with miracles, illustrated and publisht, e.g. the account of the execution of certain anabaptists at Rothenburg on the Neckar in 1527 in Füssli ii. 374. Compare Vcesenmeyer in Vaters Kirchenhist. Archiv 1826. iv. 458.

[68] Erasmi Hyperaspistes lib. i. (Opp. x. 1256): Habemus fructum tui spiritus, res usque ad cruentam stragem progressa est, et metuimus atrociora, ni Deus propitiatus averterit.—Non agnoscis hosce seditiosos, opinor, sed illi te agnoscunt, et jam compertum est, multos, qui se jactabant Evangelii nomine, fuisse seditionis crudelissimae instigatores. Quorum conatus si successisset, fortassis extitissent qui probarent, quod nunc re male gesta detestantur. Tu quidem libello in agricolas saevissimo suspicionem abs te depulisti, nec tamen efficis, quo minus credant homines, per tuos libellos, praesertim germanice scriptos, in oleatos et rasos, in Monachos, in Episcopos, pro libertate evangelica contra tyrannidem humanam, hisce tumultibus fuisse datam occasionem. Nondum tam male de te sentio, Luthere, ut existimem, te huc destinasse tua concilia, sed tamen jam pridem cum hanc fabulam ordireris, e calami tui violentia cepi conjecturam, rem huc exituram. Cochlaeus ad ann. 1523 fol. 64 b. Nulla unquam factio fuit ita seditiosa, pestilens, nefaria, quae sic religionem omnem tollere, leges omnes obruere, mores omnes bonos corrumpere, respublicas omnes evertere machinata sit ut nunc ista conjuratio Lutherana, quae et sacra omnia profanat, et profana contaminat. Quae ita Christum praedicat, ut ejus Sacramenta conculcet; ita Dei buccinat gratiam, ut arbitrii libertatem destruat; ita fidem extollit, ut operibus bonis detrahat, et invehat pec-

candi licentiam ; ita misericordiam sublevat, ut justitiam deprimat ; et malorum omnium causam inevitabilem non in Deum aliquem malum, quod Manichaei saltem commenti sunt, sed in unicum illum vere bonum rejiciat. Qui cum ad hunc modum impie divina tractarit, velut a coelo dejectus serpens, virus effundit in terras, in Ecclesia commovet dissensionem, leges omnes abrogat, Magistratus omnes enervat, laicos in sacerdotes concitat, utrosque adversus Pontificem, populos adversus Principes : nec aliud plane molitur, quam ut (quod omen avertant Superi) Germaniae primum populus tanquam pro libertate bellum indicat Proceribus, deinde ut Christiani contra Christianos, spectantibus et irridentibus Christi hostibus, pro Christi fide ac religione depugnent. Thus duke George in a letter to the Landgrave Philip throws the whole blame of the peasants' insurrection upon the preachers alone, "who have preacht the Lutheran Gospel so loud and clear, that no one could help perceiving, it must bear such fruit, as is now before our eyes." —(see Rommels Philip der Grossmüthige ii. 83). Philip replied to this charge in 1528 (ibid. S. 85) : "Your highness writes that the rebellion has risen from Lutheranism, with this I cannot agree : there is no occasion to prove, as every one knows well, where the rebellion arose. Thus I have punisht no Lutheran with the sword, but wicked rebellious persons who do not hold Luther's doctrine. This is shown by his manifold works. The Gospel which must now be called Luther's doctrine, teaches no rebellion to the peasants, but peace and obedience to all men. Accordingly, amongst those people, and in those regions, which adhere to the Gospel called Lutheran, there is less rebellion, and in some places none at all, than in those which persecute the Gospel." A defence which has preserved its truth even down to the agitations of our own day.

APPENDIX.

TRANSLATION OF SOME QUOTATIONS FROM EARLY GERMAN AUTHORS IN THE NOTES OF THIS VOLUME.

SEC. 137.—NOTE 1, PAGE 1.

Decree of William III., Duke of Saxony.

Also to this day many foreign tribunals are resorted to by the inhabitants of our land, which is a dishonour, great loss, and notable injury to this country. Henceforth take notice, we have decreed and determined, that hereafter no inhabitant of our country, dominion and territory, shall summon or sue another before any foreign tribunal, ecclesiastical or secular, for any cause whatsoever it may be. If the case be ecclesiastical and belongs justly to an ecclesiastical tribunal, the plaintiff shall bring it before an ecclesiastical tribunal in our country to which it belongs, and rest satisfied with the decision there given. The case also when taken in hand shall be carried through, and there shall be no appeal to a foreign court. But if the case be secular, it shall be brought and pleaded before the secular tribunals and courts, where the defendant is settled, and to which the case belongs. Before the same court the plaintiff shall pursue his pleading, as is fitting, to the end, and rest satisfied with the decision, and appeal to no foreign court. But if any inhabitant, whosoever he be, of our land, dominion, and territory, does not rest satisfied with the decision of his case before the ecclesiastical or secular tribunal of our land, in which it has been heard, but shall appeal therefrom, or otherwise plead before a foreign court and not our own; from that hour he shall be held as an outlaw, and shall never enter our country again, but be banisht for life, and any one may main-

tain claims upon him and his property without hindrance, as an outlaw from us and our country. Also if he send messengers, with letters or otherwise, no one shall receive his letters or take any notice of them, and proceedings shall be taken against the messenger as against the outlaw himself without mercy. Also, since we and our subjects for many years to this day, have been inconvenienced in many ways, and troubled beyond measure by the ecclesiastical judges in many cases, which they will take under their own jurisdiction, refusing none, either spiritual or temporal, in which the aforesaid judges too often regard neither God nor justice; hence, as might be expected in course of time, unbelief might greatly increase among the people, and thereby neglect and dishonor accrue to God and holy Church; accordingly it is to the glory of God, and the honor of His holy Church to counteract so great an evil: so we will do our diligence with princes and prelates who hold jurisdiction in our lands and dominions, to charge and intreat them to reform their ecclesiastical courts, and neither to commence nor try any action before them, which is not ecclesiastical: and if a case be secular to have nothing to do with it. Also we shall strictly charge and command all persons in our lands, lordship, and dominion, that no man, whosoever he may be, shall summon, sue, or denounce another on a secular charge, before an ecclesiastical court. But whosoever does not observe this charge, and summons another man before the ecclesiastical courts in a secular cause, and disobeys this our ordinance, shall entirely lose the cause, for which he pleaded for his disobedience, and besides shall pay a fresh tax by way of penance to the lord under whom he lives. So also orders shall be given to all parochial clergy, that they neither receive nor publish any paper from the ecclesiastical judges on secular matters: But if any parish priest refuse to obey, none of the profits or revenue of his parish shall accrue to him, till such time as he return to obedience.

SEC. 139.—NOTE 16, P. 19.

Reformation of Frederick III.

It is clear as day that with fair and crafty words the clergy have deprived us of our rightful patrimony: they blinded the eyes of our forefathers, and persuaded them to purchase the kingdom of heaven with their ancestral estates. If ye priests give to the poor and the chosen children of God, their paternal inheritance, which ye owe them in the sight of God, so might God perhaps grant you such grace that you would acknowledge it yourselves. But so long as ye bestow it upon your beloved harlots, and profligates, instead of upon the children of God as

ye are bound to do, be ye sure of this, God will reward you according to your merits; when ye have exasperated and overburdened the whole community in the Empire. The time is at hand, when your possessions will be seized upon and divided, as the possessions of an enemy. As ye have oppressed the community, it shall rise up against you; so that ye shall not know where to find an abiding place.

SEC. 147.—NOTE 17, P. 82.

Statement of a Dominican Nun at Kircheim in Swabia.

There came a legate from Rome into this land (in the year 1489) with such ample grace and indulgence, that the like was never heard of before. Then our mother prioress bought the indulgence for us all in common: and five briefs of indulgence were granted to us, which were kept; they cost me ten florins, but we gave it willingly for the praise of God, and that we might help the souls in purgatory. The indulgence was from our dear Lady's day till Michaelmas; so long we kept the jubilee year, and every sister during this time might release as many souls as she would or could; at every journey to Rome one soul might be releast; also if she went round the seven churches, and at every church said a whole vigil, for each vigil in each church she releast one soul; this she might do as often as she wisht, and for as many souls as she wisht; and if she performed the procession and the prayer, she might rest sure in Christian faith, that the soul was releast from purgatory, though it had not departed this life in the grace of God. Accordingly, our father instructor, our confessor, taught us, that a sister who would rescue seven souls, when she began to go to the seven churches, should bear in mind some other souls, that if they either did not require or were incapable of profiting by her prayer, she might have the others in remembrance. Thus she should ever act, and though a sister might rescue what souls she pleased, still her father and mother stood first in the Bull, and next her nearest friends, and those for whom we are bound to pray for our order's sake, the founders and benefactors of the Order, many of whom were delivered. Besides a portion of the money which we gave from the community was applied in general for the souls of those who had benefited it. Some sisters delivered two hundred souls, some one hundred, some fifty, and afterwards might deliver more. Also, we prayed much for ourselves, as our father confessor directed, that we might receive the plenary absolution, for all our sins and corruptions; whatever they might be, he could remove them from us this time, &c.

SEC. 147.—NOTE 25, P. 86.

Account of Tetzel's proceedings by Frederick Myconius.

He gained by his preaching in Germany an immense sum of money, all of which he sent to Rome; and especially at the new mining works at St Annaberg, where I, Frederick Mecum, heard him for two years, a large sum was collected. It is incredible what this ignorant and impudent monk gave out. He said that if a Christian had slept with his mother, and placed the sum of money in the Pope's indulgence chest, the Pope had power in Heaven and earth to forgive the sin, and if he forgave it, God must do so also. Item—if they contributed readily, and bought grace and indulgence, all the hills of St Annaberg would become pure massive silver. Item—so soon as the coin rang in the chest, the soul for whom the money was paid, would go straightway to Heaven.—The indulgence was so highly prized, that when the commissary entered a city, the Bull was borne on a satin or gold-embroidered cushion, and all the priests and monks, the town council, schoolmaster, scholars, men, women, maidens, and children, went out to meet him with banners and tapers, with songs, and procession. Then all the bells were rung, all the organs played; he was conducted into the Church, a red cross was erected in the midst of the Church, and the Pope's banner displayed; in short, God himself could not have been welcomed and entertained with greater honor.

It is incredible what this ignorant monk gave out in speaking and preaching. He gave sealed letters stating that even the sins which a man might wish to do hereafter were forgiven. The Pope had more power than all the apostles, all the angels and saints, even than the Virgin Mary herself. For these were all subject to Christ, but the Pope was equal to Christ. After his ascension into Heaven Christ had nothing more to do with the government of the Church till the last day, but had entrusted all to the Pope as His vicar and vicegerent.

Preface to the Sermons of George of Anhalt.

Tetzel's sub-commissary, also a preaching-friar, Bartholomew by name, (as I have heard myself with my own ears during my youth at Dessau) dared to say without shame, that he had seen with his own eyes the blood of Christ flow gently down from the holy red cross of indulgence, on which the Pope's banner hung, and that so great grace had not been granted since the time of Christ's passion. He also said that the cross workt miracles, and he excommunicated every man who gainsayed this.

SEC. 152.—NOTE 8, P. 144.

Letter of the men of Breslau to the Pope's Legate in 1459.

Let his holiness look well to it, that he be not betrayed, as will undoubtedly happen, by the King's oath and vow. His Holiness has accepted his vow to renounce and exterminate heresy; but as on the other hand he has sworn to his sects, that he will protect them, and maintain and increase their party, must he not perjure himself with one side or the other? As the base arch-heretic Rokyczana is still free, and has greater power than ever, he now compels the people to receive the sacrament in both kinds, whosoever will not do so, is punisht, imprisoned, &c., S. 132: And those who receive in one kind only, are reproacht and reviled by him as heretics, and when they die they are buried with the malefactors in unconsecrated ground.

The Legate's Answer.

The king has not sworn to promote heresy, but he has only given his simple word that he will tolerate its usages; this is not only no sin, but is wisely done. Ye know well, whether there are many heretics in Bohemia, whether they are powerful, whether they can be expelled peaceably and without bloodshed. So if ye would speak the truth, ye would advise in your own wisdom, that they should not be treated with rigour, but with gentleness, nor be converted in the mass, but gradually as may be expedient. And if the king in his toleration and forbearance entertains affection for any of them, it is not for his heresy's sake, but because he is his friend or servant; ought he therefore to be called a heretic or a friend of heretics? This be far from your thoughts; since Jesus ate and drank with open sinners, not that he loved sinners as such, but men and the souls of men. S. 142: Also as there are many heretics in Bohemia, ye shall not separate yourselves from them, but endure and tolerate them, as St Augustin saith, Thou good man bear with the wicked, because Christ bore with Judas, &c.

SEC. 152.—NOTE 15, P. 147.

When this appeal (see note 14) was publisht through the whole kingdom, and in many parts of Germany by George, it was rather approved than censured. The Pope's efforts met with no praise, no thanks, no assent. But all that George

undertook or sanctioned, was praised and approved by every one. S. 17. The Dukes of Misnia and Brandenburg with their Bishops sympathized with this cause, and did not approve the Pope's proceedings. In their lands and states, curses and reproaches against the Pope were heard, for the Pope would rouse the Bohemians to war, when they wisht to live in peace, whereas in former times, when all Christendom was against them, their warlike armies had been continually victorious, and destroyed countries and their inhabitants. Accordingly these states had enquired of the doctors in the universities of Leipsic and Erfurt, whether it were right to wage war with the Bohemians who would gladly live in peace, whether peace might be made with heretics, whether they ought to be murdered, and brought by force to the true faith. There was at this time an especially great teacher of the order of the Carthusians at Frankfort on the Oder, held in high esteem for his learning and sanctity by all men, he wrote much on the subject. Moreover, in the universities above-mentioned there was much discussion and writing amongst the masters on this question. The conclusion of all was, that the Pope's holiness ought not to deal so harshly with the Bohemian people, if they were willing to abide in peace; but mildly and with paternal desire and instruction to appoint conferences for them, as George desired, and send legates.

HISTORY OF THE RISE OF THE REFORMATION.

SEC. 1.—NOTE 1, P. 217.

Luther's memorial to the Elector John at the diet of Spires.

As such abuses became so intolerably great and numerous, and were not reformed by those who had the power to do so, they began of themselves to fall into disuse in Germany, and the clergy in consequence to fall into contempt. However, as unskilful authors would defend and uphold such abuses, yet could not make out an honest case, they made matters worse than before, so that the clergy were thought to be unlearned, incapable, scandalous persons, and their proceedings and the apology for them turned to ridicule. This decay and discontinuance of abuses was already begun in most respects, before Luther's doctrine was introduced; for all the world was weary of clerical abuses and hostile to them; if Luther's doctrine had not come in to teach men faith in Christ and obedience to rulers, there would have been reason to expect a pitiful state of dissolution in Germany, for men would endure the abuses no longer and required immediate alterations, but the clergy would neither yield

nor allow that they had no means of resistance. An irregular, wild, perilous change or alteration (such as Munzer instituted), would have taken place, if a consistent doctrine had not been brought forward; without doubt all religion would have fallen to the ground, and men would have become mere epicures instead of Christians.

Sec. 1.—Note 5, p. 220.

But I, Doctor Martin, am called and compelled to be a doctor, without any consideration for myself but from pure obedience: for I had to take my doctor's degree and swear and vow upon my much loved holy scriptures, truly and purely to preach and teach them. In the course of my teaching the papacy came across my path, and wisht to check it; accordingly it has been brought to its present state, and shall be brought still lower, and have no power to check my doctrine. Mathesius S. 17: Luther often consoled and supported himself with this regular and public calling, thus conferred upon him, by an establisht university, in the name and by command of his imperial majesty, and the Roman see, by the advice and decree of his preceptors and rightful superiors in the Church, and by the most gracious advancement and responsibility of his elector and liege-lord, and with his dear oath which he had taken to God to Holy Scripture and the University of Wittenberg, in times of great difficulty and struggle, when the devil and the world caused him to question himself anxiously, who had commissioned him, and how he would answer for taking up such a position before all Christendom? Yes, I say, he called to mind and encouraged himself with his regular doctor's degree, and public charge, and dear oath, so that he continued his (in truth God's) cause, undismayed in the name of Christ with honour and much courtesy, and with God's help honestly discharged it.

Sec. 1.—Note 6, p. 223.

Luther's Preface to the Theologia Germanica.

This noble little book, all poor and unadorned as it is with words and wisdom of men, is all the more costly and precious for its skill and divine wisdom, and if I may mention my former follies, no book except the Bible and St Augustin has fallen into my hands from which I have learnt and shall learn more of the nature of God, Christ, man and all things; and now I perceive for the first time that some of our learned divines at Wittenberg

speak boastfully, as though we had made a new discovery, as if there had not been men before now and in other places. Truly there have been such men, but the wrath of God, caused by our sins, has not suffered us to be worthy to see or hear them. For it is clear as day that in the universities no such questions have been handled, hence it followed that the Word of God has not only been laid on the shelf, but almost destroyed by dust and moths.

Sec. 1.—Note 11, p. 226.

Luther on Tetzel.

It happened in the year 17, that a preaching friar, John Tetzel by name, came hither, a noisy fellow, whom Duke Frederick had saved from drowning at Inspruck, for Maximilian had commanded him to be drowned in the Inn (you may imagine it was for his great virtue's sake). Duke Frederick reminded him of it, when he began to trouble us at Wittenberg; he acknowledged it freely. The same Tetzel now hawkt about the indulgence, and sold grace for money, dear or cheap as he best could. At the time I was a preacher here in the monastery, and a young doctor fresh from the anvil, glowing and bold in Holy Scripture. As many people went from Wittenberg to Jüterbock and Zerbst after the indulgence, and I (so truly as Christ my Lord hath redeemed me) did not know what the indulgence was, as at that time no one knew, began to preach mildly, that men might do better, forsooth, than purchase the indulgence. I had preacht to the same effect against indulgence before this here at the castle, and had displeased Duke Frederick thereby, for he entertained a great affection for this foundation (which possest a particularly ample indulgence). Now, to come to the true cause of the Lutheran teaching, I let all go on as it went. However, it comes to my mind how that Tetzel had preacht loathsome and fearful articles, which I will now name, to wit: He had such grace and power from the Pope that if any man had defiled or impregnated the Virgin Mary he could forgive the sin, so soon as a fitting sum was deposited in the chest, (see Lutheri thes. 75). Item, the red indulgence-cross with the Pope's banner, erected in the Churches, was as efficacious as the cross of Christ (thes. 79). Item, if St Peter were here now, he could have no greater grace or power than he had himself (thes. 77). Item, he would not change places in heaven with St Peter; for he had releast more souls with indulgence, than St Peter by his preaching. Item, when a coin was placed in the chest for a soul in purgatory, so soon as the penny

ell ringing upon the bottom, the soul immediately started for heaven (thes. 27). Item, the grace of indulgence was the very grace whereby man was reconciled to God (thes. 33). Item, there was no need to feel grief, or sorrow, or repentance for sin, if a man bought the indulgence, or the letter of indulgence (with limitations according to thes. 35); he also sold the right to sin in future time. He pusht his traffic to a fearful extent; every thing might be done for money.

SEC. 1—NOTE 13, P. 228.

From Luther's Sermon on Indulgence and Grace.

He declared in this that the usual division of repentance into contrition, confession, and satisfaction, "was found to be hardly or not at all grounded upon Holy Scripture, nor the early fathers of the Church"—"that it cannot be proved from any Scripture that Divine justice requires or desires any other punishment or satisfaction from the sinner, than his hearty and true repentance and conversion, with a resolution, henceforth to bear the cross of Christ, and practise the good works before-mentioned (also imposed on him by no man). If the Church were at this day to decide and declare that indulgence made more satisfaction than works; still it were a thousand-fold better, that no Christian man should purchase or desire the indulgence, but rather perform the works and suffer the loss. Indulgence is allowed for the sake of imperfect and slothful Christians, who will not exercise themselves industriously in good works, or are impatient. For indulgence improves no man, but only tolerates and allows his imperfection. So men should not speak against indulgence, but neither should they persuade any one to take it.

SEC. 1.—NOTE 16, P. 229.

So my propositions against Tetzel's articles were publisht.—In fourteen days they ran right through Germany; for all the world censured the indulgence, especially Tetzel's articles. And because all the Bishops and Doctors kept silence, and no one would bell the cat (for the preaching friar, commissioner of heresy, had frightened all the world with his fires, and even Tetzel himself had punisht certain priests who murmured against his insolent preaching); then Luther was much spoken of as a famous doctor who would take the matter in hand. The fame was not dear to me, for, as I have said, I did not know what the indulgence was, and the song might have been too high for my voice.

Sec. 1.—Note 31, p. 238.

When I first assailed indulgence, and all the world opened their eyes, and began to think, it was done with too high a hand; my prior and sub-prior came to me, alarmed at the cry of murder; they were sore frightened, and entreated me not to bring discredit on my order, for the other orders, especially the preachers already leapt for joy, that they were not alone in disgrace, but that the Augustins also would burn and bear reproach. Then I answered, dear Fathers, if this matter is not begun in God's name, it will quickly fall to the ground; but if it is begun in His name, leave it in His hands.

Sec 1.—Note 36, p. 240.

Melancthon's Sermon on the Sacrament of Penance.

S. 515. All depends upon faith, which is the alone cause that the sacraments have the effect they signify, and that all that the Priest says is true; for as thou believest, so is it done to thee. Without this faith all absolution, all sacraments are vain, yea rather impious than pious. S. 517. Ninthly, it follows that in the sacrament of penance and forgiveness of sins a Pope or Bishop has no more power than the humblest priest; if there be no priest, every Christian person, even a woman or child, can administer as well. For whatever Christian person can say unto thee, God forgive thy sins in Christ's name etc., and thou canst grasp the word with sure faith, as though God spake to thee, then thou art certainly absolved in this faith. S. 521. Sixteenthly, lest any one should sometime accuse me of forbidding good works, I say that with all sincerity, men should feel repentance and sorrow, confess and do good works. This, however, I maintain with all my power, that faith should be considered the chief good in the sacrament, and the means whereby man receives the grace of God, and in consequence does much that is good, only for the glory of God and the good of his neighbour: and not that he may rely upon this as sufficient to atone for sin, for God gives His grace without price and free, so we ought in turn to serve Him without price and freely. S. 524. So no sins belong to the confessional, save those which are publicly recognized as sins unto death, and those which oppress and burden the conscience for a time; for if a man were to confess all sins, he would be confessing every minute, for we are never without sin in this life, even our good works are not free from sin." And if a man as yet has confest nothing, still it is profitable for him

often to hear absolution and the operation of God, that he may accustom himself to believe in the forgiveness of sin. §. 521. Also the Priest has a sufficient signal and reason for absolving, when he sees that his absolution is desired.

Sec. 1.—Note 40, p. 242.

First that a general inhibition should be imposed on both sides, and that both sides shall be forbidden to preach, write or treat of these subjects any more. Secondly, he Charles von Miltitz, would write to our holy father the Pope, a short account of the position of affairs, as he had found them, and provide that the Pope's holiness should commission some learned Bishop to investigate the case, and point out articles which are erroneous to be revoked by me. And then if I be shewn my error, I ought and will gladly recant, and not weaken the honor and authority of the Holy Roman Church.

Luther's letter to the Elector.—In the next place I was ready to write to the Pope's holiness, and submit myself with all humility, confess that I had been too zealous and too eager, yet with no intention to encroach on the holy Church, but only to show the reason why, as a true son of the Church, I had resisted the wicked preaching, out of which great ridicule, ill-repute, dishonor, and discontent had grown up amongst the people towards the Church of Rome. Thirdly, I was ready to issue a paper exhorting every man to follow the Church of Rome with obedience and respect, and my work should be understood not to the detriment, but the honor of the Roman Church; also to confess that I had brought the truth forward too zealously and perhaps out of season.

Sec. 1.—Note 55, p. 250.

Luther to the Christian nobles.—We may be sure that in this cause, we have to deal not with men, but with the powers of Hell, which can indeed fill the world with war and bloodshed, but cannot be overcome by these means. Renouncing all bodily power, we must undertake this cause in humble trust in God, and seek help from God in earnest prayer, keeping nothing else before our eyes but the affliction and the necessities of suffering Christendom. Wheresoever men have not proceeded in the fear of God, and humility, the Popes and the Romans, with the devil's help, have hitherto set the kings at variance with each other; they may do so now, if we advance with our own might and skill without the help of God.

Sec. 1.—Note 60, p. 253.

Luther to the Christian nobles.—Grace and strength from God be with you most noble and gracious lords. It is not from mere forwardness and wantonness, that I, a poor man, have undertaken to speak before your high dignity: the necessity and trouble which afflicts all estates of men in Christendom, especially in Germany, and has moved not only me but every man to cry aloud for help, has now compelled me to cry aloud and to call, if God will give any man the grace to lend a helping hand to this suffering people. Something has been often expected from councils: but they have been skilfully thwarted by the craft of man, and matters made worse than before; this malicious wickedness, with the help of God I propose to bring to light, that it may learn henceforth not to be so great an obstruction and scandal. God has set over us a young and noble scion, so that many hearts are roused to greater hopes; accordingly it becomes us to do our part, and make good use of the time and grace.

The Romanists have drawn three walls round them with great skill, with which they have hitherto protected themselves from reformation, and so all Christendom has suffered a grievous downfall. Firstly, when prest with the secular power, they have maintained and stated that secular power has no right over them, but on the contrary spiritual power is above secular power. Secondly, when rebuked from Holy Scripture, they meet one with the statement, that no one except the Pope has a right to interpret Scripture. Thirdly, when threatened with a council, they pretend that no one can summon a council except the Pope. Against the first wall: the distinction betwixt spiritual and secular power is nought; for all Christians are truly spiritual, and there is no distinction between them, except as regards their office. As St Paul says, 1 Cor. xii., We are all one body, and every member has its own office in which he serves the other members. We were all consecrated to be priests at our baptism as St Peter says, 1 Peter ii. So ordination by the bishop is nothing more than that he in the place and person of the whole community, takes one man from the number of those who all have equal power, and commissions him to exercise this power for the rest. In like manner those persons now called spiritual, have no further or higher distinction from other Christians, than that it is their place to administer the Word of God and His sacraments; this is their duty and office. Thus the secular power holds the sword and the rod in its hand, to punish the wicked and protect the good. It should discharge its office freely and without hin-

drance throughout the whole body of Christendom, without regarding whether it strikes Pope, bishops, priests, monks, nuns or any other persons. Against the second wall: Christ says, (S. John 6.) that all Christians shall be taught of God. So it may happen that the Pope and his party be wicked, and neither true Christians nor taught of God, so as to have a right understanding. On the other hand a humble man may have a right understanding; why therefore may not men follow him? Has not the Pope often erred? Who shall help Christendom if the Pope errs, if no one else who has the Scripture on his side, may be believed before him. The third wall falls of itself, if these two fall. For when the Pope acts against Scripture, we are bound to stand by Scripture, to rebuke and correct him according to the word of Christ, Matth. xviii.; if thy brother sin against thee, tell it to the Church, (community). If then I am to remonstrate before the community, I must gather it together. The Bishop of Rome neither summoned nor sanctioned the most famous council of Nice, but the emperor Constantine, and after him many other emperors have done the same; yet these are most Christian councils. Thus, when necessity demands it, and the Pope is hostile to Christianity, whoever best can is bound to provide, as a true member of the whole body, that a free council be held; no power can do this so well as the temporal sword.

Subjects of discussion in councils &c. "In the first place it is fearful and hateful to see how the highest person in Christendom, who calls himself the vicar of Christ, and successor of St Peter, lives with such worldly state, that neither king nor emperor can equal or vie with him. In the second place, of what use in Christendom are the people called cardinals? I will tell thee this; Italy and Germany possess many very rich abbeys, sees, benefices, and parish churches: there would have been no means of bringing these into subjection to Rome, without making cardinals, and granting to them as their own these sees, abbeys and prelacies; thus the service of God falls to the ground. But I advise that fewer cardinals should be made, or that the Pope should maintain them from his own possessions: twelve of them with an annual income of a thousand florins would be more than enough. In the third place, if one hundredth part of the Pope's court were left, and ninety-nine parts done away with, it would be quite large enough to give answers in matters of faith."

After a picture of the manifold oppressions of the Church by the Pope, there follows advice for the reformation of the state Christianity. "1. That every prince, peer, and free town, should strictly forbid their own subjects, to pay annates to Rome, and quite abolish them. 2. As the Pope with his Roman usages, commendams, aids, reservations, gratiae expectativae, pope's pence, incorporation, union, pensions, palls, chancery-

rules, and such tricks, draws to himself all German benefices without authority or right to do so, and grants or sells them to strangers at Rome, who do nothing for them in Germany, whereby he robs the ordinaries of their due, and makes ciphers and puppets of the Bishops; so should the nobles resist him, as the common enemy and destroyer of Christendom, and restore their rights and their offices to the ordinaries.—3. That an imperial decree should be issued, that no Bishop's pall, or confirmation of any other dignity should be fetcht from Rome; but that the constitution of the very holy and most famous council of Nice should be observed, in which it is determined that a Bishop shall be instituted by the two nearest Bishops to him, or by the Archbishop. Still, lest the Pope should have reason to complain that he was robbed of his supremacy, it should be decreed, that where the Primates or Archbishops cannot settle a matter, or where a difference rises amongst them, it should then be carried before the Pope.—4. That it be decreed that no secular cause shall be carried to Rome, but that all shall be left to the secular power.—Then the Pope's office should be, that he as the most learned in Holy Scripture, and really, not in name only, the most pious, should regulate all matters which concern the faith and holy living of Christians. Besides, the hateful extortion of officials in all benefices must be forbidden; so that they may claim for themselves no other causes, than matters of faith, and good morals, and leave to the secular judges all that concern money, possessions, persons, or honor. —5. That no more reservations should be voted, and no benefices be held at Rome.—6. That the Casus Reservati should also be abolisht.—7. That the Roman See should abolish the Officia, and lessen the swarm of vermin at Rome, to the end that the Pope's household may all be supported from the Pope's own possessions.—8. That the strict and hateful oaths which Bishops are forced to take to the Pope should be done away with. —9. That the Pope should have no power over the Emperor, except to anoint and crown him at the altar, as a Bishop crowns a King: and that the devilish etiquette be no longer allowed, that the Emperor should kiss the Pope's foot, or sit at his feet, or, as is said, hold his stirrup, or the rein of his palfrey, when he sets out on horseback: much less swear allegiance and true homage to the Pope, as the Popes have had the effrontery to demand, as though they had right to do so.—It was the devil who invented such arrogant, haughty, wanton demands of the Pope, that in due time he might bring in Antichrist, and exalt the Pope above God, as many already do and have done.—10. That the Pope be content to withdraw his hand from the dish, and surrender the title of King of Naples and the Sicilies.—11. That kissing the Pope's foot be discontinued. It is an unchristian,

yea, an anti-christian act, for a poor sinful man to let his foot be kissed by one who is a hundred-fold better than himself.—It is also an odious piece of the same scandalous etiquette, that the Pope should allow himself to be borne aloft by men like an idol with unheard-of pomp.—What Christian heart can or should behold with pleasure, that the Pope, when he wishes to communicate, sits still as a gracious sovereign, and has the sacrament reacht to him with a golden reed by a kneeling cardinal (see vol. 2. part 2. § 61. note 6), as though the Holy Sacrament were not worthy that a Pope, a poor stinking sinner, should rise up to do honor to his God.—12. That pilgrimages to Rome be abolisht, or that no one of his own will or devotion should be allowed to go on pilgrimage, without first having sufficient and real cause, recognized by his pastor, his town, or his liege-lord. I do not say that pilgrimages are wicked, but that they are not advisable at this time. For at Rome men will see no good example, but only a troublesome vanity.—And if this reason be not enough there is a still better one, to wit, that simple men are thus led into error. For they think that this pilgrimage is a good work of great price, which is not the truth.—13. Next, we come to the great multitudes who promise much, and perform little. Be not angry, dear masters, I mean it well in truth, it is the bitter and sweet truth, that no more monasteries should be allowed to be built by the mendicants. God help us, there are too many of them even now: would to God they were all abolisht or collected into two or three places. It has done no good, and never can do good, for men to run vagabond about the country. So it is my advice, that ten of them, or as many as are wanted, should be thrown together, and made into one, which being sufficiently provided, would have no occasion to beg. And that their preaching and confessing be dispenst with, then it might happen that they would be in request and be desired for this purpose by bishops and parish-priests, a community or a lordship. From such preaching and confessing nothing has risen but hatred and envy betwixt priests and friars, and great trouble and inconvenience to the common people. Besides, the great number of sections and divisions in single orders must be done away with. The Pope should be forbidden to institute or confirm any more such orders, even recommended to do away with some, and reduce them in number. It were in my opinion a necessary ordinance, that foundations and religious houses should be reconstituted as they were at first by the apostles, and a long time afterwards, when they were all free for a man to remain there as long as he wish. 14. We see also how the priesthood have fallen. Many a poor priest is burdened with wife and children, and a heavy conscience, and no one attempts to help him,

if such help be possible. Let Pope and Bishop proceed as they please, destroy as they will, I will deliver my conscience, and open my mouth freely, though Pope or Bishop or any one else take offence. I address Pope, Bishops, foundations, priests, and monks, whom God has not instituted. They have laid burdens on themselves, let them bear them. I will speak of the office of Pastor which God has instituted, to rule a community with preaching and sacraments. Liberty should be granted to pastors by a Christian council to marry and avoid peril of sin. For as God himself has not bound them, man may not do so. There is many a pious pastor, on whom no man can lay any other reproach, than that he is living scandalously with one woman. Both of them, however, have fixt in their mind, that they will always abide with each other in true wedded troth. If they can do this with a safe conscience, although perhaps in public they will have to bear scandal, in the sight of God they are certainly married. And here I say that if they are thus minded, and so live as quite to deliver their consciences, let him take her as his wedded wife, keep her, and live honourably with her, as a husband, without regarding whether the Pope approve or disapprove, whether it be against spiritual or carnal law. The salvation of thy soul is of more value than tyrannical, arbitrary, wanton laws, which are not necessary for holiness, nor commanded by God. 15. Vid. the Text. 16. It were also necessary, that anniversaries, solemnizations, masses for souls, be abolisht, or diminisht at least, for we see plainly that nothing but ridicule results from them, and that they are only kept for money, or eating and drinking. 17. Certain penalties and punishments of ecclesiastical law must also be abolisht, especially interdict, which without doubt was invented by the evil spirit. Excommunication must not be used, except where Scripture appoints it to be used, that is against those who do not hold the true faith, or live in open sin, not for temporal possessions. The other pains and penalties, suspension, irregularity, aggravation, re-aggravation, deposition, lightnings, thunder, cursing, damning, and what more there be in the devil's name, should all be buried ten ells deep in the ground, that even their name and the recollection of them may be no longer on the earth. 18. That all festivals be abolisht, and Sunday only retained; but if it is desired to keep the festivals of our lady and the great saints, that they should all be fixt upon Sunday, or only observed in the morning for mass, and afterwards that the whole day should be a work day. The reason is that as the abuse is now kept up with drinking, playing, idleness, and wickedness of all kinds, we anger God more upon the holy days, than on all the others. And in the first place the anniversaries of the consecration of churches shall

be quite given up, since they are nothing else but pothouse days, fairs and playdays. 19. That the degree of relationship within which marriage is forbidden should be altered, as in the case of sponsorship, to the third and fourth degree: since, if the Pope of Rome can dispense for money and sell his dispensations scandalously, any priest can dispense gratis and for the good of souls. Yea, would to God, that all which must be bought at Rome, might be done and granted by any priest without payment, as for instance indulgence; indulgence-brief; butter-brief; mass, brief; with the confessionals and whatever more of trickery there be at Rome. Likewise, that fasts should be free to every man's choice, and food of all kinds allowed, as the Gospel prescribes. 20. That the outlying chapels and field churches should be destroyed down to the ground, since it is to them that the new pilgrimages resort. 21. It is one of the greatest requirements that all mendicancy should be abolisht in Christendom; every town ought to support its own poor. 22. It should also be considered, that the number of masses instituted in cathedral and monastic foundations are not only useless, but cause the great anger of God; so it were profitable to found no more of them, but to discontinue many of those already instituted. Neither must it happen any more that one person should possess more than one preferment or benefice. 23. The fraternities, also indulgence; indulgence-brief; butter-brief; mass-brief; dispensation, and whatever there be of this kind, should all be washt away and abolisht. My friend, thou hast entered at thy baptism upon a brotherhood with Christ, all the angels, saints, and Christian men on earth, keep this fast, and carry it out, and you will have enough of fraternities. Especially all papal legates, with their faculties which they sell to us for great sums, shall be hunted out of German land, as still more manifest trickery. As they are here to take money, and maintain unrighteous gains, to dissolve oaths, vows and compacts, to break and teach men to break troth and faith pledged betwixt man and man, and say that the Pope has power to do this. If there were no other wicked device to prove that the Pope is the real antichrist, this alone would be enough to prove it. 24. It is high time that once for all with zeal and sincerity we take up the cause of the Bohemians, and unite ourselves with them, and them with us. In the first place, we must honestly confess the truth that John Huss and Jerome of Prague were burnt to death at Constance in defiance of the Papal Christian imperial safe-conduct and word of honour, and so it was done against the commandment of God. I will not here defend John Huss's articles, or impugn his errors, as my understanding has never yet found anything erroneous in him. I will only say, that were he a heretic, as wicked as ever he could be,

he was still burnt unrighteously and against the law of God, so the Bohemians should not be compelled to approve this act. Heretics should be conquered with Scripture, as the antient fathers used to do, not with fire. If it were right to convince heretics by fire, then the executioners would be the most learned doctors upon earth. Pious and prudent bishops and learned men should be sent to Bohemia, to inform themselves as to the belief of the people, and attempt an union of all sects. The Bohemians should then elect for themselves an Archbishop of Prague, who should provide that they walk upright in the faith and word of God, without wishing to impose upon them all Roman doctrines and usages. If I knew that the Pikards held no error in the sacrament of the altar, except that they believed bread and wine were truly and naturally present, and under them the true body and blood of Christ; I would not refuse them, but suffer them to come under the Bishop of Prague. For it is not an article of faith, that bread and wine are not essentially and naturally present in the sacrament; this is an error of St Thomas and the Pope; but it is an article of the faith that in the natural bread and wine, the body and blood of Christ are present in the truth of their nature. So error should be tolerated on both sides until they agree; meanwhile there is no danger in your believing that bread either is or is not present. For we must tolerate many customs and ordinances, which are not injurious to the faith. If they think otherwise, I would rather they were better informed; still they teach the truth. The temporal possessions which belonged to the Church, should not be demanded again with over much strictness. 25. The universities also require a right strict reform. What are the universities, except gymnasia epheborum et graecae gloriae, where a free life is led, a little holy writ and Christian faith taught, where the blind heathenish master, Aristotle, holds sway even more than Christ? The miserable man teaches in his best book, De Anima, that the soul is liable to death with the body, however much many persons have tried with vain arguments to rescue him from this opinion. In like manner his ethics is more directly opposed to the grace of God and Christian virtue than any other book, but still it is reckoned as one of his best. I could well endure that Aristotle's books on Logic, Rhetoric, and Poetry, should be retained, or that abridgements of them should be used with advantage to exercise young men in speaking and preaching well. But the commentaries and sections must be done away; and as Cicero's Rhetorica is without comment and section, so should Aristotle's Logic be read uniformly without such large comments. But now neither speaking nor preaching is taught from it, and nothing comes from it but wearisome disputations.

I would suffer the physicians to reform their own faculties; the jurists and theologians I take into my own hands, and I say to the former, it were good if ecclesiastical law from the first letter to the last was thoroughly destroyed down to the ground, especially the decretals. As to secular law, God help us, what a wilderness it has become; however much it is better and more ingenious and more honest than ecclesiastical law, still there has been made far too much of it. My friends, the theologians, in their love of toil and labour, lay down as their rule, let the Bible alone, and read the sentences. I think the sentences should be the beginning for young divines, and the Bible remain with the doctors: so the right order is inverted, the Bible is the first book introduced with the Bachelor's degree, and the sentences the last, which abide with the doctors for ever. The number of books must be diminisht, and the best read. For many books do not make a man learned, whether much read or not. But good reading, and often read, however little it is, makes a man learned in Scripture and pious withal. Above all in the higher and lower schools, the chiefest and commonest reading should be holy Scripture, and for young boys the gospel. And would to God every town had a girl's school, in which girls might hear the gospel one hour in every day. 26. The Pope had unjustly deprived the Greek emperor of the Roman Empire, and granted it to the Germans, but only to bring them under his yoke. "So let the Pope give up Rome, and all he has of empire, leave our country free from his intolerable treasure seeking and extortion, give us back our freedom, authority, possessions, honor, body and soul, and let there be an empire, such as an empire should be, to the end that he may make good his words and professions." 27. On secular faults, against too costly clothing, excess in foreign spices, usury, eating and drinking to excess, common brothels.—Conclusion: "I fear much, I have pitcht my voice too high, proposed much which may seem impossible, assailed some points too sharply. But what can I do? I am bound to speak; if I had the power, I would act thus. I had rather the world were angry with me, than God: man can do no more than take my life. To this day I have often offered peace to my enemies, but as I see, God has compelled me through their means, to open my mouth wider and wider. So far as I know, my cause is so just, that it must be condemned on earth, and only justified by Christ in heaven. Therefore let them come bravely on, be they pope, bishops, priests, monks, or learned men: they are the right persons to persecute the truth as they always have done. God grant us all a Christian understanding, and especially to the Christian nobles of the German nation, a true spiritual courage to do the best for the poor Church, Amen."

SEC. 1.—NOTE. 81, P. 274.

Albert Durer on the Disappearance of Luther.

He had heard tell of ten horsemen "who traitorously bore away that pious man enlightened with the Holy Spirit, thus sold into their hands. He was a follower of the true Christian faith, and whether he still lives or they have murdered him, I know not; but he has suffered for the sake of Christian truth, and for that he censured the unchristian papacy, for weighing down the liberty of Christ with its heavy burden of human ordinances, and because that we are thereby robbed and despoiled of the fruit of our blood and toil, which is so shamefully consumed by idle persons, while the thirsty and sickening labourers die of hunger; and especially it is most painful to me, that perhaps God will suffer us to remain under their false and blind doctrine; they have devised and imposed upon us men whom they call fathers, in order that the precious word may be in many points falsely interpreted to us, or quite withdrawn. Ah, God of Heaven, have mercy upon us, O Lord Jesus Christ pray for thy people, deliver us in due season. O God, is Luther dead! who will henceforth hold out to us the holy gospel so clearly? O God, how much would he have been able to write for us in ten or twenty years. O all ye pious Christian men, help me to bewail duly this man inspired by God, and pray God to send us another enlightened man. O Erasmus of Rotterdam, where wilt thou remain? See what the unrighteous tyranny of worldly might, the power of darkness can do. Hear thou soldier of Christ, ride forth after Christ the Lord, defend the truth, win the crown of martyrdom, thou art already an old man. I have heard say of thee, that thou hast allowed thyself two years in which thou mayest yet do something, lay them out well, for the advancement of the Gospel and true Christian faith," &c.

SEC. 1—NOTE 83, P. 275.

Luther's Letter to the Elector Albert, 1. *Dec.* 1521.

Your electoral grace has again set up the idol at Halle, which ruins poor simple Christians in wealth and in soul. Your electoral grace, perhaps, thinks that I am removed from your way that you will now be safe from me, and that you will easily crush the monk by means of the Emperor's majesty. Your electoral grace will remember the beginning, how great a fire has risen from the little despised spark, when all the world was so secure, and

thought that the one poor beggar was immeasurably too small for the Pope, and undertook impossibilities. But God has taken up the cause, He has given the Pope with all his followers enough to do; against and above the thoughts of the world He has carried the matter to a point from which the Pope will hardly bring it down again; it will grow worse with him daily, so that the work of God may be clearly recognised. The same God lives still—no man can doubt it now—He has power to withstand a Cardinal of Mayence, though four emperors were to stand by him. He has also especial pleasure in breaking the lofty cedars, and abasing the proud hardened Pharaohs. But let not your electoral grace think that Luther is dead; he will glory freely and joyously in the God who has humbled the Pope, and begin a game with the Cardinal of Mayence that he did not much expect. Join together, dear Bishops, ye may remain lordlings, however ye shall neither silence nor deafen this spirit; an overthrow shall befall you from it, which ye now little look for, so I would have you warned.

To this I request and await a straightforward, speedy answer from your electoral grace, within fourteen days, for after fourteen days my book against the idol of Halle will be publisht, unless a plain answer be made me.

The Elector answered on the 21st Dec. (Walch xix. 66); Dear Sir Doctor, I have received and read your letter—and taken it all favourably and in good part; but pardon me for saying, that the cause which has moved you to write thus, has been long since entirely done away with. I will conduct and show myself, if God will, as becomes a pious priest and Christian prince, so far as God shall give me grace, strength, and understanding: for which I pray truly, and will have prayers offered for me. For I can do nothing of my own self, and confess that I stand in need of the grace of God: I cannot deny that I am a poor sinful man, who can sin and err, and daily do sin and err.

Sec. 1.—Note 87, p. 278.

Marcus Stübner in the Zeitung aus Wittenberg.

"Martin is right on most points, but not on all: Another will come after him with a loftier spirit, &c. Item, the Turks will soon take possession of Germany. Item, all priests shall be slain if they now take wives. Item, in a short time, about five, six, or seven years, there shall be such a change in the world, that no ungodly or sinful man shall remain alive, &c. Then shall there be one way, one Baptism, one Faith. The Baptism of infants as now administered before they have reason, is no Baptism."

Beyer's Letter to Einsiedeln.

"I would have you know that the university and the town-council have agreed upon the way in which Mass should be celebrated in the parish church to which we all belong. First, the hymn will be sung with the Introit. Gloria et in terra, epistle, gospel and sanctus; then comes the sermon, and afterwards the mass, as our God and Lord Jesus instituted it at the last supper. The priest speaks the words of consecration aloud in German, and admonishes the people that to every one who feels the burden of sin, and thirsts for the grace of God, the body and blood of the Lord will be administered. When the people have communicated, the agnus Dei, carmen, and Benedicamus Domine are sung. The canon has been reversed. For the future we will tolerate no beggar be he monk or no monk. The poor shall be provided for from the common purse. They will not endure images in church, and in time will remove them, strong passages of Scripture are alledged against them."

Sebastian Fröschel's Preface. "These three men give out that no one should study or keep school, or confer degrees, for Christ has forbidden all this in Matt. xxiii. with these words: Be ye not called Rabbi, or masters; in consequence of this many men of talent about this time left this place and forsook their studies, who might have been useful to their country and countrymen. Dr Carlstadt went round to the houses of the townsmen, and askt them, how they understood this or that passage, in this or that prophet. And when the simple townsmen wondered at his question, and said to him: Sir Doctor, how comes it that you learned men and doctors in holy Scripture, thus ask us poor illiterate, unlearned folk such questions; ye should rather tell us the meaning: then Carlstadt answered them, that God had hidden it from them, as the Lord Jesus himself says in Matt. xi. and Luke x.: I thank thee Father and Lord of heaven and earth, that Thou hast hidden these things from the wise and prudent and revealed them to babes. Besides these three persons began, not only to storm against schools, but also against churches and images in churches, that they would cast these images out of the churches; and they gave out that no learned man should be allowed as preacher or priest in the churches, but laymen and handicraftsmen, who were only able to read, as I have known many such persons who wisht to be called and chosen to the office.

SEC. 1.—NOTE 89, P. 282.

Luther to the elector: "This know I right well of myself, that if the case were the same at Leipzic as at Wittenberg, I

would ride thither, though (your Electoral grace will pardon my foolish speech) for nine days long it were to rain Dukes George, and each of them were ninefold more furious than this one is. This is written to your Electoral grace to the intent that your Electoral grace may know, that I go to Wittenberg under far higher protection than that of the elector. I have no intention of demanding protection from your Electoral grace. Yea, I take it, I have more power to protect your Electoral grace, than you have to protect me. Besides if I knew that your electoral grace could and would protect me, I would not come. The sword of no man either can or ought to guide and aid this cause: God alone must provide without human care or assistance. Accordingly, whosoever has most faith will be here of most use. So long as I cannot but know that your Electoral grace is far too weak in faith, I can by no means recognize you as the man who is able to shield and deliver me. As your Electoral grace desires to know what you should do in this cause, as you think you have done far too little: I answer with all subjection; your Electoral grace has done far too much, and you ought to do nothing at all. For God neither can nor will endure your or my plans and proceedings. He will have the matter left to Him; this and nothing more: your Electoral grace may advise yourself on this point.—With regard to men your Electoral grace should thus conduct yourself; you should as an elector be obedient to the supreme authority, and allow his Imperial majesty to rule in your Electoral grace's towns and dominions, over persons and property, as is due, according to the constitution of the Empire, and neither oppose, nor resist, nor desire to offer any resistance or hindrance to the authorities, if they wish to arrest me or put me to death. For no one may infringe upon or resist the Power, except Him only who has constituted it; to act otherwise is rebellion and against the will of God," &c.

SEC. 1.—NOTE 119, P. 294.

Ambrose Blarer's Letter: "They say Luther rejects all outward good works which God has commanded, but at the same time they pass over in silence his faithful teaching, that all good and fruitful works must proceed from the ground of a believing heart; thus he would first make the root and the tree good, that the fruits might not be suspended upon it from without, but put forth from within. They give out also that he inculcates carnal enjoyments, and teaches that men should fast no more, accordingly that he disallows all appointed days and seasons; but they conceal maliciously the fact that he exhorts us earnestly to daily chastening and condemnation of the flesh. Further, they pretend that according to Luther's doctrine, no man need pray,

merely because he condemns vain repetition, since Christ himself condemned such lip-service:—however, they omit to say, that he teaches us to pray without ceasing, with lifting up and aspiration of the soul towards God. They proclaim, that Luther taught carnal wantonness, because he wisht somewhat to check the widespread scandalous impurity of the clergy by permission to marry, and to assist well-meaning priests who by reason of purblindness were unable to advise themselves, in a becoming manner allowed by Christ and his apostles; but they pass over in silence, that he forbad all impurity, whilst we still have to this day as our ecclesiastical superiors and spiritual advisers, men who live in open fornication, scandal, and crime. Further still, they cry out that Luther would cast way all authority, because forsooth he will not endure the cruel rule of certain tyrants, who undertake with unhallowed boldness to encroach upon the sovereignty of God the Lord, since they try to extend their authority over our souls and consciences: yet they do not say that according to Luther's doctrine we are not only subject to authority, but also are bound to suffer and endure with Christian patience their insane and cruel government, reserving only the freedom of the soul and conscience. Besides, they alledge the discord and disturbance which this doctrine has roused in the world, and do not consider that the word of God from the first until now has caused disunion and agitation betwixt the believers in truth and falsehood. Then we have to consider as Christians that as the church was at first begun and built up by the perscription and bloodshed of the faithful, now again, that it has been brought to ruin and lamentable disorder in almost all points, it cannot be reconstituted, and re-establisht in its antient dignity without great disturbance and agitation. They also give out that Luther rejects all divine ornaments, tables, coffins, lamps, tapers, organs, mass-vestments, etc.: but they conceal the fact that he so earnestly exhorts us to keep in repair and to adorn the living temples of God, as Paul says, namely, the poor, that they may not suffer from want and necessity. In like manner they complain that this doctrine tends to the dishonor and diminution of the immaculate ever-virgin Mary; and the rest of God's saints, because that pilgrimages, outlying chapels, taper-burning and such proceedings are not allowed to avail much: but they do not say that we are taught true reverence for saints, namely to recognize praise and adore the grace of God in His saints, and thus to strengthen our hearts in confidence and hope, that He will grant unto us the same paternal grace as to them, because they are our brethren, and in fine so direct us in their footsteps, that we may follow the example of their faith and virtuous living. They will embitter this honey of ours by stating that Luther is so hasty, quarrelsome and bitter, that

he attacks, reproaches, and reviles his adversaries, and amongst them even the great nobles and princes, ecclesiastical and temporal, with such wanton boldness, that he quite forgets brotherly love and Christian courtesy. Of a truth he has often mispleased me in this respect; I would advise no one now to imitate him in this point. At the same time I have not on this account rejected his good Christian doctrine, neither will I pronounce sentence upon his person in this matter; because I do not discern his spirit, and the secret determination of God, that by this fault much people may be drawn away from his doctrine, but consider that he is not fighting for his own cause, but for the word of God, on this account much may be forgiven him, and all ascribed to a zealous indignation for God. Lastly.—They endeavour to make this doctrine suspicious and contemptible, by saying, that for more than a thousand years there has been a general agreement in the understanding of Holy Scripture; and the holy Fathers and Teachers have been quite unanimous in this; but now comes Luther, overthrows everything, and will have a private meaning after his own head, so that all past opinion is quite worthless. This may serve in answer, that he above all other men according to the exhortation of Paul limited and confined his understanding by the word of Christ, that he seldom decided by his own opinion, but compared and explained Scripture with Scripture, which is the best mode of commenting.—Besides it is not true that antient or modern teachers have hitherto been agreed in handling Scripture, for in a few days I could compile a large book of articles, in which they have been entirely at variance and discordant. Against Luther only who has pointed out and laid his hand on the real ulcer and crime of the Church, they raise the cry of murder; they cannot endure his writings, they endeavour to make his doctrine contrary to all men, they pervert his words, they attribute to him many unheard of heresies, so that everything preposterous which is now sung or said of God and the saints, all vicious books and heresies are thrown upon Luther and the Lutherans, &c.

Sec. 2.—Note 17, p. 301.

Zwingli Uslegen der Schlussreden (Works i. 254): "For who stirred me up to preach the gospel, and to expound an entire Evangelist? Did Luther do this? I had begun to preach, before I had ever heard of Luther's name, and ten years before (so in 1513) I had begun to learn Greek with this end in view, that I might draw the doctrine of Christ from the original." (Works i. 79). "In my younger days I advanced as far as any of my

contemporaries in human lore; and when, seven or eight years ago (1514–1515), I felt moved to devote myself to Holy Scripture, philosophy and theology strove to entangle me in their disputes. But at last I thought within myself (guided by Scripture and the Word of God), Thou must leave all this and learn the meaning of God plainly from His own simple word. Then I set to work, pray to God for His light, and Scripture began to be much plainer to me, when I read the plain text, than if I had read many comments and expositions."

Sec. 2—Note 18, p. 301.

Zwingli Works i. 253. "Before any one in our neighbourhood knew anything of Luther's name, I began to preach the Gospel of Christ, in the year 1515; so that I never went up into the pulpit without taking, for my text the word which had been read as the gospel the same morning at mass, and explaining it from holy writ alone. Much as I adhered at the beginning of this period to the antients, as purer and plainer teachers, I was nevertheless disappointed with them at times. As that honourable gentleman, Diebold of Geroldseck, Warden of Einsiedeln, may perhaps remember how I advised him many times to read Jerome with all diligence, and added, the time will soon come, if God will, when neither Jerome nor any other writer will have much authority amongst Christians, but holy Scripture alone.

Sec. 2.—Note. 19, p. 302.

Zwingli, Works i. 298: "Eight or nine years ago (1514 or 1515) I read a comfortable fiction written on the Lord Jesus by the learned Erasmus of Rotterdam; in which Jesus complains that men do not seek all good things from Him, whereas He is a fountain of all good. Then I thought if this be the case, why do we seek help from the creature? I began to search in Scripture, and the works of the fathers: whether I could find there any certain information with regard to prayer to saints. In short I found nothing of it in the Bible at all; amongst the antients I found it in some, and not in others. However, it did not much move me if they did teach prayer to saints. For they always stood on testimony alone. And when I read the Scriptures which they quoted for this purpose, in the original, they had no such meaning as they wisht to thrust upon them; and the more I considered this doctrine or opinion, the less authority I found for it in Scripture, but rather more and more against it.

Sec. 2.—Note 29, p. 304.

Zwingli's answer to Valentin Compar. 1525: "Eight years ago (so in 1517) at Einsedeln, and afterwards at Zurich, I often proved to the Cardinal von Sitten, in plain language, and always with strong passages of holy Scripture, that the entire Papacy rested on insecure grounds. The noble gentleman, Diebold von Geroldseck, Master Frawz Zingg, Doctor Michael Sander, who are all three still living, often heard me. And the aforesaid Cardinal often answered me to the following effect: If God help me to recover my authority (for he was at that time out of favor with the Pope, and the Popelings who always breed popes), I would provide that the arrogance and falsehood, which the Bishop of Rome employs, should be brought to light and reformed. He has often since then converst with me on doctrine and on Holy Scripure, but always to the effect that he recognized what was false and disapproved it. But there is no occasion here to record how he has conducted himself since that time."

Sec. 2.—Note 34, p. 305.

Zwingli, Works 1. 254. "When I began to preach at Zurich, in the year 19, I gave notice before the honourable dean and chapter, that I wished, if God so willed it, to preach upon the Gospel written by St Matthew, without any trifling of man, and not to be led into error or controversy. At the beginning of this year, none of us knew anything about Luther, except that some work upon indulgence had been issued by him; this taught me but little, for I had been before informed with regard to indulgence, that it was a deceit and imposture, from a disputation which Doctor Thomas Wytembach of Biel, my master and truly beloved teacher, had held some time ago at Basle, albeit in my absence. So Luther's work, publisht at the same time, had helpt me but little in my sermons on Matthew. But all persons who longed for the word of God, resorted to these sermons in such numbers without intermission, that I wondered at it myself. Now, I will thus speak with the enemies of the doctrine of Christ. Who charges me with being a Lutheran? When Luther's book on the Lord's Prayer came out, as I had shortly before commented upon this prayer in St Matthew, I know there were many pious persons, who suspected erroneously that I had written the book, and prefixt Luther's name to it. Who then can charge me with being a Lutheran?

Sec. 2.—Note 36, p. 306.

Anshelm's Berner Chronik. v. 368. "At the beginning of this year the steadfast Ulrich Zwingli brought a great accession of strength to the strong Luther. After preaching three years at Einsideln on the gospels appointed to be read in the mass-service, according to the style and method of the early teachers of the church, he was now appointed to be a Leutpriest, and preacher at the great Minster of Zurich, a worthy confederate of the afore mentioned place. After first obtaining the permission of his dean and chapter, he began to preach upon the Gospel of St Matthew from Scripture only, and earnestly to exhort his people to hear, read, receive and believe, the Word of God only, as the sure foundation of our salvation and of holiness. He began and carried on this good undertaking, with such great success, that there as at Wittenberg, a wonderfully large concourse of people came to hear the Word of God; and an opinion prevailed that Luther and Zwingli, far apart as they were and only known to each other by hearsay, preached a doctrine, learned from each other, and were in fact united together. But afterwards the divine truth clearly displayed and manifested the fact, that if the Word of God were treated of purely and according to His spirit, it would be everywhere consistent, and everywhere produce the same doctrine, faith, and fruit.

Sec. 2.—Note 37, p. 306.

Zwingli's Works, 1, 268: "I have not done, as most men do now; when they begin to preach they first begin upon prayers to saints, and if one object to this they say; have not the messengers first shown, that the false gods are not gods but idols? Also since I find, that men are abandoned to the worship of saints, but that there is no ground for this practice, shall I not first shew them this? I answer, No, another method may well be tried. But I have thus taken this matter in hand; I have faithfully taught and pointed out Christ Jesus, that people should seek every good thing from Him and have recourse to Him in every need. I have thus made the grace of God an object of love to men, and have certainly proved and experienced that God will work with His word. I have also said to ignorant persons, after often speaking with them, if they maintain their point obstinately; Well, well, you will bring your prayers to the saints, I will bring mine to God alone. Let us see which of us takes the better course. And I have thus fed them with milk, until some of them who were formerly strongly against me,

afterwards became strong in the cause of God alone. So I advise all persons at this time who preach the word of God, that they should duly preach salvation from the plain and true word of God. Thus trust in God alone will surely increase, and the deceitfulness of false hopes fall to the ground.

Sec. 2.—Note 39, p. 307.

Zwingli, Works 1. 255: "The Papists heap such names upon me and others from folly; they say, you must be a Lutheran, you preach just as Luther writes. I answer them, I preach quite as much as Paul wrote; why do ye not rather receive me as an adherent of Paul? Yea, I preach the word of Christ, wherefore do ye not receive me as a Christian? Thus it is nothing but nonsense. Luther is, as seems to me, an excellent champion for God, who has searcht the meaning of Scripture with greater earnestness than any one on earth has done for a thousand years: and no one has equalled him in the manly, steadfast courage with which he has assailed the Pope of Rome, so long as the Papacy has existed, not to mention others. But whose is this deed? Is it of God or of Luther? Ask Luther himself; I well know he will say of God. Why then do you ascribe other men's doctrine to Luther, when he ascribes his own to God? Again, I will not bear the name of Luther, because I have read very little of his doctrine, and have often refrained from his writings on purpose to satisfy the Papists. But what I have read of his writings (so far as concerns dogmas, doctrine, meaning and sense of Scripture, for I have nothing to do with his quarrels) is generally so well seen and grounded in the word of God, that it is not possible for any creature to controvert them."

Sec. 2.—Note 42, p. 308.

Address of the Council of Zurich: "Our preachers have now for four or five years preacht amongst us the holy gospels and the word of God; at first, as ye say, their doctrine seemed strange and new, as it is unlike that taught by our forefathers. For this reason amongst us, both priests and laymen, there were ten different opinions, in consequence divisions arose principally among those who went little to hear sermons. Accordingly before we knew or heard of Luther's doctrine, we issued a public charge to all Leut-priests, parochial clergy and preachers in our city, and canton, that they should all be free (as even the Papal law allowed this) to preach the holy gospels and epistles of

the Apostles, conformably with the Spirit of God, and the divine Scriptures of the Old and New Testament, and whatsoever they could maintain and prove by quotations from Scripture; but that they should abstain from all other carnal innovations and proposals. The greater part of the preachers, to the best of our belief, have faithfully kept this commandment.

Sec. 2.—Note 43, p. 309.

Zwingli, Works 1, 354. "But that the expedition to the Pope (the reinforcements granted by the men of Zurich in 1521) happened in consequence of my efforts, cannot be laid to my charge with truth by any man. For at the very time I was at open enmity with the Papists, and they had broken with me. Three whole years before this time I had preacht the gospel of Christ with earnestness: thereupon the Pope's Cardinals, the Bishops and Legates, of whom the city was never free at that time, often exhorted me with professions of friendship, with intreaties, with threats, with promises of great gifts and benefices. However, I would not yield to them, but resigned under my own hand in the year 1520 a pension of 50 florins, which they paid me annually (they were ready to give me a hundred florins but I would not receive them) which I had refused in the year 1517, but from which they would not release me for three years after"

Sec. 2.—Note 52, p. 311.

Anselm vi. 99. "On the next day, the 20th of May, a decree was past that every place should charge its clergy to abstain from preaching of such a character, as to cause the growth of discontent, discord, and error in the Christian faith amongst the common people.

Sec. 2.—Note 65, p. 314.

Zwingli's Articles. "1. All persons who say that the Gospel should not be preacht without the permission of the Church, are in error, and reproach their God. 2. The sum of the Gospel is this, that our Lord Christ Jesus, the true Son of God, has proclaimed to us the will of His Father in Heaven, and by His innocence has delivered us from death, and reconciled God to us. 3. Hence Christ is the only way to holiness for all who have been, are now, or ever shall be. 4. Whosoever seeks or shows any other way, he is in error, yea, he is a murderer of souls and

a thief. 5. Therefore all persons who esteem any other doctrine equal to, or higher than, the Gospel, are in error, and know not what the Gospel is. 6. For Christ Jesus is the Leader and the Captain promised and granted by God to all mankind. 7. That He is the eternal salvation and the head of all believers, who are His body, but without Him this body is dead and powerless. 8. Whence it follows that all who live by the Head, are members and children of God: this is the Church or communion of saints, the bride of Christ, Ecclesia Catholica. 9. For the rest, that as the limbs of the body can do nothing without the authority of the head, so in the body of Christ no man can do anything without Christ his head. 11. Hence we see that the constitution of the clergy, from their pomp, their wealth, their ranks, their titles, their laws, is one cause of all disorder: for they agree not with the head. 12. Thus they storm not for the sake of the Head (for to effect this is the object of our labour by God's grace); but because men will care no more for their storming, but render some obedience to the head. 13. When he obeys Christ, man learns the will of God clearly and plainly, and will be drawn to Him by His Spirit, and converted to Him. 14. Therefore all Christian men should use their utmost diligence, that the Gospel of Christ alone may be preacht everywhere. 15. For in belief of this stands our salvation; in disbelief, our condemnation; for all truth is plain in Him. 16. Man learns in the Gospel that human doctrine and human institutions are not profitable for salvation. On the Pope. 17, That Christ is the one only eternal High Priest; hence, it follows, that they who have given themselves out as high priests, resist and oppose the honor and the office of Christ. On the Mass. 18. That Christ by the sacrifice of Himself once made is for ever an abiding and sufficient sacrifice for the sins of all believers; hence it may be concluded that the mass is not a sacrifice but only the memorial of the sacrifice, and an assurance of the redemption which Christ has shown us. 19. That Christ is the one only Mediator between God and us. On Adoration of Saints. 20. That God will give us all things in His name; hence, it follows, that from this time we need no other mediation than His. 21. That when we pray for one another upon earth, we so pray that we trust all things will be granted us through Christ only. On Good Works. 22. Christ is our righteousness; hence, we conclude, that our works are so far good as they are the work of Christ; but so far as they are our own neither right nor good. On the property of the Clergy. 23. That Christ condemns the wealth and pomp of this world; hence, we must infer, that they who amass wealth in his His name are a reproach to Him, and make Him an excuse for their own avarice and wantonness. On Prohibition of Food. 24. That no Christian is bound to works which God has not commanded;

any food may be eaten at any time; hence, we learn, that käs and aukenbrief (letters of dispensation) are a Roman trick. On Feast-days and Pilgrimages. 25. That time and place are subject to Christian men, not men to them; hence, it may be known, that they who impose times and places upon Christians, rob them of their freedom. On Cowls, Clothing, and marks of distinction. 26. That God hates nothing more than hypocrisy; so He has taught us that all that is done for appearance sake before men is mere hypocrisy and wickedness; hence, cowls, marks of distinction, shaven crowns, &c., fall to the ground. Of Orders and Sects. 27. That all Christian men are brethren of Christ and brethren to each other; they should boast themselves of no earthly father. Hence all orders, sects, clubs fall to the ground. On the Marriage of Clergy. 28. That all which God has allowed or not forbidden is right; accordingly, marriage is shewn to be becoming in all men. 29. That all persons called spiritual, sin if, when they are convinced that God has denied them the gift of continence, they do not protect themselves by marriage.

On vows of chastity. 30. That they who vow chastity undertake too much like fools or children; hence, it may be inferred, that they who take such vows, are mocking pious men. On excommunication. 31. That no one man can excommunicate another, but the church, that is, the community in which the person to be excommunicated lives, together with the guardian, that is the Pastor. 32. That man alone may be excommunicated who grows notoriously worse. On Unjust Possessions. 33. That unjust property should not be granted to temples, monasteries, monks, priests, nuns, but be given to the poor, unless it could be returned to its rightful owner. On Supreme Power. 34. The power called spiritual has no grounds for its pomp in the doctrine of Christ. 35. But the secular power receives strength and confirmation from the doctrine and example of Christ. 36. All rights and privileges claimed by the so-called spiritual state, belong to the secular authorities, if they will be Christians. 37. Also all Christians, without exception, are bound to obey them. 38. So long as they require nothing which God has forbidden. 42. If they act unfaithfully and break the rule of Christ, they may be deposed by the will of God. On Prayer. 44. True worshippers call upon God in spirit and in truth without crying out before men. 45. Hypocrites do their works that they may be seen of men, receiving their reward also in their life. 46. So it must needs follow that church-music or crying aloud, without devotion and only for money, is either an effort for fame from men or for gain. On Injury. 48. A man should rather suffer death in the body than injure or disgrace a Christian man. 48. If a man from stupidity or ignorance injure himself without cause, he must not be left sick or suffering, but restored to

strength, that he do not take that for sin which is not sin. 49. I know no greater injury, than not to allow the clergy to have wedded wives, but to let them have concubines for money. How great a scandal! On Forgiveness of Sin. 50. God forgives sin only through Jesus Christ, His Son, our Lord. 51. Whosoever attributes this power to the creature, deprives God of His honour, and ascribes it to one who is not God; this is real idolatry. 52. Therefore confession, whether made to the priest or to one's neighbour, should not be set forth as the forgiveness of sin, but only as a request for counsel. 53. Penances imposed by Human authority (except in cases of excommunication) do not take away sin; they are only imposed by way of menace. 54. Christ has borne all our sorrows and troubles: whosoever therefore attributes to works of penance that which belongs to Christ alone, errs and reproaches his God. 55. Whosoever pretends to remit one sin for the penitent man, stands not in the place of God, or of Peter, but of the devil. 56. Whosoever remits any sin for money only, is a companion of Simon and Balaam, and an especial emissary of the devil. On Purgatory. 57. The true holy Scripture knows nothing of Purgatory after this life. 58. The sentence of departed spirits is known to God alone. 59. And in proportion as God has allowed us to know less upon this subject, we should undertake to know less. 60. I do not condemn a man if he call earnestly upon God to show His grace towards the dead; yet to fix a time for this grace (seven years for a deadly sin), and to lie for the sake of gain, is not human but devilish. On the Priesthood. 61. Holy Scripture knows nothing of the character (ordination-grace) which priests claim in these last times. 62. It acknowledges also no priests, but such as preach the Word of God. 63. It commands that due honor should be shown them, that is, that they should be supplied with food for the body. On the abolition of Abuses. 64. All who acknowledge their error shall not suffer for it, but be permitted to die in peace, and afterwards the Church property be placed on a Christian footing. 65. As for those who refuse to acknowledge, God will surely deal with them. So men should employ no force upon their persons; it might happen that they should conduct themselves so perversely, as to be no longer endurable. 66. All ecclesiastical dignitaries should humble themselves, and set up only the Cross of Christ, not their chests: else they will perish, for I warn you, the axe lieth at the root of the tree. 67. If any man desire to confer with me upon tributes and tithes, upon unbaptized children, upon confirmation, I hold myself ready to answer him. Let no one here undertake to contend with sophistry or human trifling, but come to Scripture, leave it for the judge (foras canes). Scripture breathes the Spirit of God, thereby let him discover the truth,

or if it be as I hope, discovered, let him hold it. Amen—God grant it.

Sec. 2.—Note 66, p. 317.

The determination of the Council, "That Master Ulrich Zwingli shall proceed, and henceforth as before preach the holy gospel and the true divine Scripture to the best of his power until he better informed. Also all other Leut-priests, parochial clergymen, and preachers in their city, district and dominions, should neither accept nor preach any other doctrine than what may be proved from the holy gospel and the rest of the true divine Scriptures: likewise they must not revile one another in any sort, call each other heretics, or by any other reproachful name. Whosoever opposes and is not satisfied with this decision, must be regarded as persons who err and are conscious that they are wrong."

Sec. 2.—Note 69, p. 318.

Widmer's complaint: "That we priests hardly know how far we are safe in the city; not to mention when we go out hunting with falcons, or venture in the country amongst the peasants. Besides singing, mass-reading, and the rest of the service of God in use hitherto, is so sorely despised, and openly regarded by the common people as idolatry, and a soul-destroying performance, and denounced in the pulpit as an evident imposture; that I fear, as the Pope, Cardinals, and the Bishop, leave us to shift for ourselves, we shall have to renounce the faith and all divine service in a short time, or else allow ourselves to be put to death by the common people."

Sec. 2.—Note 75, p. 319.

Speech of Gaspar Von Müliner at the Diet at Berne.

"Dear confederates, beware in time that the Lutheran cause, and they who are embarkt in it, gain not the upper hand; for their preachers have brought their city (Zurich) to such a state, that if the nobles themselves wisht to retrace their steps, they could not do so. Matters are come to such a pitch that a man is not safe in his own house. It is necessary that a man should take other men to his house to protect him with arms from all mischance; the cause has advanced so far, that their peasants

in the country will pay neither tribute nor tithe, and there is such a division in this city and the whole canton, that the like has never been seen before."

Letter of the Council of Zurich to that of Constance.

"It has been reported to us, that certain godless persons, enemies to the evangelical doctrine, have stated before you, that disquiet prevails among us in consequence of preaching, so that all ranks are expecting a rebellion; and that we are repenting that we have so fully received the evangelical doctrine." All this was untrue, "since, by the grace of God and His divine doctrine, there has never been for a long time greater peace and friendship betwixt the lower and higher orders, than at the present day."

SEC. 2.—NOTE 78, P. 319.

According to Anshelm, the Vicar-general Faber, "has made enemies and opposers of the evangelical doctrine, yea, even tyrants, out of by no means the least of the confederate nobles, as, for instance, Bastian von Stein at Berne, who formerly were favourable and friendly to the Gospel, and gracious Lords. The priests and monks, especially the bishops, raised the cry: The storm falls now upon us, it will fall next upon the nobles: your free life, your tribute and tithe will all be despoiled. Let us stand together against these rebellious heretics. By such outcry as this, raised day by day, many powerful and wealthy nobles were deterred from even listening to, much more from accepting the word of God: that which was divine and evangelical, they called devilish and infernal.

SEC. 2.—NOTE 80, P. 320.

Anshelm: "After the afore-mentioned meeting (at Zurich in January) when the pious Zwingli went forth into the country to preach, and instruct the clergy, and everywhere in the confederacy the word of God increast; then the confederates past a decree, in July at Berne, and in autumn at Lucerne, that all the followers of Luther and Zwingli should be strictly searcht out and punisht; and that Zwingli should be arrested, if he came into their dominions; in order that they might support the Bishop of Constance against his disobedient clergy, as they had been earnestly exhorted to do.

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